

ART. XVIII.—*Lowther Farmstead Plans : A Preliminary Survey.* By P. MESSENGER, M.A., B.Sc.

*Read at Seascale, July 4th, 1975.*

A GREAT deal has been written on the general history of agriculture but until recently little has been written about the relationship between different types of farm buildings and farmstead layouts and the changes in agricultural practice. Detailed studies have been made of individual buildings or particular types of building noted for their picturesque qualities, but little use has been made of this material as tangible evidence of former traditions in building and agriculture.

This account attempts to draw out some of the changes which occurred in the development of the farmstead and its particular buildings during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, a time of great change in the agriculture of Cumberland and Westmorland. The examples of farmsteads and building types in this survey are taken mainly from material in Lord Lonsdale's muniments held at the Record Office, Carlisle. The drawings were taken from various Survey Books of farmsteads on the Earl's estates and from architectural plans specifically commissioned for new farms.

***The Pattern of Farming, Pre-1800.***

Within the county the pattern of agriculture varied considerably from area to area, being largely dictated by soil characteristics, topography and local climate. As efficiency and productivity increased, buildings of different proportions were required to serve more and

more specialised functions; for example, initially pastoral farming required few buildings whilst arable farms required large barns and mixed farming required a variety of buildings for various agricultural processes.

The type of farming carried out on any particular farm could vary in time due to changes in the soil or climate, or technological innovation or better breeds of livestock, or simply through managerial changes. It is more than likely that those farm buildings built in the eighteenth or nineteenth centuries, which still exist, are used for different purposes, if they are used at all: for instance, the byre is now too small and unhygienic, the corn barn is no longer used for processing grain, the horse engine-house and the granary have now outlived their purpose. But unless these buildings have undergone a great deal of physical alteration the original function can usually be guessed, and the examination of these buildings, *in situ*, can only add to the knowledge and understanding of Cumbrian vernacular architecture.

Prior to the eighteenth century the system of farming was similar to the Scottish *infield* and *outfield* system.<sup>1</sup> The *infield* was an open field divided into strips and commonly called the *townfield*. The greater part of the remainder was the *outfield*, common land or unenclosed fell, where each farmer had the right to pasture or *stint* a certain number of beasts throughout the year. Other fields, cropped for hay, were permanent meadow.

Most of the farms were small, many being farmed by customary tenants some of whom must certainly have practised some form of transhumance. The upper slopes of the fells would be grazed in the summer and the herdsmen would live in a rudimentary form of shelter known as the *shieling*,<sup>2</sup> no other buildings were necessary. Where farms were large enough or important enough to require a number of buildings, these were sometimes arranged within an existing defensive wall,

e.g. at Yanwath Hall (National Grid Reference NY 508 281).

These traditional methods still existed in the eighteenth century and Cumberland was regarded as being backward in comparison with other parts of the country, where new techniques were being developed in crop rotation and livestock breeding. There were a few men in Cumberland willing to experiment and try new ideas; notable among these were J. C. Curwen and Dr Graham of Netherby. By the end of the century there had been further and more widespread enclosures of the commons and open fields, together with a decrease in the number of farmers who held the rights of customary tenure, the *Statesmen* or *Yeomen*.

### ***The Survey Books.***

The survey and valuation of each farm was undertaken by the Estate Offices at Lowther and Whitehaven. The Lowther office controlled and surveyed farms in the Cardurnock peninsula, the Eden valley and southwards to Kendal and Appleby. The farms in west and south-west Cumberland were managed from the Whitehaven office.

The surveys were made at the beginning of the nineteenth century, from 1800 to 1820, a time when the changes occurring in agriculture in the south and east of the country were beginning to be felt in Cumberland and Westmorland. Each survey consisted usually of a plan and report of each farm, and the greatest attention is given to the acreage of particular crops and little to the functions of particular farm buildings. The purpose of each survey was essentially to re-value or de-value the farm's rent, and buildings were only mentioned if they were found to be in a state of disrepair; usually they were grouped together in the valuation as "House, barn and byre" or merely "House, etc."

### *The Dispersed Layout.*

Farms supervised from Lowther were surveyed in 1811 and a book of reports by William Lumb of Suborwens, Yanwath Hall, was produced about 1820.<sup>3</sup> The plans and comments about the buildings indicate something of the layout and three general types can be identified from Lumb's plans. Briefly, these are a dispersed type where the buildings are scattered, a linear type with buildings attached to one end of the farmhouse, and a third type which wholly or partially enclosed a farmyard. The most numerous of these was the dispersed type in which the arrangement of buildings showed little or no ordered pattern; there was little cohesion between the various parts of the farm and little attempt appears to have been made to produce an enclosure or farmyard. Farms such as Hesley (N.G.R. NY 586 233) or Spittle (N.G.R. SD 578 799), near Kirkby Lonsdale, are of this latter type where the only other farm building is the barn (Fig. 1). Similarly the farms at Bampton Grange (NY 515 183)<sup>4</sup> and Oldfield (SD 560 963) have their buildings dispersed and isolated, but there are a few examples where the detached buildings are loosely arranged around a yard, as at Lowther Low Moor (NY 535 246).<sup>5</sup>

This form of layout seems to have resulted from the piecemeal addition of buildings to the farm wherever they are required. In fact in the same book of plans by Lumb there is a comment in pencil stating that "Mr Walton wants sheds for eight cattle, has room for eighteen cattle, but wants a byre which holds eight for a dairy."<sup>6</sup> There had been no real force to regulate or order the disposition of the buildings; none had been necessary. "Everyone building according to what he thinks the most convenient for his stock and situation"<sup>7</sup> was the way that John Bailey and George Culley put it in their *General View of the Agriculture of Cumberland* in 1794. It seems to have been a general

condition of many farms in the eighteenth century, old farmsteads having apparently been built "at random, without order or method, whose buildings had accumulated over the generations",<sup>8</sup> and most early writers on agriculture considered that too little attention was paid to the overall design of the farmstead.<sup>9</sup>

An example of this, found in the Lonsdale papers, is an estate map of Crosby Demesne in Crosby Ravensworth (NY 622 148) which was surveyed 20 April 1739, showing miniature elevations of the farm buildings and identifying the function of each building (Fig. 1). All the buildings are isolated from Crosby Hall, reflecting a social distinction between the house and the farm, and only the barn and ox-house are juxtaposed. The ox was still the farmer's draught animal and was provided with separate accommodation some distance away from the "Biar and Cowhouse", but contiguous with the barn in which the corn was gathered and processed.

The barn was the most important building on the farm, and at Crosby it was certainly the largest. In it the sheaves of corn were stored after harvest and gradually, through the winter, they would be threshed and winnowed by hand on a wooden or stone-flagged floor. This floor was normally behind the large outward opening doors, opposite which there was a small door to provide a through draught for winnowing. The cart would be backed into the barn and the sheaves unloaded into the storage bays on one side. After threshing and winnowing, the grain and straw could then be stored on the other side of the barn. The grain could either be milled or fed to the livestock and the straw was used for bedding, thatching and as fodder.

The byre and ox-house were probably of similar design internally and were intended for winter occupation or at milking times. In this part of the country the cattle were tethered in pairs and separated only by

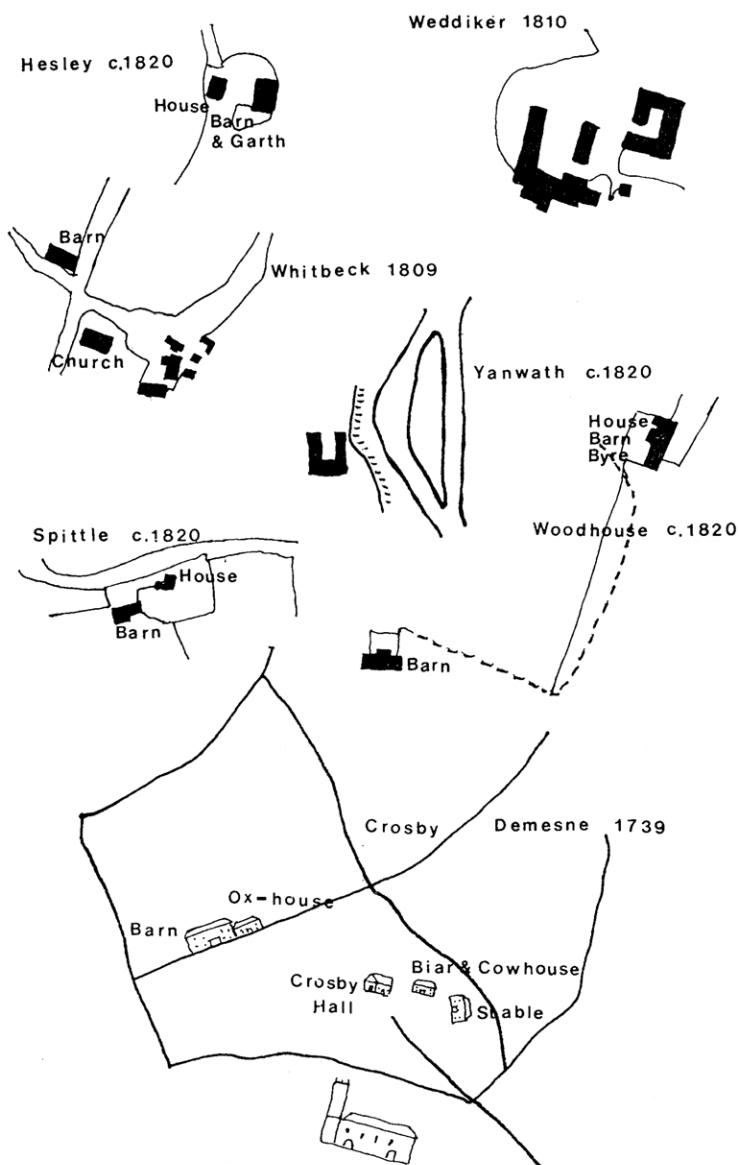


FIG. I.

partitions; the cattle backed on to a manure passage and were fed from behind into individual racks or troughs. As shown in the plan the byre was a two-storey building and over the stalls was a hay loft. Not only did this provide fodder quickly and easily, it also insulated the poorly ventilated byre during the winter.

The stable became more important as horses became more useful to the farm as draught animals; previously they had been used for riding or pulling the trap and hence were regarded as being superior to the cow. Each horse or pony had a separate stall divided by stout wooden partitions and the stable had at least one window: it was taller than the byre and better ventilated.

In the estate surveys carried out by the Whitehaven Office at the beginning of the nineteenth century examples of this dispersed layout can also be found. Whitbeck Farm (SD 120 140)<sup>10</sup> had a number of buildings grouped closely together which are listed as "House and Stables" in the report, but the barn belonging to this farm was some distance away on the crossroads (Fig. 1). Frizzington Hall Farm (NY 019 170) showed a similar dispersed layout, in this case a roadway separated some of the farm buildings.<sup>11</sup>

### *Rogersceugh Farm.*

It had been the policy of the land agent, at Lowther at least, to keep existing buildings in good repair. This policy was set out in letters relating to Rogersceugh Farm (NY 216 598)<sup>12</sup> during 1742. The exchange of letters relating to the repair of Rogersceugh gives some indication of the construction of this particular farmhouse during the eighteenth century. William Armitage, the agent at Lowther, is told that "the house is in such bad repair that the wood must be taken off and rited for a great many sparrs is fallen into the house and the

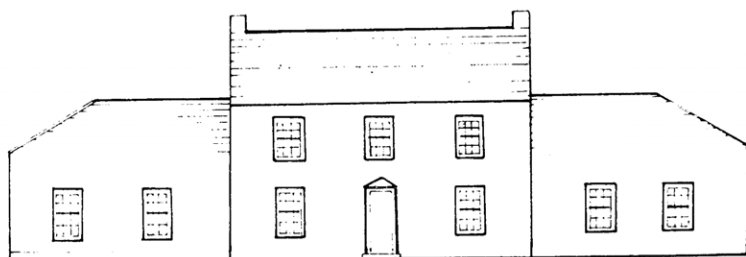
Thatch that is upon it is all rotten so none can be put on unless it be all taken off".<sup>13</sup>

Later, Henry Lowther inspected the work and informed Armitage that the repairs "will not answer the purpose, for the old walls were so thin and ruinous the wood and rafts so very bad . . . that the workmen themselves seem to think it little better than lost labour". On top of all this "the side walls is started out considerably";<sup>14</sup> presumably this meant that the walls were bulging out. It seems possible that this thin-walled, thatched farmhouse may have been a clay house, a type familiar to this locality in 1794.<sup>15</sup> The county's farmhouses were all "well built with stone" except for a "small district in the neighbourhood of Abbey Holme where they are built of mud".<sup>16</sup> Henry Lowther appears to have been correct in his judgement of the work done at Rogersceugh, for a map of the estate, possibly of mid-eighteenth century date, shows a two-bay house, apparently in ruins, at the centre of land taken in from the Moss.<sup>17</sup>

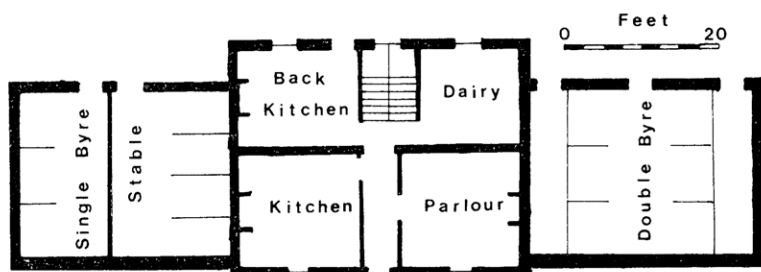
Further steps were taken to improve and extend the farm some years later. A plan of 1765<sup>18</sup> shows what had once been Moss as reclaimed land and the outer ditch as a field boundary. The plan also shows an elongated building which may simply depict the old ruined farmhouse. Following these improvements, designs for a new farm were drawn up specifically for Rogersceugh and it is possibly the earliest extant drawing of a Lowther planned farm (Fig. 2). It has a linear layout and caters only for cattle and horses with no provision for an arable economy. But by the mid-nineteenth century oats and potatoes were being grown as indicated in a survey showing the crops sown in particular fields for the years 1851 and 1852. This also shows that further buildings had been added to the farmstead presumably to store crops.

By this time Rogersceugh had become well known

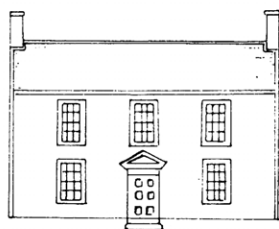




New Farm for the Rogersceugh Estate



D/Lons/L no date, c. L18C



Rotington Farm House  
1804

D/Lons/W C.R.O.

FIG. 2.

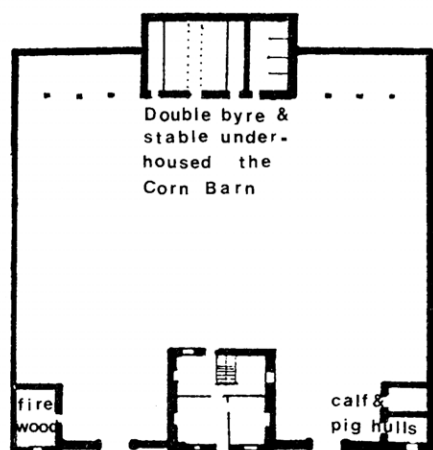
and William Dickinson cited it as an example of the Earl of Lonsdale's energetic measures to improve his farms. He mentions that Rogersceugh was "situated in a favourable position (being nearly in the centre of the moss land)" and was producing oats in such abundance as "can hardly be credited by people who knew its original state".<sup>19</sup> The earlier reclamation of this estate before 1765 had seemingly been forgotten for he later went on to say that "from time immemorial till 1848 (the estate) was a trembling bog".<sup>20</sup>

The simple elevation of the farmhouse shown in Figure 2, bears a striking resemblance to the elevation of Rotington Hall (NX 962 130) shown on the same figure. This is taken from the frontispiece of a book of estate plans and valuations for the Preston Quarter, near St Bees, dated 1804. Quite frequently in Cumberland, once a reasonable solution of plan and elevation had been attained, it was repeated with only minor modifications. A further example is that of the similarity between Dallan Bank and Walkers Low Moor (Fig. 3) which will be discussed later.

### *The Linear and Courtyard Layouts.*

In the estate plans it is possible to identify farmsteads with a linear layout, that is, the farmhouse and farm buildings are attached under one continuous roof. The simplest and possibly the oldest form of layout is the longhouse. This consists of a cowhouse, barn and stable extending from the lower end of the house and linked to it by a cross-passage. There are probably medieval origins for this form of layout as the size and arrangement was appropriate to the mixed subsistence farming which was all that the soil could support.

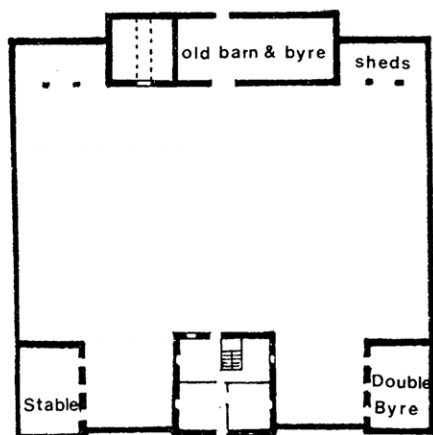
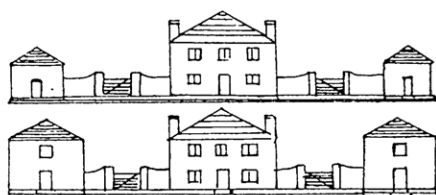
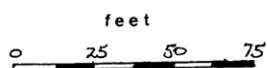
The other form of linear layout is the laithe-house which was probably an eighteenth-century conception and is found predominantly in Yorkshire. This also had



**Walkers**

**Low Moor ;**

**watermark 1797**



**Dallan Bank**

**D / Lons / Plans C.R.O**

**FIG. 3.**

a single continuous roof but the farm buildings were attached to the upper end of the house without the cross-passage.

An example of this linear type in Lumb's Surveys is Woodhouse (NY 524 264)<sup>21</sup> which shows house, barn and byre in one range (Fig. 1), and a second barn situated some distance away with a separate fold.

Although not strictly related to Lowther farmsteads, but related to Cumbrian farms in general, W. M. Williams examined a number of farmhouses in the parish of Gosforth and identified two types of farmhouse, but his work also showed that there were two forms of farmstead layout; one group where the farmstead buildings were arranged in a linear fashion, such as in farms like Broom and Thornbank;<sup>22</sup> and the other group where the farm buildings are arranged at right-angles to the farmhouse. This latter group of farmstead layouts provides additional shelter for cattle in the form of an 'L'- or a 'U'-shaped plan such as at Row Farm in Gosforth.<sup>23</sup>

On larger and later farms the house was detached, or linked only to a granary or a stable in order to reflect a social distinction between the house and farm similar to that found at Crosby Hall. This was often the case with farmsteads with an 'L'- or 'U'-shaped layout.

Examples of this type are Yanwath Hall (Fig. 1)<sup>24</sup> and Weddiker Hall (NY 014 173),<sup>25</sup> the latter having almost a complete courtyard bordered by farm buildings which were divorced from the Hall. At Preston Patrick Hall farm (SD 545 837) the buildings were arranged haphazardly around the farmyard.<sup>26</sup>

The yard was an integral part of the larger farms, having a functional relationship to the livestock buildings and the barn. The fodder and straw were moved from the barn to the byre and from there to the yard where the manure was stored and the livestock

exercised. Where convenient the yard faced south towards the sun, and the barn, which was the most substantial building on the farm, sheltered the yard on the north side. On farms such as these the buildings were now substantially larger than most of their earlier counterparts since the agricultural economy had now reached a commercial level.

### *The New Farms.*

The ruinous state of some farms, e.g. Rogersceugh, or the "badly planned" farms "with no winter accommodation for cattle",<sup>27</sup> meant that new farms had to be designed. With the new methods and machinery that were being introduced, further enclosures and the claiming of marshland, all these made larger and more conveniently arranged farmsteads necessary.

On the largest farms the buildings could be arranged around one or several yards, either by a process of accretion or by deliberate planning. The first attempts to design a farmstead were not always successful; some incorporated apparently impractical features, whilst other designers gave more thought to symmetry and decoration than to utility in the hope of pleasing the eye of the landowner.

One attempt to plan such a farm was the proposed Grandstand at Harras Moor (NX 990 185).<sup>28</sup> The drawings show the farmhouse and buildings arranged around a yard 100 feet by 45 feet at its widest. It had two cartsheds and the other buildings provided only for livestock accommodation. The elevation of the house is simple and great concern is shown in placing it so that it overlooks the racecourse. Loft spaces above the byre and stables can be seen in the elevation. These were probably for storing animal fodder and perhaps some other crop. The position of the byre might have been inconvenient to the farmer as it has a fairly narrow door, three feet wide, placed in the corner of

the yard which would make cleaning out very awkward, especially since the attached, walled middenstead is at the other side of the farmyard.

Two other plans which are remarkably similar in layout and elevation have been mentioned earlier. These are "a sketch for farmhouse, etc., at Walkers Low Moor" (NY 535 246) and a "sketch for a farmhouse for Dallan Bank" (NY 572 223).<sup>29</sup> Neither plan, shown in Figure 3, has a date although the watermark on the Walkers Low Moor plan is dated 1797.

The arrangement of buildings within the square frame of the farmyard wall is the same in both plans; it is the function and size of these buildings which differ. The houses are identical both in plan and elevation. The two buildings flanking the house at Dallan Bank are of two storeys; to the south there is a stable with a loft above and to the north a double byre again with a loft space above. At Walkers Low Moor the buildings occupying a similar position are much smaller and of only one storey. One of these was a "shed for holding firewood, etc." and the other was a pig hull and a "hull for calves, etc."

The distances from the farmhouses to the barn and across the yard are the same in both plans. At Dallan there is less provision for shedding due to the "old barn and byer" being longer than the building at Walkers. Obviously some buildings already existed at Dallan and the byre reflects its traditional form in Cumbria with only a central manure passage rather than separate feeding and manure passages.

### ***The Bank Barn.***

A note at the head of the Walkers plan states that "the double byre and stable is supposed to be under housed the Corn Barn above if approved of". This confusing statement almost certainly refers to the

construction of a Bank Barn, as no provision is made for any access from the ground floor to the proposed barn. Access would be obtained via a ramp to the barn doors on the elevation away from the farmyard. As can be seen in the plan, access to the ground floor was from the farmyard.

It is possible that the earliest forms of the Bank Barn in Cumbria developed where the natural slope provided easy access to a first-floor loft, possibly by means of a short ramp. A number of Bank Barns in Cumberland have been built as a result of alteration to the loft over a house and byre combination.<sup>30</sup> There are also examples where such alterations could have been carried out to a loft over a byre, where the loft can be entered from doors only two to three feet above ground level, a convenient height from which to load or unload a backed-up cart or wagon, but for one reason or another this opportunity has not been taken up.<sup>31</sup> The earliest reliably dated example of the Bank Barn is at Bank End Farm, on the Solway coast near Maryport (NY 048 384), dated 1733. The latest example found by the author was 1886, at Newhouse Farm, Lorton (NY 156 239).<sup>32</sup>

The Bank Barn was not unknown to the Lowther land agents; a plan dated 1880 of Water Bleas Farm near Millom (Grid Reference not established) shows quite clearly elevations and sections of a Bank Barn (Fig. 4). On the ground floor opening on to the yard there is a single storey cow-house, turnip and potato houses and a double cow-house. The barn above opened out on to a field or track on the side away from the yard, in the example this elevation is titled as facing the mines, and the natural slope of the ground did not provide access to the barn, so a ramp had to be constructed.

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**Bank Barn, Water Blean Farm  
1880**

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LOWTHER FARMSTEAD PLANS

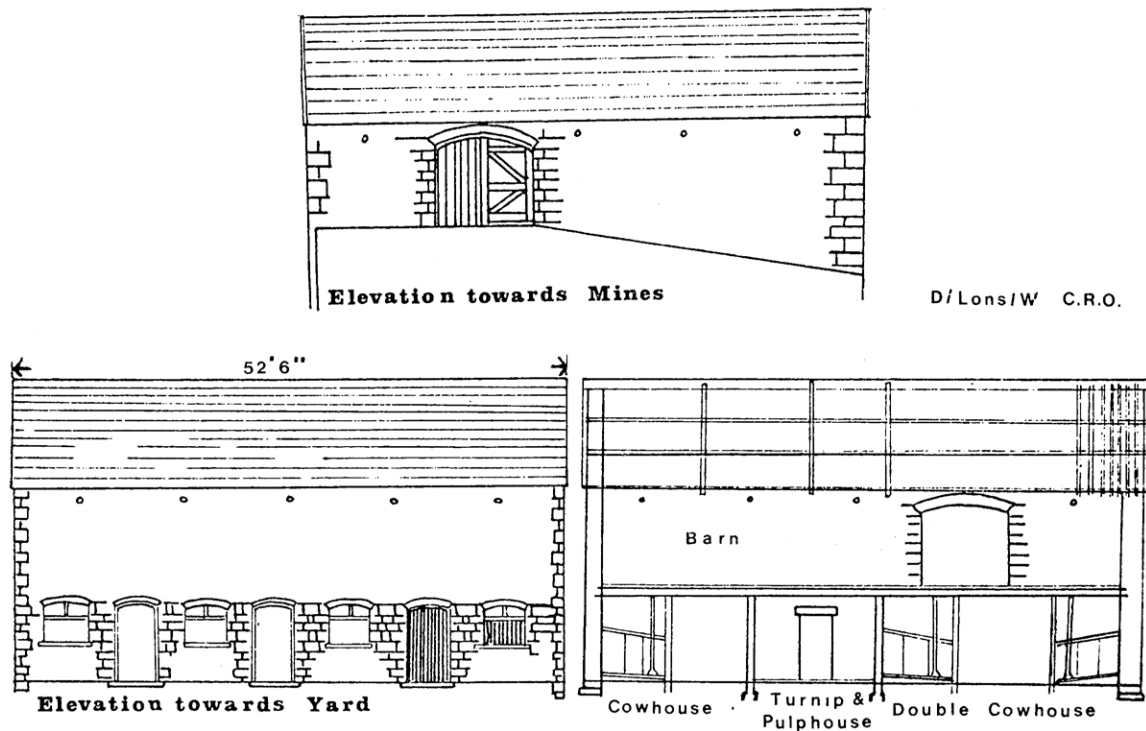


FIG. 4.

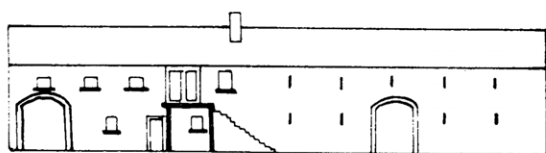
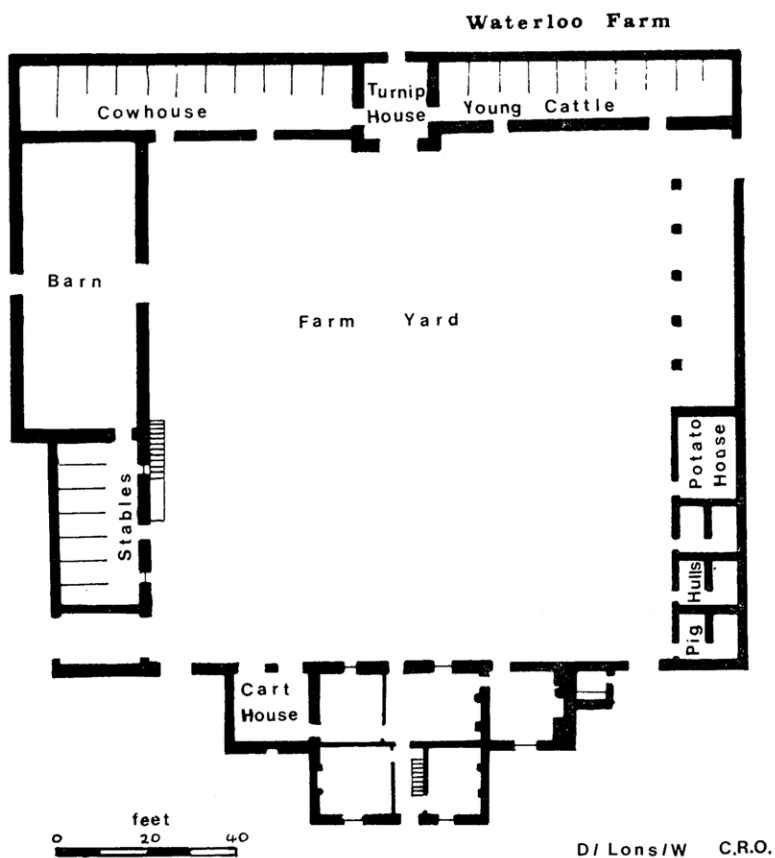
If it had there would have been a small winnowing door at first-floor level on the elevation to the yard. The threshing and winnowing was now being carried out by horse-power or steam power, a process which had led to the development of the "Gin-Case" a structure not found in the material examined for this article. Briefly this was a horse-engine house from which the power to drive the early threshing machines was derived. The building itself took various forms, semi-circular or polygonal, single-storey or two-storey and there are still many examples to be seen in the county.

### *The Larger Farms and La Ferme Ornée.*

On the more important large farms the farm buildings were either more extensive or were duplicated. For instance, as part of alterations to a farm near Lumb's house (the Lowther agent), provision was made to include a hay barn and a corn barn as well as separate yards for bulls, young cattle and oxen, ensuring that a mixed economy of arable and livestock farming could operate.<sup>33</sup>

Waterloo Farm at Eaglesfield (NY 118 287) shows a similar arrangement to Dallan Bank and Walkers Low Moor. The farmhouse and its associated buildings are arranged around a regular yard (Fig. 5). The plan is dated 1816 and it shows a farm designed for a mixed economy, with a barn, potato and turnip houses, cow-houses and stables. Not shown on the plan but evident on the elevation is the first-floor granary over the stables which is reached by a flight of steps from the yard. It has a small window and judging by the position of the chimney it also had a fireplace. Here grain or flour would be stored; the window provided ventilation and the fire warmth in order to prevent mildew.

From these conscious attempts to design the farm-



Elevation of Barn, Granary etc.

FIG. 5.

stead there came a type which has been termed "*La ferme ornée*",<sup>34</sup> the ornamental farm, and it has its representatives in the plans from the Lowther muniments. Several ornate farms and offices were found among the drawings for Lowther Hall. An elevation of dairy offices by Robert Adam, drawn in 1765, was one such design<sup>35</sup> and another was by T. Gandon<sup>36</sup> of a rather elegant dairy. But the most ostentatious of these is shown in Figure 6 which in its Gothic features echoes Lowther Hall, and it was planned for the home farm of the Lowther Estate.

The layout is a fairly simple and straightforward arrangement on a diamond rather than a square plan. Having the pigs just outside the front door cannot have been a very welcoming sight, but then perhaps its purpose was to discourage visitors. The cow-house has individual stalls for each cow with a central feeding passage, an arrangement uncommon in Cumberland. There is also a corn barn with two entrances from the stockyard, again indicating that these farmsteads were planned for a mixed economy. However, it must be stressed that many of these farms were regarded as accessories "to a noble landlord's park rather than as economic food-producing units",<sup>37</sup> having been designed for landscape and picturesque effects.

### **Summary.**

From this survey there appear to be three characteristics of the development of the farmstead in Cumberland and Westmorland. The first is the apparent lack of organisation of many of the small tenanted farms which existed before the nineteenth century where buildings were added only when they were necessary and could be afforded. Coeval with these was the second characteristic form of development, that of a simple linear layout under one roof which was organised on traditional lines. This was closely associated

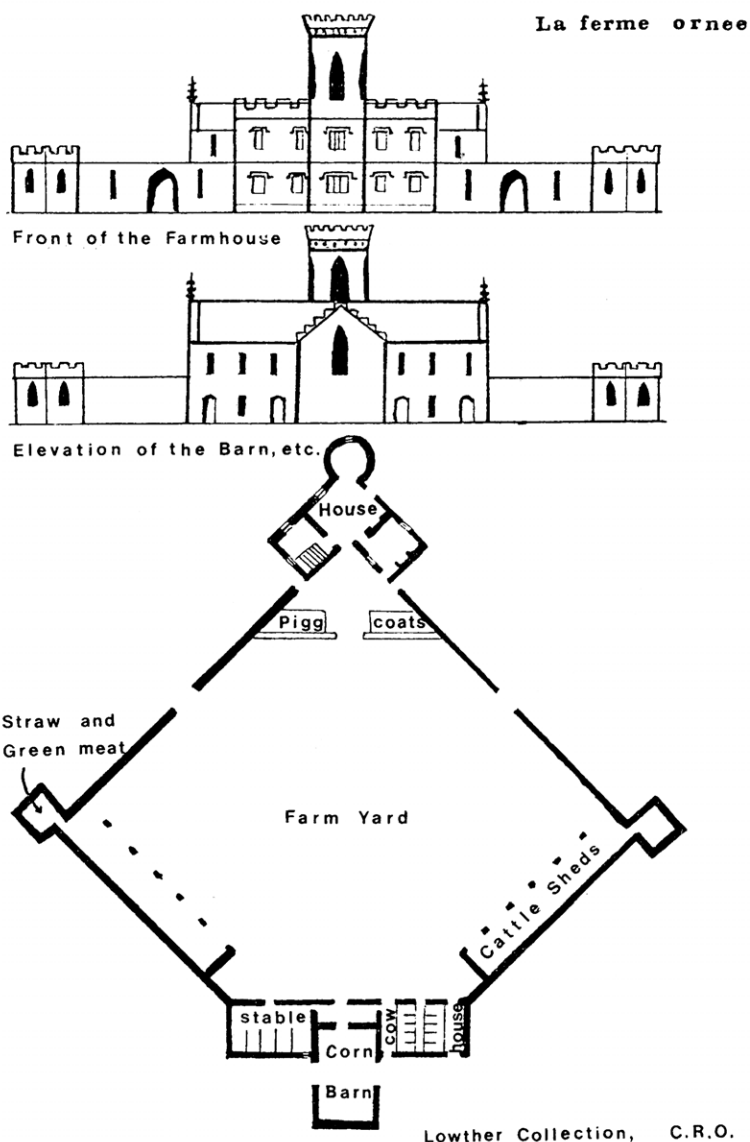


FIG. 6.

with a stabilised farming society centred largely around the Cumbrian "Statesman". The third characteristic is the estate farm which, because of its size, had an enclosed courtyard, a layout which was adopted and adapted by many agriculturalists of the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries when agriculture was based on more "scientific" ideas which were gradually becoming accepted nationally.

In the seventeenth century the "Statesmen" provided most of the impetus from which the truly Cumbrian vernacular traditions are derived. Their essential quality was a communal existence in which each still retained a measure of integrity and independence. Some of their land they held in common, they used communal stock and worked the plough team on a communal basis. But they were virtually free men with some title to the land they worked, however small. They paid fines and heriots to the lord of the manor, but they were still able to dispose of the land as they wished; to sell or bequeath their tenant-right.<sup>38</sup> The erosion of this caste from Cumbrian society, the decline of the yeomanry and the disappearance of local customs, such as that of tenant-right was a gradual process of attrition brought about by several important factors, among which were the enclosure of the open fields and commons and the enfranchisement of tenant-right in many areas.<sup>39</sup> The measure of freedom given to the customary tenant became tenuous and limited due to the payment of "fines and heriots on alienation, death of the lord, or death of the tenant and payment of certain annual rents and performances of various services, called boon days".<sup>40</sup> These made it difficult, if not impossible, for him to improve his property. In some cases repairs were "generally made at the joint expense of landlord or tenant; the former supporting walls, doors and timber; and the latter thatch, slate, glass, etc.". <sup>41</sup> But in other cases the tenant had to

fight long and costly legal battles to maintain his rights. In 1642, arbitration between tenant and landlord gave the tenants liberty to get stones and cut timber for building or repairing their houses and fences.<sup>42</sup>

The plan and design of the farmstead, particularly the long-house and the laithe-house, had developed from experience as the most convenient and useful for the purposes intended. With the new science and technology of farming these plan forms eventually became redundant as the rights of the customary tenant to plan and erect what he wished diminished, and the rights of the landlord to impose national canons of design increased.

The proper form of the farmstead became an issue on which many architects presented plans for the ideal farm.<sup>43</sup> These were more easily available to the land-owners and the aristocracy who were able to afford such things. From some of the plans described here it can be seen that the Earls of Lonsdale were no exceptions.

It is true that in some of the planned farms buildings traditional to Cumbria were retained. For example, the arrangement of the byre with one central manure passage and no feeding passage was retained in the planning of Grandstand Farm and in the Barn of Water Blean Farm (Fig. 4). Another building found in few localities other than Cumbria is the Bank Barn; this appears on the plans for Walkers Low Moor and Water Blean Farm.

The introduction of winter food crops<sup>44</sup> and sturdier breeds of cattle brought about the possibility of increasing the numbers of stock and consequently a stock enclosure and shelter sheds were required. The farmyard provided this enclosure during the winter months and was used more than ever for the production of manure, a product of considerable importance to the farmer.



In some of these plans aesthetic appeal overrode utilitarian ideals and some of the features were impractical, the obvious example being *La Ferme Ornée*. The influence which these particular planned farms had on the rest of the country cannot be assessed here; it is, perhaps, sufficient to quote John Rowley on *The Farming of Derbyshire* in 1833. "Many years of indifference and neglect to farm buildings have allowed them to go out of repair; and it may be regretted that agricultural architecture has made so little progress. In all buildings of a useful rather than an ornamental nature, such as workshops and factories, some uniformity of plan and design is carried out that is found by experience to be the most convenient and useful for the purpose intended; but it is not so in farm buildings, every farmstead having a different plan or design. One cheap and useful design might be applied generally; but the difficulty is in fixing the new with the old, so as not to prevent future improvements."<sup>45</sup> It is clear from this that the designs for new farms were not readily available to all, and the large landowners were in a better position, economically, to appreciate and assimilate these ideas.

How quickly these innovations spread down the social scale and throughout the county is a question which can only be answered by further investigation.

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## Notes.

- <sup>1</sup> For a more detailed examination of local farming practices see T. H. Bainbridge, "Eighteenth Century Agriculture in Cumbria", CW2 xlii; G. Elliott, "The system of cultivation and evidence of enclosure in the Cumberland Open Fields in the 16th century", CW2 lix; F. Grainger, "Agriculture in Cumberland in Ancient Times", CW2 ix; J. D. Marshall, *Old Lakeland*, (Newton Abbot, 1971), ch. 2.
- <sup>2</sup> For example, W. Camden on his tour of Cumberland noted: "Here every way round about in the wasts as they tearme them . . . . you may see as it were the ancient Nomades. a martiall kinde of men, who from the moneth of Aprill unto August, lye out scattering and summering (as they tearme it) with their cattell in little cottages here and there which they call Sheales and Shealings." *Brittania* (London, 1600), 720.
- <sup>3</sup> Lumb, W., *Books of Surveys and Valuations with plans by . . . . .*, no date, c. 1820, D/Lons/Surveys, Lowther, 26 and 27, Carlisle Record Office (afterwards C.R.O.).
- <sup>4</sup> Lumb, W., *op. cit.*, Book 26, under Bampton Grange (now Bampton Hall) and Oldfield.
- <sup>5</sup> Lumb, W., *op. cit.*, Book 27, p. 46. The tenant at this time was John Walker and the farm was adjacent to Walkers Wood. It is known simply as Low Moor but it is probably one and the same with Walkers Low Moor.
- <sup>6</sup> Lumb, W., *op. cit.*, Book 26, under Crackenthorpe.
- <sup>7</sup> Bailey, J. and Culley, G., *General View of the Agriculture of Cumberland*, (London, 1794), 12.
- <sup>8</sup> Dickson, R. W., *General View of the Agriculture of Lancashire*, (London, 1814), 96-97. See also Harvey, N., *A History of Farm Buildings in England and Wales*, (Newton Abbot, 1970), 76.
- <sup>9</sup> See, for example, Henry Home, Lord Kames in *The Gentleman Farmer*, (Edinburgh, 1776).
- <sup>10</sup> Estate plans, Millom, 1809, D/Lons/W., C.R.O. for Whitbeck Farm.
- <sup>11</sup> Estate plans, Moresby, Distington, 1810, D/Lons/W., C.R.O. for Frizzington Hall Farm.
- <sup>12</sup> Bundle of letters relating to Rogersceugh. D/Lons/L., C.R.O. In these letters it is made clear that the Lowther family as landlords were liable for the repair and renewal of buildings. This was in contrast to the custom of tenant right where in certain areas both the tenant and owner were liable for particular repairs. See Bailey and Culley, *op. cit.*, 208.
- <sup>13</sup> Letter to William Armitage, Lowther, from Thomas Hodgson, 7 September 1742, relating to repairs at Rogersceugh. D/Lons/L., C.R.O.
- <sup>14</sup> Letter to William Armitage, Lowther, from Henry Lowther, 16 October 1742, D/Lons/L., C.R.O.
- <sup>15</sup> See Brunskill, R. W., "The Clay Houses of Cumberland", *Trans. Ancient Monuments Soc.*, Vol. 10, 1962, 57-80.
- <sup>16</sup> Bailey, J. and Culley, G., *op. cit.*, 12.
- <sup>17</sup> Rogersceugh Estate, no date, 18th century, no scale. The plan is pre-1765 as a plan of that date shows what had been the outer ditch as being an inner field boundary, D/Lons/L., C.R.O.
- <sup>18</sup> Plan of Rogersceugh Estate, 1765, C.R.O.
- <sup>19</sup> Dickinson, W., "The Farming of Cumberland", *Jnl., Royal Agric. Soc. of Eng.*, 1st Series, Vol. 13, 1852, 290.
- <sup>20</sup> Dickinson, W., *op. cit.*, 290.
- <sup>21</sup> Lumb, W., *op. cit.*, Book 26.
- <sup>22</sup> Williams, W. M., "The Farmhouses of South-West Cumberland; a preliminary survey", CW2 liv 249 and 253.
- <sup>23</sup> Williams, W. M., *op. cit.*, 250.
- <sup>24</sup> Lumb, W., *op. cit.*, Book 26.
- <sup>25</sup> Estate plans, Moresby, Distington, 1810, D/Lons/W., C.R.O.
- <sup>26</sup> Lumb, W., *op. cit.*, Book 27.
- <sup>27</sup> Letter to William Armitage, see note 14.

- <sup>28</sup> Grandstand. Harras Moor. proposed new farm. D/Lons/W. Harras, no date, 19th century, C.R.O.
- <sup>29</sup> Architectural drawings; plan and elevation for farmhouse at Walkers Low Moor, no date, watermark 1797. Plan and elevation for farmhouse at Dallan Bank, no date, c. 1797, D/Lons/2 catalogue, D/Lons/L., C.R.O.
- <sup>30</sup> For examples see the author's unpublished M.A. thesis "Farm Buildings of West Cumberland; with particular reference to the Vale of Lorton, Loweswater and the valley of the Derwent below Cockermouth." University of Manchester, 1973. Particularly Miresyke, Loweswater (NY 122 225) "The Bank Barn itself has no threshing floor and no winnowing door indicating that it was merely a loft which was later heightened," p. 56, and also Harker Marsh Farm, Broughton Moor (NY 062 343), p. 72.
- <sup>31</sup> Messenger, P., *op. cit.*, 71-72.
- <sup>32</sup> *Ibid.*, 72-73.
- <sup>33</sup> Alterations to farm buildings near Mr Lumb's house, no date, 19th century, D/Lons/2, Lowther, C.R.O.
- <sup>34</sup> For other examples see Briggs, M. S., *The English Farmhouse*, (London, 1953), 201-210.
- <sup>35</sup> For an account of the association between Robert Adam and the Lowthers see Brunskill, R. W., "Lowther Village and Robert Adam", *Trans. Ancient Monuments Soc.*, Vol. 14, 57-73. Also Smith, R. C., "Robert Adam's drawings for Appleby", CW2 lxii 305-316.
- <sup>36</sup> Plans by Adam and Gandon are to be found in a portfolio entitled "Plans and Elevations of Lowther Hall". D/Lons/2, Lowther, C.R.O.
- <sup>37</sup> Briggs, M. S., *op. cit.*, 202.
- <sup>38</sup> Bailey, J. and Culley, G., *op. cit.*, 205.
- <sup>39</sup> Jones, G. P., "The Decline of the Yeomanry in the Lake Counties", CW2 lxii, 198-221.
- <sup>40</sup> Bailey, J. and Culley, G., *op. cit.*, 205.
- <sup>41</sup> *Ibid.*, 208.
- <sup>42</sup> Grainger, F., "Agriculture in Cumberland in Ancient Times", CW2 ix 155.
- <sup>43</sup> For example, see Young, A., *The Farmers Guide in Hiring and Stocking Farms . . . . . Also Plans of Farmyards and Sections of the Necessary Buildings*, (London, 1770), or Plaw, J., *Ferme Ornée; or Rural Improvements*, (London, 1880).
- <sup>44</sup> Bailey, J. and Culley, G., *op. cit.*, 222.
- <sup>45</sup> Rowley, J. J., "The Farming of Derbyshire", *Jnl. Royal Agric. Soc. of Eng.*, 1st Series, Vol. 14, 1853, 63.