

ART. XIII – *The cattle trading activities of Sir Daniel Fleming of Rydal Hall, 1656-1700.*  
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SIR Daniel Fleming (1633-1701) of Rydal Hall is widely regarded as a notable antiquary who generated, collected and preserved records about a wide range of county, family and estate affairs. For local historians, Fleming's two account books, covering June 1656 to May 1688 and June 1688 to March 1700/1 respectively, offer a most informative insight into his life and local interests.<sup>1</sup> As the Revd Bryan Fell had transcribed the smaller second volume in the early 1970s, the Society published it in 2001 with generous help from Dr Terence Fahy's bequest.<sup>2</sup> This should stimulate studies into many aspects of Cumbrian history by giving easier access to appropriate information before the tedious writing and arrangement of Fleming's first volume (still in manuscript) is explored to expand a topic. Using the same approach, this article will examine Sir Daniel's trade in cattle, especially oxen for beef, in the late seventeenth century. The information might not be typical of other individuals or of the region, but its continuity and detail should help other researchers to interpret less coherent sources.

#### **Fleming's cattle buying 1688-1700**

A fairly typical entry in Fleming's accounts was made on (Tuesday) 24 July 1688 when eleven oxen were bought at Ravenglass Fair at an average price of £2 15s. 0<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub>d. The name and location of each vendor is stated (Table 1). In addition, the expenses were itemised and included 1s. 6d. "spent for Himself [Fleming's son Daniel] & Horse", a market toll of 2d. per beast, 6d. for driving them, 11d. for one night's grass (1d. per beast) and 2s. "given in the House at Dalegarth" presumably as tips to the servants. The oxen were probably bought fairly early in the day, so that they could be driven about six miles before resting overnight in Eskdale near Dalegarth Hall (NY 169 001) which belonged to the Stanley family. In 1688 it was the home of Edward Stanley (1639-1714), Cumberland's High Sheriff that year.<sup>3</sup> The next day the stock would have been driven about fourteen more miles over Hardknott and Wrynose passes, down Little Langdale to Rydal, presumably using the road on the west bank of the river Rothay to avoid Ambleside.

The date of the fair agrees with Nicolson and Burn, who stated that Ravenglass Fair was "on the eve, day and morrow of St James". They also reported that "all the tenants of the forest of Copeland owe a customary service to meet the lord's officer at Ravenglass to proclaim the fair" and remain while it continued.<sup>4</sup> As the Feast of St James the Great is 25 July,<sup>5</sup> Fleming's transaction was on the eve of the feast. Parson & White's *Directory* (1829) does not mention this July Fair, noting only a small market each Friday, a fair for cattle on 6 May and fairs for horses and cattle on 8 June and 5 August, with horse races and "rural diversions" on the last date as if that might have replaced the St James Fair.<sup>6</sup>

Similarly informative visits were made to Ravenglass on 24 July in 1691, 1693 and 1699 and details of purchases are given in Table 1. On 24 July 1696 we are told

TABLE 1. Named Cattle Vendors at Ravenglass Fair 1688-1700

Date 16..	Vendor's Name	Place	Number of		Price		
			Oxen	Other	£	s.	d.
24.7.88	Will. Redhead	Kirkby	2		6	8	6
	Roger Thompson	Irton	2		4	17	6
	Will. Cook	Grange, St. John's ph.	2		5	15	0
	Nicholas Porter	Usthwait, Irton	3		7	2	0
	Rich. Myers	Whitcham	2		6	2	6
28.5.91	Jane Sherwin	Gosforth		2 stots*	4	6	8
	Jo. Johnson	Muncaster		1 "	2	5	6
	Joseph Wilson	Muncaster	2	"	3	19	6
	Tho. Curwen	Beckermet	2	"	4	6	8
	Will. Benson	Waberthwait	1	"	2	3	4
	Tho. Moncaster	Whitcham	2	"	4	3	0
	Jo. Hutchinson	Halebank	2	"	4	16	6
	Rob. Cook	Bogghouse in Millum		1 "	2	6	8
	24.7.91	Will. Johnson	Whitcham	1		2	4
Jo. Woodall		Gosforth	1		2	1	0
Roger Thompson		Irton	1		2	5	0
Rob. Punsonby			2		4	19	0
Nicholas Bragg		Punsonby	2		4	10	0
Jos. Nicholson		Ravenglass	2		4	8	0
Tho. Harrison		Coniston	2		4	15	0
29.5.93		Serjeant Beeby		3		7	8
	Jo. Brockbank	Whitbeck	2		7	12	0
24.7.93	Mr Lanc. Senhouse		4		16	0	0
	Jo. Green		2		7	17	0
	William Nicholson	St. Bees	1		4	15	0
28.5.94	Nicholas Bragg	Stevney	2		7	10	0
	Rich. Mirehouse	Whitcham	1		3	12	0
	Tho. Hartley	Eskdale		1 bull	2	0	6
	Jo. Jackson	Broughton	4		15	11	0
	Rich. Jackson	Waberthwait		1 bull	2	17	0
28.5.95	Jo. Jackson	Broughton	4		13	5	0
	Will. Dodgson	[Manch Oxen]	2		5	8	0
	Jo. Green			1 cow	2	14	0
	Jo. Woodall	Gosforth		1 bull	2	19	0
24.7.99	Mr Lancelot Senhouse		1		3	5	6
	Jo. Walker	Hall-Santon	2		6	6	8
	Will. Townson	Swainsed	1		3	0	0
28.5.1700	Will. Cook	Grange	2		7	12	0
	Jo. Walker	Sandbank	2		6	15	0
	Jo. Dawson	Whitbeck	2		7	10	0
	Jo. Brockbank	Whitbeck	2		6	0	0
	Mr Anthony Benn	Scaremire	2		6	6	0
	Rob. Pooe	Seascale	2		5	15	0
	Jos. Walker	Drigg	2		6	7	0
	Jo. Singleton	Corney		1 bull	2	0	0

Notes: \*Stot: A steer, young castrated ox.

Vendors were not named for sales on 28.5.92, 23.7.92 and 24.7.96

only that £17 8s. was paid “for 2 Bull Seggs £5 1s. 0d., for 2 Manch Oxen £4 17s. 0d. and a pair of large Oxen £7 10s. 0d.”, an average of £2 18s., with large size making 50 per cent more per beast.<sup>7</sup> In 1692 the fair was brought forward a day to avoid Sunday trading so that, on Saturday 23 July, Fleming’s son Daniel<sup>8</sup> bought ten oxen from six unnamed vendors for £29 12s. (av. £2 19s. 2<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub>d.). Expenses were 10s. 2d. including 1s. 8d. in tolls, 2s. at Dalegarth and 4s. 10d. “to Tho. Roberts” for helping. Usually Roberts was paid a shilling a day “for his pains”, probably for his skill in buying and driving cattle.<sup>9</sup>

Other visits to Ravenglass were made on 28 May in 1691, 1694, 1695 and 1700, and on Monday 29 May 1693 to avoid Sunday trading. Again the date does not match those in the nineteenth-century directories but is confirmed in Fleming’s *Description of Cumberland*, written in 1671.<sup>10</sup> Thus, on 14 June 1692, when he belatedly noted buying six oxen there from three unnamed vendors for £14 1s. 6d. and a stot<sup>11</sup> for £1 17s. 6d., the fair was surely held on Saturday 28 May. Expenses were “Toll for 7 Oxen 1s., Spent by Tho. Roberts & Himselfe [Daniel Fleming junior] 8d., Paid Tom R for 2 nights Expences 1s. & for 2 dayes being from home 2s.”.

The suggested date gains support from the preceding item for gifts given at Calder Abbey on 28 May and by the succeeding entry noting that sixteen oxen were bought at Cockermouth on (Wednesday) 1 June 1692 for £48 19s. 8d. (av. £3 1s. 2<sup>3</sup>/<sub>4</sub>d.) from unnamed vendors. For his own benefit Fleming added “see note of whom they all were bought”, surely referring to his son’s detailed voucher. Cattle fairs were held there “in the wide street between Cocker and Derwent bridges” on the Wednesday next after May Day and then every fortnight until Michaelmas.<sup>12</sup> Expenses of 7s. 10d. at the third fair of the year included 1s. 4d. for the “Toll of 16 Oxen” (half the rate charged at Ravenglass) and 6d. for “a Driver from Keswick”. This suggests that young Daniel drove them that far (with Tom Roberts) and then paid someone to help take them to Rydal while he stayed on at Fleming’s Monkhall property. Thus the journey was made in two parts of about ten and fifteen miles.

### **Cattle sales in 1692**

Fortunately all three purchases of 1692 have unusual and pertinent marginal notes on the fate of the 33 oxen. The two dearest oxen of 28 May from Ravenglass (av. £2 19s. 9d.) went for “Beif”, presumably for use at Rydal Hall, where they could be processed in a slaughter house built in 1671 behind the corn barn.<sup>13</sup> The other five from those Ravenglass oxen (av. cost £1 19s. 11d.), plus ten Cockermouth oxen (av. £2 17s. 2d.) were sold on 7 September 1692. The other six Cockermouth beasts (av. £3 8s. 6d.) were sold on 29 June after only four weeks, probably fattening on the early summer flush of grass. By contrast, the cheaper stock took more than three months to reach saleable quality. Of the ten Ravenglass animals bought on 23 July 1692, four (av. cost £3 1s. 6d.) went for “Beif” and six (av. cost £2 17s. 8d.) were sold on 7 September with the fifteen noted above. The receipts will be considered shortly.

These figures suggest that about 82 per cent of the 1692 oxen were sold and 18 per cent (six beasts) were eaten at Rydal but, without comparable details, the proportions might differ from other years. If stock died, individual skins would

probably be sold quickly to avoid decay. Thus on 22 April 1700 Fleming's son Richard received 4s. 6d. for "an Oxe skin that dyed" (*sic*). Selling hides provided a useful extra source of income as, on 19 October 1688, when Fleming was paid 13s. 4d. by "Will. Satturthwaite, Tanner, for a Bull-Hide".

On 27 June 1690 this tanner was described as "of Colthouse" near Hawkshead. On 18 June 1689, he paid £8 "for 9 Oxe-hides and for 3 Cow-hides had the last year" (av. 13s. 4d.). Clearly the bull hide was not one of those, suggesting that the other twelve were bought by a contract that would ensure an outlet for a planned number of hides per year at a pre-arranged price. These probably came from cattle slaughtered to provide beef for the Rydal Hall household which comprised Fleming, thirteen surviving children, many guests, thirteen servants, plus other workers whose food was part of their wages. Some of the beef probably came from old cattle of Sir Daniel's own herd. The suggested consumption of about one beast a month was supplemented by regular purchases of quarters and sides of mutton and veal from the weekly markets at Hawkshead (on Mondays) and Ambleside (on Wednesdays).<sup>14</sup>

Fleming's receipts for 1692 note that "six Oxen (which were bought at Cockermouth June 1. 92) . . . [were] sold at Ambleside June 29. 92 by my son Dan F. unto Geo. Aray of Strickland". They fetched £23, which was received on "July 15. 92 of my cosin Jo. Browham".<sup>15</sup> Two days earlier, a shilling was given back to George Aray for "the six Oxen" no doubt as "luck" money for good will. As John Brougham lived at New Hall, Staveley,<sup>16</sup> Aray probably lived close by at Strickland Ketel and gave him the money knowing that, as the High Constable of Kendal Ward,<sup>17</sup> Brougham would soon meet Fleming on official or family business. As these six oxen had cost £20 8s. 0d., plus 2s. 11d. for a proportion of the 7s. 10d. sundry purchase costs and about 2s. for sale costs (see below), the crude profit would be about 47s., or 11.4 per cent for just four weeks grazing. However, Fleming usually charged local inhabitants 6d. per head per week for grazing their cattle and drovers 2d. a night for theirs. If these alternative sources of income are subtracted as the actual cost of grazing, the net profit on the six oxen would be reduced by 12s. or 28s. respectively, yielding a more modest profit of between 35s. and 19s. (between 8.5 per cent and 4.6 per cent).

The marginal notes record that 21 Ravensglass and Cockermouth oxen were sold on 7 September. On 31 October Fleming refunded to his son Daniel 2s. "spent when he sold the Oxen . . . at A. Sept. 7", and paid 1s. to "Tho. Roberts for helping 2 dayes". A receipt for 19 December 1692 notes £38 paid by "Jo. Askew in full for 11 Oxen sold unto him at Ambleside Fair Sept 7.92 . . . (besides 10s. given back)".<sup>18</sup> This "luck" money cut the average price of £3 10s. 0d. by 11d. The fate of the other ten oxen is not so clear, but the only payment that could apply to them was at Ambleside Fair on 18 October 1692, when Fleming received £32 10s. from "Rowland Scailes & Geo. Aray for 13 Oxen Sold to Jo. Askew", an average of £2 10s. This suggests that Askew's 24 oxen probably included three of Fleming's own breeding. The proportional sale value for the 21 bought-in oxen was about £61 13s. 9d. Table 2 offers a feasible trading account for these beasts. If the least profitable alternative income for grazing local cattle is included as an opportunity cost, it suggests a loss of £2 8s. 9d. This was therefore much less satisfactory as a business proposition than the six oxen sold on 29 June after ten weeks less grazing.

TABLE 2. Trading account for oxen sold at Ambleside on 7 September 1692.

Date Bought 1692	Place	Oxen Bought	Oxen Sold at Ambleside	Buying Price			Proportion of Buying Expenses				
				£	s.	d.	s.	d.	s.	d.	
28 May	Rav.	7	5	9	19	6	5/7 x 4	8	3	4	
1 June	Cock.	16	10	28	11	8	10/16 x 7	10	4	11	
23 July	Rav.	10	6	17	6	0	6/10 x 10	2	6	1	
			21	55	17	2			14	4	
Proportional buying expenses				0	14	4	Oxen sold to	£	s.	d.	
Selling expenses				0	3	0	Jo. Askew (13)	32	10	0	
Grazing 5 x 102 days @ 1d.				2	2	6	Jo. Askew (11)	38	0	0	
10 x 99 days @ 1d.				4	2	6					
6 x 46 days @ 1d.				1	3	0	24	70	10	0	
Estimated Total cost				64	2	6					
Estimated Selling price				61	13	9	(21/24 x £70 10s.)				
Apparent loss				2	8	9					

Two other sources of income from cattle are noted in three sums received at Ambleside Fair on 18 October 1692. He obtained £2 3s. 0d. “for a little cow that was Hobson’s Heriot”, a widow’s best beast forfeited to allow her to continue her husband’s customary tenancy. The other two were £9 4s. 0d. “for a pair of Oxen of my own breed sold to Rowl. Scailes” and £7 5s. 8d. “of Th[omas] Hudson for a pair of Oxen of my own breed”. Other receipts through Ambleside Fair included £10 16s. 6d. from “Will. Miller for 2 Oxen of my own breed” and £13 16s. 0d. from “Rowland Scailes for 3 Oxen of my own breed” on 18 October 1693. Previously, on 21 October 1689, he had received £9 “of my son Daniel for a pair of Oxen sold at Ambleside Fair Oct. 18. 89 to Rowland Scales”. This suggests that Fleming habitually sold the surplus oxen from his own herd at Ambleside on 18 October, St Luke’s Fair day (see note 18) and that Rowland Scales was an important buyer.

### Other sales 1688-1700

Rowland Scales was a yeoman farmer and drover of Gilthwaiterigg in Skelsmergh (SD 521 952). He must have been successful for, between 1695 and 1700 he bought at least 39 acres of additional farm land in Skelsmergh; at Red Bank Foot (over 22 a.), Hingriggs (5 a.) and Gibbon Housestead (12 a.).<sup>19</sup> He gave the last to his second son Jonathan in March 1704/5. He also bought several lots of Fleming’s bought-in oxen, for example he paid £54 for twenty at Ambleside (av £2 14s. 0d.) on 9 September 1691 and settled in three instalments by 9 December. On 16 September 1693 he purchased twelve more oxen at Kendal for £44 18s. 4d. (av. £3 16s. 6d.) paying in three instalments there, at Hawkshead (on 21 September) and Ambleside (18 October). Then with Joseph Airay, on 11 September 1700, he bought ten oxen for £38 18s. 7d. (av. £3 17s. 10d.) and settled with a second instalment on 28 October. On 17 May 1688, a receipt for £9 15s. 0d. for four oxen sold at Kendal on 28 October 1687 states that Joseph Airay was from “Plumgards” (Strickland Ketel).<sup>20</sup>

Other buyers included Roger Whinfield who bought ten oxen, paying a first instalment of £20 (due on 20 May 1688) on 12 June 1689 with a further £21 and 22s. in February 1692 and then a final £1 “besides 10s. given back” on 26 July 1692. Although Sir Daniel sold him a cow the following day for £2 10s. 0d. (paid for on 2 September), Fleming probably believed he was unreliable and had no later dealings with him. Earlier, at Ambleside on 21 May 1684, Sir Daniel bought 5 Oxen from Roger “Whinfield” for £12 and, on 26 May 1693, bought two oxen from a Will. Whinfield of Torver for £4 16s. 8d. at Hawkshead. Perhaps Roger and William were related because, on 5 December 1671, a Roger Whinfield with Anthony Atkinson paid Fleming £1 at Coniston for their general and alienation fines “for Land called Ellismyre at the Bankend in Torver”.<sup>21</sup>

Another buyer was a Thomas Tickle, who bought two oxen at Kendal on 26 May 1688 and paid £13 in full for them on 25 April 1690. He can be identified from entries in 1684-6. On 20 September 1684 he paid 2s. 6d. “earnest for 40 Oxen” to seal a deal. On 14 October 1684 he not only paid £15 for three more oxen, but “Tho. Tickle of Rainford in Lancashire”<sup>22</sup> paid £31 more ‘in part of his bill for 40 Oxen’ and, on 19 December, paid £99 17s. 6d. “the last part of his bill” for them. The total of £130 18s. averaged £3 5s. 5½d. per beast. The following year on 12 September, Tickle bought forty more oxen, gave 2s. 6d. earnest, paid £79 17s. 0d. on 1 January 1685/6 and gave Sir Daniel’s son Daniel £38 0s. 6d. as the “last part” on 26 April 1686, making £118 (av. £2 19s. 0d.). A clue that Tickle was a cattle drover was given on 18 May 1675 when he paid Fleming 5s. 4d. “for 32 Beasts grass one night at 2d. per Beast”. By comparison, local people paid about half as much. Thus “James Benson o’th”Tarnfoot for 5 Oxen in the fogg a fourth night” paid 6s.; and also 8s. “for 2 oxen a moneth & 4 oxen a fourthnight grasse the last summer in the Parke at 6d. per weeke”.<sup>23</sup> Both rates were a useful source of income from cattle and reflect Fleming’s payments for overnight grass at Dalegarth.

The impression given by the sales entries is that Ambleside was by far the dominant outlet with Kendal next in importance. No beasts were sold at Cockermouth or Ravenglass. Hawkshead was a minor outlet, accounting for just one cow, sold for £2 14s. on 21 September 1692, whereas, during the 1690s Fleming bought two or three cattle there in most years. They totalled ten oxen (for £33 2s. 8d.), four bulls (for £10 14s. 4d.) and four cows (for £11). This indicates a clear sense of direction in cattle movement with Fleming buying at relatively remote fairs and selling to dealers like Thomas Tickle with outlets in the Lancashire towns. They probably preferred to penetrate Cumbria no further than Kendal or Ambleside to avoid the poor roads in the mountains or the hazardous over-sands route. Sir Daniel was shrewd enough to understand his advantageous position and try to profit from it.

### **Rydal cattle trading 1656-1676**

To develop this study, details in Sir Daniel’s first account book provide evidence which extends the coverage to 45 years from June 1656. It has already revealed the identity of Thomas Tickle, Joseph Ayray and Roger Whinfield. After 1674 the detail is as informative as in its successor but until then cattle trade entries are fewer and usually less helpful.



On 28 October 1656, a receipt for £10 5s. mentions “two great oxen which were bought of Mrs Halton & were sold att Kendale”.<sup>24</sup> They would have been bought before the accounts began. Also Ravenglass had been visited. On 29 December 1656, Fleming received 18s. “For one of the oxen skins (. . . bought by Jo: Banckes at Ravenglass) sold at Kendal” and, on 7 January 1656/7 he paid £7 “for two oxen bought by William Jackson at Beckermouth for me” as if Jackson was buying on instructions, probably at Ravenglass. A man who drove them to Rydal was paid 3s.<sup>25</sup>

John Bancks (Fleming’s steward)<sup>26</sup> visited other markets. On 12 July 1658 he went to Rosley Fair and bought 12 “beasts” for £22 19s. 6d. and a heifer for £1 12s. Expenses were 2s. 6d. and tolls just 1s. This was the only recorded visit to Rosley. At Cockermouth, on 1 June 1659, six oxen were bought for £20 4s. 6d. but there are no details. On 28 October 1659, Bancks was refunded his expenses of 1s. 2d., 7d. for tolls and £16 19s. 10d. for seven cattle bought at Kendal. Although no vendors were named, the beasts were actually described as two “young blacke stotts”, a “heiffer”, a “red stear and his fellow”, a “blacke small-horn’d stear” and a “blacke thick-horn’d stear”. Bancks sold a cow at Kendal on 19 May 1660 for £3 10s. 4d. and received 8s. “for one of the stotts skin (which was bought att Kendal the last year &) which broak his neck”.

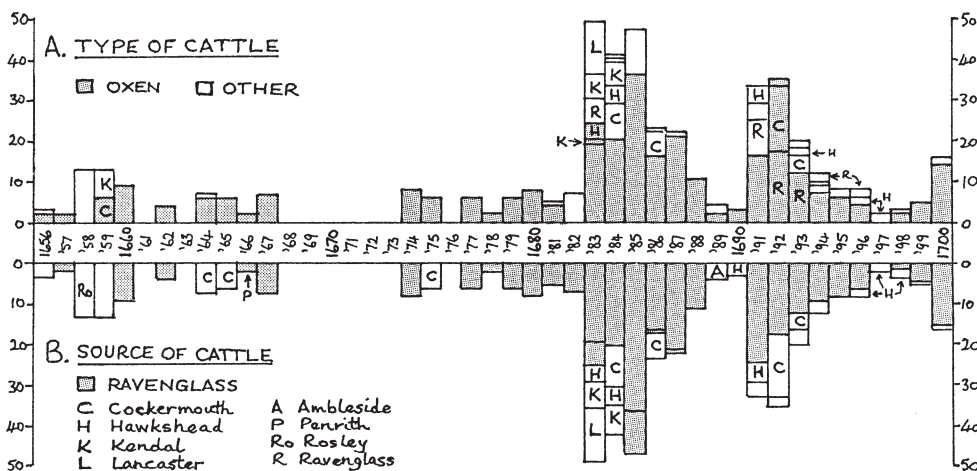


FIG. 1. Yearly numbers of cattle bought by Sir Daniel Fleming 1656-1700: A. Type of cattle; B. Market source.

Bancks was back at Ravenglass Fair again on 23 July 1660, when two named vendors were paid £30 11s., for nine oxen. Expenses included 2s. 6d. for a day and a night, 6d. “for a fould to putt them into in the faire”, the usual toll of 2d. a beast and 1s. 6d. for a night’s grass while returning. On 24 July 1662 named vendors sold him two pairs of oxen there for £16 2s. 0d. (Appendix I). Fleming’s brother William bought seven oxen there in 1667 “for beef” for £11 19s. 0d. including expenses. At Cockermouth, on 15 June 1664, named vendors sold six oxen for £21 4s. 2d., plus “a bull of Eggesfeild Tenants” for £2 0s. 6d. Six more oxen were bought there from John Bacon on 10 October 1665 for about £23. Penrith was referred to on only one occasion when two oxen were bought for £6 6s. on 30 January 1665/6 perhaps to

supplement the ploughing teams or to provide fresh meat in mid-winter. Compared to the later buying pattern, this evidence suggests a much less specific preference for a particular fair and far fewer animals being bought (Fig. 1).

Likewise, fewer sales of beasts were noted and instructive details are scarce. At Hawkshead, on 21 September 1664, Christopher Askew of Broughton bought “3 Yoak of Oxen” for £25 5s. He also bought “a pair of stots” on 4 November for £6 8s. 6d., but a more typical not very helpful entry, on 28 November 1669, records Fleming receiving £16 0s. 8d. for “2 pair of oxen sold at Kendall”.

### Sales of hides

To judge from sales of hides, many other animals must have died or been used for beef. The skins from animals that died were probably sold soon afterwards to avoid deterioration and they would account for many small sales. For example, in a sample two-year period beginning on 27 November 1669, sales of single hides included:

TABLE 3. Sales of single hides from Rydal, 1669-71.

Date	Cattle hides	Price (ranked order)	
		s.	d.
31 Jul. 70	“a Bull skin sold at Kendal yesterday”	12	6
5 Jul. 70	“oxe skin (that dyed) sold at K. last Saturday”	9	6
19 Mar. 69/70	“for an Heffers skin that dyed”	8	6
24 Aug. 71	“for an oxe skin that dyed lately”	7	0
27 Nov. 69	“for a Cow skin that dyed”	6	8
21 Apr. 70	“a Cow skin that dyed”	5	6
20 Feb. 70/1	“for an Heffers skin that dyed”	5	0
13 Jul. 71	“Heffers skin that dyed, sold to Jo. Stainton”	4	3
26 Mar. 71	“for a stears skin that dyed”	4	0
13 Jul. 70	“for a little stirk skin that dyed”	1	6
<b>Horse hides</b>			
21 Nov. 71	“for the black horse skin that dyed”	4	0
4 Oct. 71	“for the old gray mare skin”	3	0
16 Oct. 71	“for the Dun-mare skin that dyed”	3	0
16 Oct. 71	“for another mares skin that dyed”	3	0
24 Oct. 71	“for a mairs skin that dyed”	3	0
21 May 70	“for the old Mares skin”	1	6

Cattle hides on average earned more than twice as much as those of horses, but their prices varied considerably, apparently with size as a key factor. Except for a heifer, the prices suggest that the bull was largest, followed by oxen, then cows, younger heifers and a steer, with a little stirk far behind. Hide quality would be important. Animals dying of disease were probably in poor condition beforehand and their skins would fetch less. As only the 1670 bull was not said to have “dyed”, it may have been slaughtered for meat and would be large and in good condition. Similarly, a store beast breaking its neck (as noted in 1660) might well have been in prime condition and its hide earned the relatively good price of 8s. 0d. On 5 November



1675, the skin of “a great Oxe . . . that was poisoned” fetched 16s. 6d. so was large and had probably been in good condition.

Other hides were sold by contract. For example on 5 April 1658, £5 1s. was paid by an unnamed “Tanner of Torver for 10 Beast-skins at 10s. p. skin wch hee had this last year & 1s. in earnest” to seal the contract. On 4 April 1659, £6 16s. 6d. was received “of John Atkinson (Tanner of Torver) in full for 13 beast skins at 10s. 0<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub>d. per skin”. Before 6 June 1661, Atkinson paid Bancks £8 towards “10 Oxen skins sold him last year at £1 4s. 6d. per skin”, a remarkably high price, surely for large beasts in prime condition. On 1 June 1664, £4 was paid by “Will. Atkinson of Torver in part for the Oxe skins last year”; and he paid £8 9s. 0d. on 8 October 1666 “in full for 9 oxe-skins (besides 12d. given him back)”. By 10 November 1668, he must have had difficulty paying, since Fleming noted the receipt of 6s. as “consideration” for £10, as if he was treating a debt as a loan. If he charged 4<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub> per cent interest, this would account for a delay of eight months. Atkinson was last mentioned on 22 February 1669/70 when he paid £7 10s. “for 8 oxe, 1 cow and 1 Bull skins at 15s. a piece”. These prices were far better than for most casual sales and probably arose from the planned slaughter of between ten and thirteen animals a year to supply meat for the Rydal household (see note 14). Such a scheme puts into context a 1663 entry noting that Great Will (an estate worker) was paid a shilling “for feeding the fat oxe”. It would seem that the practice of buying oxen to fatten on the summer grass before selling them in the autumn had not yet developed.

The continuation of selling hides by contract needs to be pursued. In 1667 another tanner started buying similar numbers of hides by contracts agreed in autumn. On 28 September 1667, 1s. was received “of Ro. Walker in part for my beast skins” and on 8 November £4 9s. was paid by “Robert Walker of Sigswick being in full for the Beast Skins this year”.<sup>27</sup> On 30 October 1668 he paid £6 11s. 4d. “in full for 6 oxe, 4 coves and 1 bull skin (with 1s. given him back)” and in 1669 paid £1 15s. “for 2 oxe skins and 1 cow skin”. On 28 September 1670, Miles Walker of “Siggewick” agreed to pay £8 15s. for “7 Oxe skins & 5 cow skins for this year” paid in three parts; 1s. as earnest on 11 October, £4 7s. on 31 October 1670 and £4 7s. on 28 September 1671, paid by Miles Walker “in full of beast skins sold the last year unto Robert Walker his brother”. Miles also paid 6d. “earnest for 7 oxe-skins & 5 cow-skins for this year (he being to give £8 10s. 0d. more for them)”. Similar arrangements continued until October 1675, when William Walker “of Siggewick” tanner paid 2s. 6d. earnest and made the total £9 with two further payments.

In 1680 another tanner took over briefly. On 6 September 1680 Robert Nicholson paid 1s. earnest towards £9 “for my Beast skins” and settled with three further payments on 15 January, 15 June and 29 September 1681. His next contract was for £8 15s. in instalments of £5, paid via “Mr James Simpson”,<sup>28</sup> on 6 May 1682, £3 paid by Nicholson on 11 July and finally 14s. on 13 January 1682/3 “from Robert Nicholsons widdow the last part for my Hides Ao 81”. Robert Nicholson of Skelsmergh had been buried at Holy Trinity, Kendal on 7 August 1682. In 1674 he had become the customary tenant of Spout Tenement, immediately north-west of Christopher Dennison’s Red Tree farm in Garth Row, Skelsmergh (SD 529 973). They used both holdings as tanneries.<sup>29</sup> Nicholson’s death caused Fleming, on 6

October 1682, to contract with Richard Robinson, a tanner of Troutbeck, for “14 Hides at 12s. 6d. a piece”. This £8 15s. 0d. was settled in two instalments, on 26 December 1682 and 9 April 1683. By 28 November 1683, £5 was paid by “Will. Saturthwait of Colthouse more in part of 13 Hides”. Clearly, he had paid at least a deposit and continued to buy hides by contract till 1692. On 29 December 1693 Robert Kilner started paying similar yearly amounts for unstated numbers of hides until the accounts ended.

### **Cattle buying 1677-1688**

It is possible that John Bancks’s purchase of so many cattle up to 1660 (outlined above) influenced the need to rebuild and enlarge the Rydal Low Park barn to hold 44 head of stock in 1659.<sup>30</sup> As sales do not appear to have increased, the Rydal herd probably grew and was then maintained by buying very few cattle, rarely more than four a year despite a death rate from age, disease and accidents of up to ten beasts a year and the slaughter of about a dozen more per year for meat. Home-bred stock would make up the difference. Irregular visits to Ravenglass changed to annual from 1677. From 1683 buying there increased greatly and was boosted by visits to Cockermouth, Hawkshead, Kendal and Lancaster (Appendix II). Figure 1 highlights a sharp rise to a total of 49 beasts bought in 1683 of which 25 were from Ravenglass including 19 oxen. In 1684 that source provided 20 out of 42 beasts. In 1685, all 47 beasts were from there including 36 oxen, while in 1686 a bull and 16 oxen out of a total of 23 beasts were from there as were all 22 cattle in 1687. After a three-year lull, Ravenglass yielded 24 out of 33 beasts in 1691, 17 out of 35 in 1692, 12 out of 20 in 1693 and 9 out of 12 in 1694, before declining to the pre-1683 level.

This decade of activity was probably associated with Fleming’s son Daniel. While still aged 21, he first appeared in the accounts in a cattle context on 28 May 1682 “when he went to Dalegarth and so to Ravenglass Fair to buy bores”. The next day he and John Bancks paid £23 18s. 8d. for a cow and six runts. In 1683 the pair went to Hawkshead Fair on 17 May, Kendal on 19th and Ravenglass on 28th. This was John Bancks’s last recorded cattle-buying visit before he retired in 1685. They were accompanied by John Brougham (Fleming’s first cousin) and cattleman Thomas Roberts. Roberts and Daniel attended Lancaster Fair on 28 September 1683 and bought four heifers, four steers and three stots for £23 16s. On the way home they called at both Hornby and Kendal Fairs but bought no more beasts. All later purchases were made by Daniel sometimes with help from Roberts. As Bancks had already worked for the Flemings for about fifty years, he would be well over sixty and, no doubt, ready to hand over to a younger man once he had introduced him to cattle dealing. Numerous payments of £5 for Daniel’s “great care & pains about my business” suggest that his father found him almost indispensable in helping to run estate affairs (see note 8).

As consumption of beef at Rydal probably remained fairly constant, the increase in buying cattle from 1683 led to larger sales such as Thomas Tickle’s purchase of 95 oxen in 1684-86, with a payment for the last 12 being secured by a bond from “Edw. Cowderson, Tickle’s man”. Also, the first sale to Rowland Scales, of four oxen for £24 5s. was in 1686. The fate of a few beasts is recorded in the first account book by marginal notes against the fifteen cattle bought at Ravenglass on 28

May 1686. Both oxen bought from “my cosin Askew of Graymains”, Muncaster,<sup>31</sup> and a bull bought from Thomas Nicholson of “Holme rouch” (Drigg)<sup>32</sup> were used for “beif”. Seven oxen were sold, including a pair had from Richard Hodgson of Beckermet and a pair from William Allison of Drigg. However of three pairs of oxen bought from the same Thomas Nicholson, Henry Nicholson of Eskdale and William Danson of Broughton-in-Furness, one from each pair was sold and the other died. Of two oxen bought from William Troughton of Scale, Kirkby, at least one died on 18 September 1686. Since more than a quarter of the 15 beasts died, perhaps an unrecorded disease was responsible. Specific oxen buyers and prices were not recorded.

## Conclusions

Figure 1 illustrates how Fleming focussed his buying, particularly of oxen, on Ravenglass. From a total of 382 beasts, Ravenglass supplied 269 (70%), of which 224 (83%) were described as oxen. Another eight markets together supplied 113 beasts, of which 75 (66%) were oxen. At first this ensured meat supplies for Rydal Hall but also enlarged Fleming’s own herd. When his son Daniel took over cattle buying from John Bancks, the number of animals bought in 1683 alone was more than in the previous nine years put together. After three years the purchases halved and continued to decline until another, lower peak in 1691-2 before declining again. The reasons for this are not apparent but may reflect more than just market conditions. The marked reduction from 1686 to 1690 could have been a reaction of a strongly Anglican family to the political insecurity between the death of Charles II and James II’s defeat in Ireland. Alternatively, the high death rate recorded in 1686 could have greatly eroded both profits and confidence in the trade.

Most of Fleming’s surplus animals were sold at Ambleside or Kendal so that, as a middleman, he became an integral part of a distinct trading pattern which created a flow of stock from the more remote parts of Cumbria to dealers who supplied markets further south. On the available evidence, Sir Daniel’s cattle trading was capable of creating a small profit margin when animals were fed on the early summer flush of grass and sold quickly; but a slow turn-round or a high death rate (as in 1686) could soon create a significant loss. On the other hand, a limited compensatory income could be obtained from contract and casual sales of hides at variable prices. Profit from the long-term agistment of local inhabitants’ cattle could be boosted by the casual overnight accommodation of drovers’ stock at the higher charge of 2d. per head per night.

The accounts also indicate that the use of Ravenglass Fair gave a secondary benefit in that Fleming’s tenants of Beckermet could pay customary dues and transact other business there. For example, on 28 May 1677, Bancks allowed £3 10s. “at Ravenglass Fair unto Rich. Hodgson in part of his Debt”<sup>33</sup> and paid 10s. “to Rich. Gatescale Baylif [of Drigg] for 12 couple of salt killings”.<sup>34</sup> On 25 July 1686 Fleming’s son received £2 there from “Will. Gatescail of Drigg in [part] of his Fines”, which suggests that he had recently entered a customary tenement. On 28 May 1687, £3 5s. rent was paid there by “Will. Pearson for Beckermet Mill”. These and many other entries show how the inconvenience of managing a distant estate in West Cumberland was eased by meeting contacts at Ravenglass Fairs.

A most useful feature of Fleming's accounts is the large number of entries that give the vendor's name and farm or parish, especially for Ravenglass transactions. Such detail applies to 85 per cent of the 269 cattle bought there, so that the catchment area can be defined with confidence. From the total, 21.5 per cent came from the neighbouring parishes of Muncaster, Irton and Drigg, which compares with 27 per cent from Haile and the two Beckermets more than seven miles distant. This, coupled with the nearer parishes of Ponsonby, Gosforth, Waberthwaite, Corney and Bootle supplying only 6.7 per cent between them, suggests that Fleming probably preferred to buy from farmers he knew, including some of his Beckermets tenants. Four beasts from Cleator and one from Whitehaven were the most northerly purchases, probably because beyond there Cockerthwaite would become more accessible. To the south, Whitbeck and Whicham supplied 7.8 per cent.

In addition to this string of coastal plain parishes, the catchment area spread into the mountains and Furness, especially where routes over Birker Fell and Corney Fell provided adequate access from the Ulpha and Broughton areas respectively. However, while Eskdale accounted for only 2.2 per cent and the Duddon valley 2.6 per cent, Broughton-in-Furness and Kirkby Ireleth provided no less than 10.8 per cent of the oxen sold through Ravenglass. The two oxen sold by Thomas Harrison of Coniston and the purchase of seven others by Sir Daniel's brother William Fleming of Coniston Hall indicate that the Walna Scar-Upper Eskdale route could extend the sphere of influence still further, even though Hawkshead was more convenient.

Although it has not been feasible to include all the details about Sir Daniel Fleming's cattle trading, enough has been exposed about the organisation to inform comparative studies from other sources. These might reveal different trade patterns and help to fill out a more complex regional model that would result when each trader had individual preferences for different sources, outlets, methods and expectations.

#### APPENDIX 1. Cattle Purchases at Ravenglass Fair 1660-1688.

Date 16..	Vendor's Name	Place	Number of		Price		
			Oxen	Other	£	s.	d.
23.7.60	Jo. Bragg	Hayl banck, Lt. Beckermouth	6		19	10	0
	Mrs Curwen	Selley Park	3		11	1	0
24.7.62	Jo. Punsonby	Hale	2		8	10	0
	. . . Perry	Kirkby	2		7	12	0
24.7.74	Jo. Christerson	[ ]	4		12	9	0
	Will. Tyson	Irton	2		5	9	4
	John Mowson	Langrey Green	2		4	19	0
28.5.77	Will. Benson	Loan-end, Waberthwaite	2		8	1	0
	Jo. Bragg	Steavena [Beckermets]	2		7	2	0
	Rich. Hodgson	Beckermets	2		6	16	0
28.5.78	[ ]	[ ]	2		7	2	0
28.5.79	Will. Troughton	Brikbet [Muncaster ?]	2		7	5	0
	Jo. Sharp	Sellayfeild	2		6	15	0
	James Punsonby	Beckermets	2		6	16	0

Date 16..	Vendor's Name	Place	Number of		Price			
			Oxen	Other	£	s.	d.	
28.7.80	Jo. James	Breads Leyes, Hale	2		5	11	0	
	Richard Jackson	Dunnerdale	2		4	3	4	
28.7.80	Jo. Pickhow	Dunnerdale	2		5	0	0	
	Richard Gaitscale	Drigg (Baylif)	2		6	2	0	
28.5.81	Will. Muncaster	Arneby	2		6	13	4	
	Miles Wenington	[ ]	2		5	6	8	
	Tho Caddy	Parknook		cow	1	16	8	
29.5.82	Agnes Thompson	Mytehouse, Drigg		2 runts	7	0	0	
	Will. Smith	Mytebanck		cow & 2 runts	9	6	8	
	Tho. Curwen	Beckermet		2 runts	7	12	0	
28.5.83	Tho. Frears	Muncaster	2		5	8	0	
	Jo. Robinson	Kirkby-in-Furness	2		6	5	0	
	Will. Woodburne	Kirkby-in-Furness	1		2	14	0	
	Rich. Hodgson	Whitcham	2		6	5	0	
	Miles Brockbank	Whitcham	2		6	15	6	
	Robert Wilkinson	Priston-howes, Whitehaven	1		3	0	0	
	Hugh Postlethwaite	Whitcham	2		5	13	4	
	Jo. Pearson	Dick, Birkby, Muncaster	2		6	12	6	
	Robert Jackson	Whitbeck	1		2	4	0	
	Thos Moscrop	Irton (young steers)			10	16	8	
	Miles Vickers	Birkbeck		bull	1	13	4	
	Will. Nicholdson	St. Bees	2		5	6	6	
	23.6.83	Cosin Jo. Browham	[Staveley]	2		7	13	6
		[Brougham had bought these at Ravenglass 28.5.83]						
28.5.84	Christo. Kitchen	Bower House, Irton	2		5	7	6	
	Will. Cook	Yottenfews, St. Bridgets ph.	4		12	1	0	
	Jo. Stilling	Broughton-in-Kirkby	2		6	13	4	
	Joseph Barn ?	Cleter Row	4		12	9	0	
	Jo. Cowpland	Newton, Muncaster	3		9	6	8	
28.5.85	Mr Ja. Askew	[ ]	2		6	17	6	
	William Stevenson	[ ]		stot	2	19	0	
	Jeffrey Benson	Ladyhall		stot	2	7	0	
	Will. Bateman	[ ]	2		5	0	0	
	Tho. Thompson	Drigg	2		5	6	8	
	Nicholas Thompson	Drigg		cow	2	18	0	
	Jo. Washdale	Eskdale		cow	1	18	0	
	Jo. Casson	Leathwaite		cow	1	19	0	
	Rob. Punsonby	Hale	6		18	10	0	
	Math. Carter	Carter Ground	2		7	0	0	
	Jo. Moscrop	[ ]		stot	1	13	0	
	Jo. Ashburner	Irton		cow	2	11	6	
	Will. Nicholdson	Muncaster		cow	2	4	0	
	Jo. Braggs	[ ]	8		30	4	0	
Jo. Braggs	[ ]		cow	2	1	0		
24.7.85	Joseph Sharp	Eskdale	2		4	15	0	
	Will. Nicholdson	Enside		stot	2	4	0	
	Tho. Nicholson	Holme rouch	2		4	3	4	
	Jo. Mossop	Gosforth	2		5	6	0	
	Jo. Bragg	[ ]	8		23	0	0	
	Jo. Walker	Fell Foot		bull	2	6	8	
[This last was probably bought during the return journey]								

Date 16..	Vendor's Name	Place	Number of		Price		
			Oxen	Other	£	s.	d.
28.5.86	My cosin Askew	Graymains	2		7	12	6
	Will. Troughton	Scale, Birkby	2		5	10	0
	Hen. Nicholson	Eskdale	2		6	15	0
	Will. Danson	Broughton-in-Fur[ness]	2		6	9	0
	Tho. Nicholdson	Holm Rouch, Drigg	2	+ bull	9	2	6
	Will. Allison	Drigg	2		5	17	6
	Rich. Hodgson	Beckermet	2		6	12	6
25.7.86	Hen. Nelson	Kirkby	2		9	5	0
28.5.87	James Wales	Kirkby Ireleth	2		7	10	0
	Mr Sanerey	Broughton	2		10	6	8
	Tho. Wennington	[Broughton ?]	2		6	5	0
	Edw. Jackson	Ravenscarr, Calder	2		6	10	0
	Rob. Stevenson	Muncaster Head (bull segg)	1		2	0	0
	Widow Troughton	Cross, Waberthwaite	1		2	10	0
	Jo. Hauntley	Langley, Corney	1		2	0	0
	Mr Crompton	Whitcham	2		7	8	0
23.7.87	My cosin Senhouse	Hall-Bolton [Gosforth]	2		7	8	0
	Jo. Bragg	Stephiney	4		12	15	0
	Robert Williamson	Monkcaster	2		6	5	0
	Jo. Fleming	New Field		bull	2	6	8

## APPENDIX 2. Selected cattle purchases at other than Ravensglass 1664-May 1688.

Date 16..	Vendor's Name	Place	Number of		Price		
			Oxen	Other	£	s.	d.
Cockermouth							
15.6.64	Nicholas Towerson	[ ]	2		7	11	8
	Will. Bowman	Cockery Gill, Lamplugh	2		6	14	6
	Jo. Parker	Papcastell	1		3	11	0
	Peter Hudson	Loweswater	1		3	7	0
	tenants of	Eaglesfield		bull	2	0	6
14.7.75	Will. Manesby	Egremont	6		26	0	0
4.6.84	Jo. Peel	Dean	1		3	14	6
	Tho. Sim	Allanby, Bromfield ph.		stot	2	5	0
	William Gibson	Tallantyre, Bridekirk	4		12	6	8
	Anthony Atkinson	Monkhall [Keswick]	4		12	9	0
	[Returning from Cockermouth, this last was taken as part of rent due]						
16.6.86	Jo. Pawmer	Cross, Broughton	2		6	2	0
	Ro. Simpson	Seckmurther	2		5	10	0
	Peter Brown	Elneborow	2		7	1	0
Hawkshead							
17.5.83	Will. Robinson	Heybrigs, Furness Fells	2		4	13	0
	Jo. Walker	Collingpyke, Furness Fells	2		5	0	0
8.5.84	Richard Scales	Whitestockhow	2		5	10	6
	Adam. Ashburner	Grisedale Hall (large oxen)	2		8	12	0
	Will. Mackereth	Newhouse, Hawkshead		stot	2	9	0
22.5.88	Cosin Lanc. Harrison's wife [Monk Coniston]			bull	2	10	0
Kendal							
19.5.83	Mr Hutton	Thorpinsay (3 yr old heifers)		2	5	0	0
	Edw. Aray	Ings (2 yr old steers)		2	3	5	0
	Jos. Aray	Strickland Field (ox)		1	3	8	3
	Ro. Sinkinson	[Long] Sleddal (3 yr old heifer)		1	2	11	0
	Jo. Ingerson	Hayclose (young cow & calf)		1 + 1	3	11	0



Date 16..	Vendor's Name	Place	Number of		Price	
			Oxen	Other	£	s. d.
Kendal (Cont.)						
20.6.84	George Taylor	Finstet in Furness Fells	1		3	7 0
	Jo. Towers	Burnmoor in Broughton	2		5	12 0
	Mr Will. Johnson	Stubb in Endmoor	2		7	16 0
	Roger Whinfell	[ ]	1		3	10 0
	Jo. Wilson	Ambleside		bull	2	13 6
Lancaster						
28.9.83	Jo. Brown	Newton cum Scales (steers)		2	5	0 0
	James Crosal	Scotforth		stot	1	14 6
	Ro. Hodgson	Carnforth		stot	1	13 0
	Rich Proctor	Marsh in Wiersdale (heifer)		1	1	19 0
	Tho Thornborough	Wilson's House, Cartmel (heifers)		2	10	8 0
		(steers)		2		
	Will Cattans	Hacklicks, Bolton (heifer)		1	1	15 0
	Jo. Gibson	Kellet (little stot)		1	1	6 6
17.10.83	Tho. Roberts [Sir D.F.'s man]	(steers)		2	4	17 0
	[which he had bought at Lancaster 28.9.83]					
Keswick						
4.6.85	Tho. Lowther	Thornthwaite	2	+ cow	7	10 0
Ambleside						
21.5.84	Roger Whinfell	[ ]	5		12	0 0
10.6.85	Tho. Atkinson	[ ]		cow	1	19 6
26.5.86	Nicho. Green	[ ]	3		9	5 0
18.5.87	Jo. Chamney	Birthhead, Furness Fells	2		7	8 0
Market not named (probably Hawkshead)						
24.6.81	Will. Rigg	Saturthwait (for beef)	2		4	5 0

## APPENDIX 3. Named cattle vendors other than at Ravenglass, 1688-1700.

Date 16..	Market and Vendor's Name	Place	Number of		Price	
			Oxen	Other	£	s. d.
Hawkshead						
22.9.90	My Bro. William F.	[Coniston Hall]	1		2	18 6
	[ ]	[ ]	2		4	17 6
21.5.91	Rob. Taylor	Colton	1		3	5 0
	James Dawson	Langdale		bull	2	2 0
	Geo. Birket	Troutbeck		cow	1	18 4
21.9.91	[ ]	[ ]		bull	1	18 0
	Edw. Benson	High Close [Loughrigg]		cow	2	16 0
26.5.93	Will. Whinfell	Torver	2		4	16 8
	Robert Wilson	Hartsop		bull	3	15 0
21.9.94	[ ]	[ ]		cow	3	5 0
	[ ]	[ ]	(great oxen) 2		10	0 0
21.9.97	Jos. Wilson	Grysedal		bull	3	5 0
	Will. Brathwait	Skelwith		cow	2	15 0
28.6.98	Abraham Rawlinson	[Graythwaite?] (large oxen)	2		7	5 0

Date 16..	Market and Vendor's Name	Place	Number of		Price		
			Oxen	Other	£	s.	d.
Ambleside							
14.8.89	Agnes Knipe	Coniston		cow	1	12	0
	Jo. Tailor	Lowson Park		bull	1	18	0
	Will. Towers	Brandmire	2		3	15	0
Cockermouth							
14.6.93	Geo. Robinson	Dearham	2		6	5	6
	Jo. Holliday	Abbey Quarter	2		5	15	9
Markets not named							
18.5.91	Will. Walton		2		7	0	0
	Robert Richardson		2		6	15	0
3.10.92	William Kirkby	[Kirkby Hall ?]	2		4	13	0
27.5.93	Stephen Williamson			bull calf	2	15	0

Note: Vendors were not named for the Cockermouth sale on 1.6.92

## Notes and References

- <sup>1</sup> The account books are at Cumbria Record Office, Kendal (CRO(K), WD/Ry, box 119).
- <sup>2</sup> *The Estate and Household Accounts of Sir Daniel Fleming of Rydal Hall, Westmorland, 1688-1701*, ed. B. Tyson CWAAS Record Series Vol. xiii (2001).
- <sup>3</sup> C. R. Hudleston & R. S. Boumphrey, *Cumberland Families and Heraldry*, CWAAS, Extra Series xxiii (1978), 321.
- <sup>4</sup> Nicolson & Burn (1777), ii, 21.
- <sup>5</sup> F. L. Cross (ed.), *Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church* (1957), 711.
- <sup>6</sup> W. Parson & W. White, *Directory* (1829), 231. Mannix & Whellan, *Directory of Cumberland* (1847), 355 states that the Friday market had closed. Perhaps the new fair dates resulted from the change from the Julian to the Gregorian calendar in 1752, while the ecclesiastical "immovable feast" of St. James retained its traditional date.
- <sup>7</sup> Manch = Manx; Bull-Segg = a bull castrated when past its prime.
- <sup>8</sup> Daniel, born 2 July 1660, was Sir Daniel's 5th child (and 3rd son). Like his older sister Alice, he stayed at home unmarried to help his father, but died aged only 38 on 4 December 1698 of "a Feaver". His distressed father referred to him in the accounts as a "Very Loveing, Dutifull & Serviceable son".
- <sup>9</sup> Other account entries indicate that Thomas Roberts lived at Bowness-on-Windermere and supplied Fleming with eel-nets on at least four occasions.
- <sup>10</sup> Edward Hughes (ed.), *Fleming Senhouse Papers* (1961), 34. Cumberland [County Council] Record Series, ii.
- <sup>11</sup> Stot: a young castrated ox as opposed to a bull-segg (note 7).
- <sup>12</sup> N & B, ii, 66; E. Hughes, *op.cit.* (1961), 35.
- <sup>13</sup> B. Tyson, "Rydal Hall Farmyard . . .", CW2, lxxx, 118-119. The corn barn has been sensitively adapted as a meeting room for the Carlisle Diocesan Conference Centre at Rydal Hall.
- <sup>14</sup> A dozen beasts a year was modest by comparison to the beef eaten in the household of Sir Daniel's grandfather's eldest brother, John Fleming of Coniston Hall. He was described as a sober, prudent, hospitable gentleman "killing thirty fat Beeves yearly in his House & having Muttons &c. proportionable". (W. G. Collingwood, *Memoirs of Sir Daniel Fleming* (1928), CWAAS, Tract Series xi, 56).
- <sup>15</sup> John Brougham was the sixth son of Thomas Brougham of Scales Hall, Skelton. (N & B., i, 396) John's mother was Mary, third daughter of Sir Daniel's grandfather, Daniel Fleming of Skirwith Hall, so John was Sir Daniel's first cousin. (Fleming's *Memoirs*, 66-69).

- <sup>16</sup> When Sir Daniel's seventh son Richard married Isabel Newby of Cawmire Hall at Ings Chapel on 19 April 1699, John Brougham lived near Fairbank, Staveley. (Fleming a/cs). On 23 May 1691, John Brougham of New Hall was an arbitrator for dividing the Kentmere Hall estate between the coheir great-grand-daughters of Christopher Gilpin. (CRO(K), ST/26 and N & B, i, 137).
- <sup>17</sup> J. F. Curwen, *Records of Kendale*, iii (1926), 77. Payments in Fleming's accounts for bridge assessments and receipts for his militia pay show that Brougham was still High Constable in 1698.
- <sup>18</sup> In 1692, September 7th was a Wednesday. Ambleside market lay south of Stock Beck in Windermere parish. In 1650 Parliament granted a weekly market on Wednesdays and two fairs yearly on the Wednesday after Whit and on 18 October (St. Luke's Day). In 1688, October 19th was added, with fairs on Wednesdays fortnightly from Whit to 18 October. Any profits were to support the poor of Ambleside. (N & B, i, 188-9).
- <sup>19</sup> Deeds of Lowgroves farm, Skelsmergh. CRO(K), WDX/510, B/3; A/1; A/2. B. Tyson, "Twenty Cruck Buildings at Skelsmergh, Kendal, before 1600", *CW2*, c, 181-206, esp. 190.
- <sup>20</sup> There is no sign that he was related to George Aray, or to a James Aray of Bowston who bought two oxen from Fleming for £8 16s. on 5 July 1688.
- <sup>21</sup> Fleming's first account book, receipt entered on 11 Dec. 1671. Bank End is over a mile south-west of Torver on the Broughton road. Members of the Whinfield family were also tanners. John Dawson, *Torver* (Phillimore, 1985), 52-53.
- <sup>22</sup> Rainford is four miles north-west of St Helens, which suggests that, when fattened, the oxen were intended for the meat trade of the Liverpool area.
- <sup>23</sup> Receipts dated 29 Nov. 1656 and 19 Mar. 1657/8. Fogg (aftermath) is the secondary grass that grows after hay is harvested.
- <sup>24</sup> Mrs Halton was probably Dorothy (Wybergh) (1608-97), who had married Miles Halton (1599-1653) of Greenthwaite Hall, a mile south-west of Greystoke Castle where he had been the estate steward. C. R. Hudleston and R. S. Boumphrey *Cumberland Families and Heraldry* (1978), 144.
- <sup>25</sup> Between February 1657/8 and October 1659, Jackson also bought three lots of 18 to 20 geese for 7d. or 8d. per bird, and two men were paid 2s. for driving one of the gaggles to Rydal.
- <sup>26</sup> John Bancks remained Fleming's steward until he retired on 30 April 1685. He worked for Fleming and his father for 50 years and was given £100, plus £2 a year for life and food whenever he wished. He died at Blease Hall, Old Hutton on 22 November 1688 when visiting his sick daughter Margaret. She had married William Bateman of Blease Hall on 19 October 1682 at Kendal. Bancks and his wife Elizabeth had seven children. Their eldest son William (1657-1699) became a Fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge. John bought Nookend, Ambleside for £40 from Edward Forrest, yeoman, on 17 February 1667/8 (CRO(K), WD/Ry, box 96).
- <sup>27</sup> Sedgwick, four miles south of Kendal. A. H. Smith (ed.), *The Place-Names of Westmorland*, English Place-Name Society (Cambridge, 1967), i, 97.
- <sup>28</sup> James Simpson of Stricklandgate became a freeman mercer in 1660, Mayor of Kendal 1670 and 1682 (*A Boke off Recorde . . .*, ed. R. S. Ferguson, CWAAS Extra series vii (1892), 25, 61) and died 2 October 1690 (Fleming's a/cs).
- <sup>29</sup> B. Tyson, "Twenty Cruck-framed Buildings in Skelsmergh before 1600", *CW2*, c, 181-206, esp. 199.
- <sup>30</sup> B. Tyson, "Low Park Barn, Rydal . . .", *CW2*, lxxix, 85-97 esp. p. 89.
- <sup>31</sup> Cousin Askew was probably Hugh Askew (1613-98) of Graymains who in 1635 married Dorothy Ambrose of Lowick, sister and coheir of Revd John Ambrose, rector of Grasmere, who had a "chamber" at Rydal Hall and died a bachelor on 18 August 1684. (CFH, 8) J. R. Magrath, *The Flemings in Oxford* i (1904), 148, n. 3) states that Revd John Ambrose was Sir Daniel's "first cousin once removed, as was Dorothy Askew".
- <sup>32</sup> Holmrook is in Drigg parish, but Holmrook Hall, east of the river Irt is in Santon and Irton. Parson & White, *Directory* (1829), 205, 216.
- <sup>33</sup> Surely the same "Rich. Hodgson of Beckermet" who sold Fleming two oxen that same day for £6 16s. and another pair on 28 May 1686 for £6 12s. 6d.
- <sup>34</sup> Killing = Keeling; A large codfish (*Shorter Oxford English Dictionary* 3rd edition), 1079.

