

ART. IX.—*The Witherslack Survey, 1736*. By G. P. JONES, M.A., D.Litt.

*Read at Seascale, September 6th, 1969.*

THE "Occular Survey of all the Customary Lands in the Manor of Witherslack taken in 1736",<sup>1</sup> like the Beetham Court Roll of 1776, was presumably intended to be read in conjunction with an estate map but that unfortunately has not survived. Both documents list the rents of the pieces of land enumerated and the Witherslack Survey also records their estimated areas and annual values. Taken together with other records,<sup>2</sup> relating to the later part of the 17th century and the earlier part of the 18th, therefore the "occular" Survey yields interesting information about the land and its occupants at the time. It does not, like the Beetham Court Roll, give the fines payable on the death of the admitting lord and it contains no account whatever of manorial custom. The holdings, however, were, as the Witherslack Manor Court Rolls make clear, estates of inheritance "descendable from Ancestor to heir according to Antient Custom" though they could be alienated. A heriot was due from a widow succeeding to a holding and a fine from other tenants (though whether on succession, alienation or death of the lord is not altogether clear) of ten or twelve times the customary rent.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> In the Lancashire County Record Office, Preston.

<sup>2</sup> Manor Court Rolls, 1690-1717, in the Lancashire County Record Office; Witherslack Rentals, also in Preston; List of Contributors to Witherslack Chapel Salary (*Records of Kendale* ii 263-264).

<sup>3</sup> Endorsements or notes on the 1702 and 1710 Rolls 12 times; on the 1706 Roll, 10 times; and on the 1708 Roll "The fines within are assessed at different rates". Litigation on the question of fines was carried on from 1736 to 1744 between the Earl of Derby and some of his Witherslack customary tenants. The jury at the York summer assizes in 1743 decided that the lord of the manor was entitled, on the death of the first admitting lord, to a general fine but this was not to exceed 12 pence for every penny of old rent. He was also entitled, on the change of tenant by death or alienation, to assess a reasonable arbitrary fine but not to demand a fine of more than twenty times the old rent. The mass of papers in this dispute is in the Lancashire Record Office.

From the parish register it would seem possible that at the time of the Survey the Witherslack population was declining. Certainly in the two decades from 1730 to 1749 the average annual number of baptisms was lower and that of burials higher than in the preceding and following decade. There are, moreover, a few indications in the Survey of houses being abandoned. The trustees of Francis Bowes, e.g., held a tenant-right house of several bays described as an old building fallen down; Edward Harrison held a house "late Atkinson's fallen down", though a barn of four bays was still standing; and Thomas Pearson held How Ridding "wherein is the Remains of a Tenant right House which now lies in ruins". If the number of standing houses in 1736 be taken as 44 and each be assumed to have held an average of  $4\frac{1}{2}$  or 5 persons, the total for the manor would be about 200 or 220.<sup>4</sup>

The distribution of farms and population was geographically influenced by two natural features, namely the uncultivable limestone ridge of Whitbarrow Scar on the east and the River Winstar, the manor and county boundary, on the west. At the northern end the distance between the Scar and the Winstar is less than a mile as the crow flies, but in the south the manor is three miles wide or more. Manor and parish are bisected near the middle by a lower ridge rising to more than 150 feet. Thus one part of the parish consists of farms stretching in a line more or less parallel with the river from south to north. East of this line there is a group of farms, on both sides of the modern highway from the Derby Arms northwards; and still further east, round the southern end of the Scar, another group including

<sup>4</sup> The population of the parish, including Meathop and Ulpha, in 1801 was 396, but it is to be noted that in the decade 1790-99 the average annual number of baptisms was more than double that of 1730-39 and the average annual number of burials was lower.

Beck Head, Bellart How, Turner Hill and High Fell End.<sup>5</sup>

It is not possible to be quite sure about the number of tenants<sup>6</sup> and houses on the manor in 1736. In some instances, where two farms were held by a man of the same name, the compiler has added *aforesaid* to the name of the tenant of the second, but in some cases he did not do so and there must consequently be a doubt whether one farm was held, e.g., by a father and the other by, e.g., a son. On the whole, however, the number of tenants in 1736 may probably be put at 44 though it could have been 48. These tenants had between them 55 tenements, but of one of them no detail at all is recorded except the rent, twopence a year, and nine of the tenements did not include a house. Eight of the tenants, probably, had two farms and one certainly had three.

The number of houses was probably 44<sup>7</sup> or, if three ruins be included, 47. In the Survey some of these are described as tenant right houses, but whether the omission of this description in the case of the others was deliberate, and intended to indicate some real difference, is not clear. Since all the houses were on customary land they were presumably "descendable from ancestor to heir" in accord with tenant right; but it may be that some of them, having been added to, were not given a proportionately increased allowance of timber for repairs and extensions, or, possibly, permission to extend the premises

<sup>5</sup> In the 17th and 18th-centuries Pool Bank, at the northern end, and High, or Upper, Fell End, on the eastern side of the manor were in Heversham parish, i.e. in Crosthwaite Chapelry. Pool Bank is still in Crosthwaite but High Fell End is now in Witherslack.

<sup>6</sup> In the Court Rolls the number of tenants varied between 45, in 1690-92, and 51, in 1696-99 and 1702. In the last extant Court Roll before the Survey, i.e. in 1717, it was 47.

<sup>7</sup> John Dickinson's holding, besides a house of 11 bays contained Blackwell Hall, with no number of bays stated. If this was indeed a house the total would be 45, but no house or farm of this name has survived, and *hall* is perhaps an error for *how*. Cf. Bellart *Hall* in the Survey for Bellart *How*.

was obtained only when some special arrangement was made with regard to fines.

As in the Beetham Court Roll, the houses are measured in bays, a bay being the space between the cross beams supporting the roof, and, though some bays were smaller than others, the numbers no doubt indicate the relative size of the houses. The smallest noted in the Survey was Anne Tyson's house of one bay; the largest were John Pearson's at Low Wood, and John Stainbank's, Nether Hall, both of 17 bays, including, presumably, the barns<sup>8</sup> and shippens. The distribution of houses according to size is shown in the table below:

Containing.	Number of Houses.	Containing.	Number of Houses.
1 bay	. 1	10 bays	. 4
3 bays	. 1	11 "	. 2
4 "	. 2	12 "	. 6
5 "	. 4	13 "	. 4
6 "	. 3	14 "	. 1
7 "	. 2	15 "	. 1
8 "	. 5	16 "	. 2
9 "	. 4	17 "	. 2

Robert Kellet's messuage, of three bays, is described as "*cottage* and outhousing"; John Stainbank's at Coppack Hill, of four bays, is called a *house* and Richard Burrow's at Mill Beck, also of four bays, "*house* and outhousing". Probably messuages of 4, 5 or 6 bays, though classed as houses, were not much more commodious than cottages; and from the table it is evident that 25 per cent of the houses in the manor were in this class. More than half the homes, approximately 52.3 per cent, were in the middle category, of houses with from 7 to 12 bays; and a little under a quarter, approximately 22.7 per cent, were in the class of substantial farm-houses with from 13 to 17 bays.

<sup>8</sup> The barn on Edward Harrison's second holding was one of 4 bays, but whether barns were commonly of that size is not known.

Exactly to what extent the ancient use and layout of land had changed in Witherslack by 1736 one cannot tell. The Survey contains 9 instances of *dale* or *dalt*, meaning a share in the common field, but the term, usually in connection with meadow, may have been a survival and does not necessarily indicate that there were still unenclosed meadows in which shares were periodically allotted. That some land had been walled or hedged is evident from the occurrence no fewer than 29 times of *close* as a field-name or description. *Parrock*, also implying enclosure, occurs 14 times and *intack* 5 times. *Ridding*, a piece of land cleared of bracken or undergrowth, occurs 11 times, and such land was likely to be enclosed by those who undertook the labour and expense of clearing it. It is also known that John Barwick and nine others were concerned in "new Inclosures begune at Whitsontide 1630". There had apparently been some misunderstanding about the rents, and the ten men declared themselves "content to submit themselves to my Lord's Commissioners at their next coming over". There was, however, still common land in the 17th and 18th centuries for the manor court to protect. John Champey was amerced 3s. 4d. in 1690 for "graveing & delvinge up the common att Ulva Caseyside", and two men were fined the same sum in 1695 for a similar offence. In 1705 it was laid down that only tenants of the manor should keep livestock on the common; and in 1715 the felling of ash and holly trees on the common was prohibited under a penalty of 6s. 8d.

What crops were grown in the closes and parrocks is not known. At least a little wheat must at some time have been produced for Wheat Ridding and Wheat Parrock<sup>9</sup> occur as field-names, but in general the

<sup>9</sup> The area of the Wheat Parrock on Pool Bank land is given in the Survey as 1 acre. On a modern map of Pool Bank Farm the name Wheat Parrock occurs but the area is stated as 2 roods 14 perches.

arable land on the manor is not suitable for that cereal. A crop which has long ceased to be grown in the neighbourhood is hemp, which gave its name to Hempland<sup>10</sup> and Hemp Garth. When and why the cultivation of hemp was given up is not known. In Beetham parish it was still subject to tithe in 1725. According to the vicar no hemp was grown about 1770,<sup>11</sup> but whether the cessation was recent or lasting is not clear.

Much more important than hemp to the Witherslack tenants was the produce of their orchards, of which no fewer than 70 are noted in the Survey, some farms having two and some three apiece. The Survey commonly gives the acreage of buildings, garden, fold and orchard all together, so that it is usually impossible to arrive at the acreage of the orchards. Some of them must have been small; William Bowness's house at Low Fell End, e.g., with outhouses, garden and orchard, occupied only a quarter of an acre, and on Richard Burrow's tenement at Mill Beck house, outhouses, garden and orchard all fitted in to 15 perches. Two orchards of which the acreages are separately given were larger; John Strickland's Low Orchard occupied half an acre and Thomas Pearson's Under Orchard a whole acre.<sup>12</sup> On the whole, perhaps we may take the orchards of 1736 as containing on the average from a quarter to half an acre and the manor as having from 18 to 35 acres producing fruit, in the main possibly damsons for which Witherslack and the adjoining parish of Crosthwaite and Lyth have become noted.

Another source of profit were the woods. Every year the manor court jury repeated:

<sup>10</sup> In the Survey the area of Hemp Land on Edward Harrison's farm is given as 1 rood 20 perches. It was probably the piece called Hempland Orchard, 1 rood 24 perches in area, on the present Pool Bank Farm.

<sup>11</sup> J. R. Ford (ed.), *The Beetham Repository*, p. 16.

<sup>12</sup> The acreages of the present Pool Bank Farm orchards are stated as 2 roods 7 perches for High Orchard, 2 roods 36 perches for Back Orchard and 1½ acres for Great Orchard.

We find all the woods of warrant<sup>13</sup> due to the lord of the said manor . . . and the underwoods<sup>14</sup> due to the tenants according to antient custom.

From the timber on his own land the tenant could, with the lord's licence, and by view of the bailiff, take what he needed for building and repairs but could not, presumably, sell timber trees to a craftsman or merchant. Depositions taken in 1786 in the course of litigation on this matter however show that the tenants believed they had a right to cut down and sell sapling oak trees and ash growing in their own orchards or hedgerows. They were free, probably, to sell or lease the wood in a hazel coppice to an iron forge or charcoal burner. That charcoal burning had sometime been carried on is evident from the name of Cole How on Edward Harrison's land. Another product of the woods was oak bark for tanning, as may be gathered from the names of Bark House Field, Bark House Croft and Bark House Busk.<sup>15</sup>

Because the area of a wood is not always given separately from that of a meadow, croft or orchard adjoining it, the total extent of the tenants' woodlands cannot be calculated. Eleven pieces of which the area is separately stated amounted in the aggregate to 25 $\frac{3}{4}$  acres, but there was more than that on the manor even without counting How Ridding which, despite its name, contained over 59 acres of wood. The values of the pieces of woodland varied a good deal: those of five of the eleven pieces mentioned above worked out at 2s. od. an acre, one at 2s. 8d., two at 4s. od., one at 5s. od., and one at 20s. od. How Ridding was thought worth about 11d. an acre.

<sup>13</sup> These were ash, oak, holly and crabtree. See CW2 lxii 240-241.

<sup>14</sup> Hazel, willow, alder and thorn.

<sup>15</sup> *Busk* from either OE *busc* or ON *bushr*, "bush" but probably also sometimes a small wood. Barkhouse Busk was on Thomas Pearson's land and some stonework in the wood to the west of the farm may be a relic of it. A Thomas Pearson of Powbank, Quaker, from whom 23 hides of tan leather were taken by distraint in 1670 (J. Somervell, *Some Westmorland Wills*, 6) was presumably both yeoman and tanner.

The Survey, being concerned only with customary land, gives no information about the lord's woods, probably extensive. It was possibly from these that he was able to draw supplies for his other estates. John Leyburne, the Steward of Witherslack, in his accounts for 1638-41<sup>16</sup> notes a payment of 12s. 6d. for the carriage of crabtrees<sup>17</sup> to Knowsley and of £5. 9s. 10d. for dressing and carriage of 110 dozen of *girth-wood*. His account for 1628-38 includes items amounting to £12. 3s. 4d. for the dressing and carrying to Lathom of *garthes*, *girths*, hogshead *garthes* and long *garthes*.<sup>18</sup>

It may be assumed that, transport facilities being as yet not fully developed, Witherslack and its neighbourhood in 1736 were bound to be more self-sufficient (or at any rate to try to be so) than is necessary today, and that in consequence farmers raised corn, mainly oats, on land which would now not be used for that crop. It is clear, however, that flocks and herds formed a considerable part of the wealth of farmers and that a good deal of their land was meadow and pasture. The Survey does not always give the area of meadow land separately from that of adjoining pasture land or wood ground, and it is consequently impossible to state with certainty how much meadow land the tenants between them possessed. It is likely that the meadow land *eo nomine* amounted to nearly 150 acres and that some pieces of land going by the name of *dale*, *parrock* or *close* were in fact meadows, and it is not impossible that, of the customary lands as a whole, 17 or 18 per cent may have grown hay. The proportion varied from farm to farm as the table below indicates :

<sup>16</sup> Witherslack Estate Papers in the Lancashire Record Office, Preston.

<sup>17</sup> Being "woods of warrant" crabtrees were presumably not the tenants'. These trees were perhaps intended to be stocks on which grafts were to be set.

<sup>18</sup> The term *hogshead garthes* suggests that these were lengths of wood suitable for making barrel hoops.



Farm.	Approximate Percentage of Meadow.
Joseph Pearson (Pool Bank)	. 10.3
Edward Harrison (Pool Bank) (1)	. 17.4
"                    "                    (2)	. 18.3
James Dawson (Beck Head)	. 19.8
William Bowness (Low Fell End) (1)	. 21.2
Thomas Pearson (Pool Bank)	. 27.4
John Dickinson (Low Wood)	. 32.0
William Bowness (Low Fell End) (2)	. 34.0
George Hartley (Key Moss)	. 35.1

The estimated value of the meadows naturally varied according to goodness. John Dawson's Jenny Meadow, an acre in extent, was valued at 30 shillings. On the other hand, John Dickinson's four acres in Broad Meadow worked out at only 8s. 9d. an acre. In between, there are instances of meadows at 12s. 0d., 13s. 4d., 14s. 0d., 15s. 0d. and 16s. 8d. an acre.

The land, distinguished by name as pasture, amounted in the aggregate only to about 36 acres, but there must have been very much more than that available for grazing, in crofts and dales, on parts of the mosses and on the common. The value of the land called pasture varied according to quality. John Dawson held some worth only 1s. 6d. an acre, but John Stainbank had some worth 12s. 0d. an acre.

It has been suggested above that, on the basis of the size of their houses, the tenants could be grouped in three classes, the least substantial constituting a quarter of the total, the most substantial forming a little less than a quarter, and a middle group containing a little over half. Another indication of their relative wealth and importance might be sought in a statement of the extent of their lands. In that respect the 35 householders are to be classified as in the table below:

Size of Holdings.	Number of Tenants.
Less than 5 acres	. 8
Over 5 and up to 10 acres	. 7
Over 10 and up to 15 acres	. 1
Over 15 and up to 20 acres	. 3
Over 20 and up to 25 acres	. 3
Over 25 and up to 30 acres	. 3
Over 30 and up to 35 acres	. 5
Over 35 and up to 60 acres	. 2
Over 60 and up to 90 acres	. 2
Over 90 acres	. 1

On this basis the tenants may be divided into three classes, of which the lowest, holding ten acres or less, formed approximately 42.9 per cent of the total, as also did the second, holding from 10 to 35 acres, while the highest, holding over 50 acres, formed approximately 14.3 per cent. In this group there were only five tenants, but between them they held approximately 41 per cent of the whole customary acreage. The extent of a man's holding, however, does not of itself indicate his wealth, for a man with much rocky pasture or wet moss might be worse off than another with a little good arable and meadow. Accordingly, the 35 tenants are classified in the table below according to the annual value of their holdings:

Annual Values.	Number of Tenants.
Under £1	. 1
From £1 to £2	. 3
Over £2 and up to £5	. 6
Over £5 and up to £10	. 6
Over £10 and up to £15	. 9
Over £15 and up to £20	. 4
Over £20 and up to £25	. 5
Over £25	. 1

The gradation in this table is more even than in the table based on extent of holdings and, like the table based on size of houses, shows a relatively large middle group. The tenants with land of an annual value up

to £5 formed 28.6 per cent of the whole; those with land valued at more than £20 amounted to 17.1 per cent; and the middle group, with land worth from £5 to £20 a year, constituted approximately 54.3 per cent.

Evidence of the kind epitomized in these tables has, admittedly, only a limited value. Any of the 35 tenants might, in addition to his customary estate, own or lease other land in the manor or outside it. He might also, besides his farming, carried on partly by his family, have another occupation. There is an instance in Joseph Pearson (1662-1737) described in his will as yeoman of Fellside in Crosthwaite. To his son Thomas he left his "Messuage and Tenement scituate at Powbank" as well as some pieces of land which he had bought. To his other son, John, he left Fellside and some freehold land at Broad Oak, neither of which lay within the manor of Witherslack. His brother, George Pearson (c. 1660-1728), described as of Sedgwick, left to his nephew Thomas, son of Joseph, customary land at or near Powbank and a little elsewhere charged with a rent to Colonel Grahme of Levens. His cash legacies amounted to £98. 12s. 0d. He appears to have given up farming, for the inventory belonging to his will includes no livestock, crops or farming gear, and it is perhaps significant that of his personal estate, amounting to £174. 12s. 10d., no less than £163. 15s. 10d. consisted of money owed to him.<sup>19</sup> Less wealthy than these was Roland Crosfield, yeoman, of Town End who died in 1707 and was no doubt a relative of the Thomas Crosfield of the Survey, who had an estate at Town End in 1741<sup>20</sup> and who died in December 1754. At the time of his death Roland Crosfield had no corn or hay and very little livestock, only one cow, two mares and a filly and

<sup>19</sup> For the wills of Joseph and George Pearson and Roland Crosfield see J. Somervell, *Some Westmorland Wills*, 14, 82-83, 103-104.

<sup>20</sup> *Records of Kendale* ii 263.

sheep worth eighteen shillings. Of his personal estate of £53, very nearly 80 per cent, namely £42, consisted of money owing to him.

Apart from these wills we have next to no information about the resources of the Witherslack customary tenants. Some indication exists in a document of 1724<sup>21</sup> relating to the sale by George Hilton, the improPRIATOR, of the wool and lamb tithes of Witherslack, Meathop and Ulpha for £92. os. 6d. to thirty men described as yeomen of Witherslack. Some of these do not appear in the Survey and we cannot be sure that men of the same surname who do appear were their successors in their holdings; but on examination of twelve instances in which the identification of the tenant is fairly certain there would not appear to be a very close relationship between the contribution made to the purchase price and the extent or value of the contributor's estate.

Contributor.	Extent of Holding.	Annual Value.	Cont'but'ion.
William Bownas	40 acres 2 roods 20 perches	£29 0 6	£8 0 0
John Harrison	33 a. 15 p.	17 0 0	7 0 0
John Pearson	104 a. 2 r.	24 17 0	6 0 0
James Burrow	1 a. 2 r.	1 5 0	5 0 0
George Hartley	25 a. 2 r. 20 p.	12 0 0	4 10 0
John Dickinson	34 a. 1 r. 20 p.	15 0 0	4 0 0
James Kilner	20 a. 1 r.	13 0 0	2 10 0
John Dawson	20 a. 20 p.	12 13 0	2 10 0
Robert Pool	26 a. 20 p.	14 19 6	1 10 0
John Taylor	10 a. 3 r.	6 0 0	1 5 0
Hugh Stuart	3 a. 1 r. 20 p.	4 1 0	5 0
Richard Burrow	35 p.	1 15 0	3 0

It would have been reasonable to settle the contributions on the basis of each man's assessment to the tithes and that perhaps was the plan adopted. Such an arrangement, it may be, explains the very small contribution of Richard Burrow. He was perhaps a relative of Richard Burrow<sup>22</sup> of Mill Beck, smith, who

<sup>21</sup> *Records of Kendale* ii 264.

<sup>22</sup> This cannot be proved from the parish register. He cannot have been the Richard son of Richard Burrow buried in May 1717, but the Richard senior of that entry may not have been the smith. A Richard Burrow late of Town End was buried in April 1756.

died in September 1717 and may have inherited from him the small tenement which the Survey shows him as holding at Mill Beck. On his one-eighth of an acre of paddock, indeed, he could keep no sheep; but presumably he rented some land from another tenant or had some grazing rights on the common, or both.

Lacking other surveys of earlier and later date, we cannot tell exactly how far continuity of tenure in one family prevailed in Witherslack, but there are some indications in the Survey, and especially in the Manor Court Rolls, that tenure of these yeomen's estates, or of pieces of them, changed more often than is perhaps commonly supposed. In eight instances in the Survey the description of a holding gives the name of a previous tenant, having a different surname from that of the occupier in 1736.<sup>23</sup> One of Edward Harrison's two tenements, containing part of the present Pool Bank Farm land, e.g., is called "late Atkinson's", and we may perhaps identify this previous tenant with Robert Atkinson of Powbank whose name occurs several times in the manor court book and twice in the parish register. He was presumably a man of some substance in or before 1671, when he gave £2 to the poor stock and £3 to the curate's salary fund; and he was overseer of the poor in 1677 and 1680. Early in the 18th century, however, he, or at least a man of the same name, was alienating property. In 1700 he transferred to John Harrison a messuage and tenement of an annual rent of 13s. 10½d.,<sup>24</sup> and in 1702 he alienated to James Kellet his

<sup>23</sup> James Bell's tenement was called Hobson's House. John Geldert's is described as "late Walker's"; Edward Harrison's as "late Atkinson's"; James Hind's as "late James Saul's"; Robert Pool's as "late Martindale's"; Thomas Tyson's as "Kilner's" and "late Poole's"; and Anne Tyson's as "late Stainbank's".

<sup>24</sup> This, though the rent does not quite agree, may have been one of the Pool Bank tenements held in 1736 by Edward Harrison. The rents were then respectively 13s. 0d. and 13s. 9½d. Edward Harrison, born in March 1684, was the son of John Harrison of Pow Bank.

Low Wood tenement<sup>25</sup> of an annual rent of 14s. 2½d. In the meanwhile he had disposed of pieces of land in Halecat and elsewhere, so that between 1700 and 1702 he had, in circumstances and for reasons unknown, transferred to other tenants land of the aggregate rent of £2. 4s. 2d.

That such transfers were not uncommon is clear from the records of the manor court in which they were registered, no doubt so that the fines due could be collected. Under the general heading of "alienations" two kinds of transfer are recorded, as in the following instances, taken from the jury's verdict in the court held on 26 May 1697:

We find Thomas Walker tenant by alienacion from John Crosfield to one message and tenement of the yearly rent of two shillings and sixpence.

We find Edward Strickland tenant by descent from his father John Strickland to one message and tenement of the yearly rent of ten shillings and two pence called Strickland Hill.

In cases such as Edward Strickland's no doubt the jury would know who the heir was or a will could be produced. In other cases, such as Thomas Walker's, it was ordinarily necessary to bring to court the deed of conveyance. In 1702, e.g., the jury reports:

We find one Indenture of Salle sealed & executed from Robert Dawson late of Beckhead deceased to one Messuage & Tenement of the yearly rent of seaven shillings & nine pence

and in 1704:

We present Myles Davey for not bringing his purchase deed into Court according to custome, upon paine of three shillings & fouer pence.

Altogether, in the incomplete series of Court Rolls, 1690-1717, a total of 115 transferences of whole tene-

<sup>25</sup> Low Wood is the next farm to Pool Bank on the south side. How long James Kellet held it is not known. No Kellet was there in 1722 or 1741 (*Records of Kendale* ii 263).

ments or pieces of land is recorded. Of these, 44 are indubitable instances of inheritance by a son from a father or mother, of land inherited from some other relative or, in a few cases, acquired by marriage. It may be, though that is not stated in the court roll entries, that some of the other 71 transferences were between relations of different surnames; but evidently the idea yeomen's estates passed from father to son generation after generation needs much modification with regard to Witherslack at least.

Some of the transferences were of quite small pieces of land. In 1697, e.g., Thomas Walker became tenant of Jacke's Field, yearly rent 10d., and in 1700 Thomas Simpson acquired a parcel of pasture, annual rent 4d. On the other hand, in 1717, Thomas Simpson alienated to John Wilkinson a whole messuage and tenement, annual rent 9s. 11d.<sup>26</sup> Evidently the manorial custom which allowed alienation made it possible for a man with adequate resources, by adding to his holding or even by acquiring a second holding, to extend his farming operations or to provide for members of his family. An instance is George Barwick, father of John Barwick, Dean of St Paul's and benefactor of his native Witherslack. The Dean's eldest brother, Nicholas, succeeded to his father's farm, and another brother, William, had a farm of equal value bought for him.<sup>27</sup> Since, however, the amount of land available was limited an increase in a purchaser's Witherslack estate meant a decrease in the seller's; and alienation in some cases may have indicated that while one family was on the way up another was on the way down or at any rate on the way out of the manor. How far that process had gone in a little under a century may be judged by comparing the surnames

<sup>26</sup> If the figure in the margin, £6, as is likely, was the amount of the fine payable on alienation it was approximately 12 times the customary rent.

<sup>27</sup> Peter Barwick, *Vita Johannis Barwick S.T.P.* &c. (London, 1721).

in the Survey with those of the farmers listed in the 1829 *Directory*. The 44 persons recorded in the Survey bore between them 29 surnames. By 1829, when the number of farmers in Witherslack, Meathop and Ulpha was 44, no fewer than 27 of the surnames of 1736 had been replaced by others. As for the old stocks of the Burrows, Crosfields, Harrisons, Kellets, Kilners, Stainbanks, Stricklands and the like, their place knew them no more.