

ART. X – *Skirwith Hall and Wilton Tenement (Kirkland Hall): the rebuilding of two Cumbrian farmsteads in the eighteenth century.* By BLAKE TYSON, B.Sc., F.C.S.I.

Unfortunately no detailed contemporary account has come to light of the rebuilding of a Lake District farm in the period before 1800. There are many questions about which one would like to have exact answers. How long did it take? Where were the quarries from which the farmer obtained his building materials? What happened to a farmer and his family while the old house was demolished and the new one was under construction? Was the new house placed upon the foundations of its medieval predecessor?

R. Millward & A. Robinson, *The Lake District*, 1970, 185.

ALTHOUGH many other questions could have been posed, this quotation clearly identifies an important weakness in our knowledge of Cumbrian history. Since documentary evidence left by yeoman farmers has proved inadequate for the purpose, this article will attempt to provide an answer using estate papers concerned with the rebuilding of two contrasting, tenanted farmsteads owned by Sir Michael le Fleming (1748-1806) of Rydal Hall. These documents¹ provide details of the building work and preliminary planning, the changes in farmstead layout, the problems suffered by the tenants and, particularly, the methods by which maximum economy was achieved for the owner by his agents. Although Skirwith and Kirkland lie near the eastern margin of the Vale of Eden where farms were normally more prosperous than in the Lake District, the following account probably reflects Lakeland conditions because events were controlled mainly from Rydal and Kendal.

At the age of eight, Michael le Fleming became fourth baronet in 1757, but his estates were already under the control of seven executors appointed under the complex will of William, the first baronet (1656-1736), who sought to restrict his successors.² In estate management, the most active executor was “Mr John Moore [1708-1780] son of Mr Giles Moore of Grimeshill in Middleton” near Kirkby Lonsdale.³ Sir Michael came of age on 21 December 1769 and then went on tour to Paris, leaving London on 21 April 1770, and returning on 12 August. According to his servant, Francis Pierard, the tour cost over £731 (Ry. 105). Beforehand, John Moore’s long-established position as “true and lawful Attorney, Steward or Agent . . . to manage my Estates . . . with power to distrain goods . . .” was confirmed on 10 March 1770 (Ry. 107). He was also made executor of Fleming’s will (Ry. 109). Moore’s importance was enhanced further when Fleming was elected M.P. for Westmorland in 1774 thereby becoming virtually an absentee landlord until his death in 1806. This remoteness generated the documents on which this article is based.

John Moore became involved with rebuilding Skirwith Hall from 1772 and was assisted by John Gibson, the amiable land agent at Rydal Hall.⁴ Moore’s successor was Thomas Harrison, a Kendal lawyer tersely referred to by Moore in a letter of 4 January 1768 as “the quaker, and Mr Braithwaite’s recommended friend – very able if a contest break out . . . [but] his merit as an agent & court-keeper may appear not quite so well” (Ry. 107).

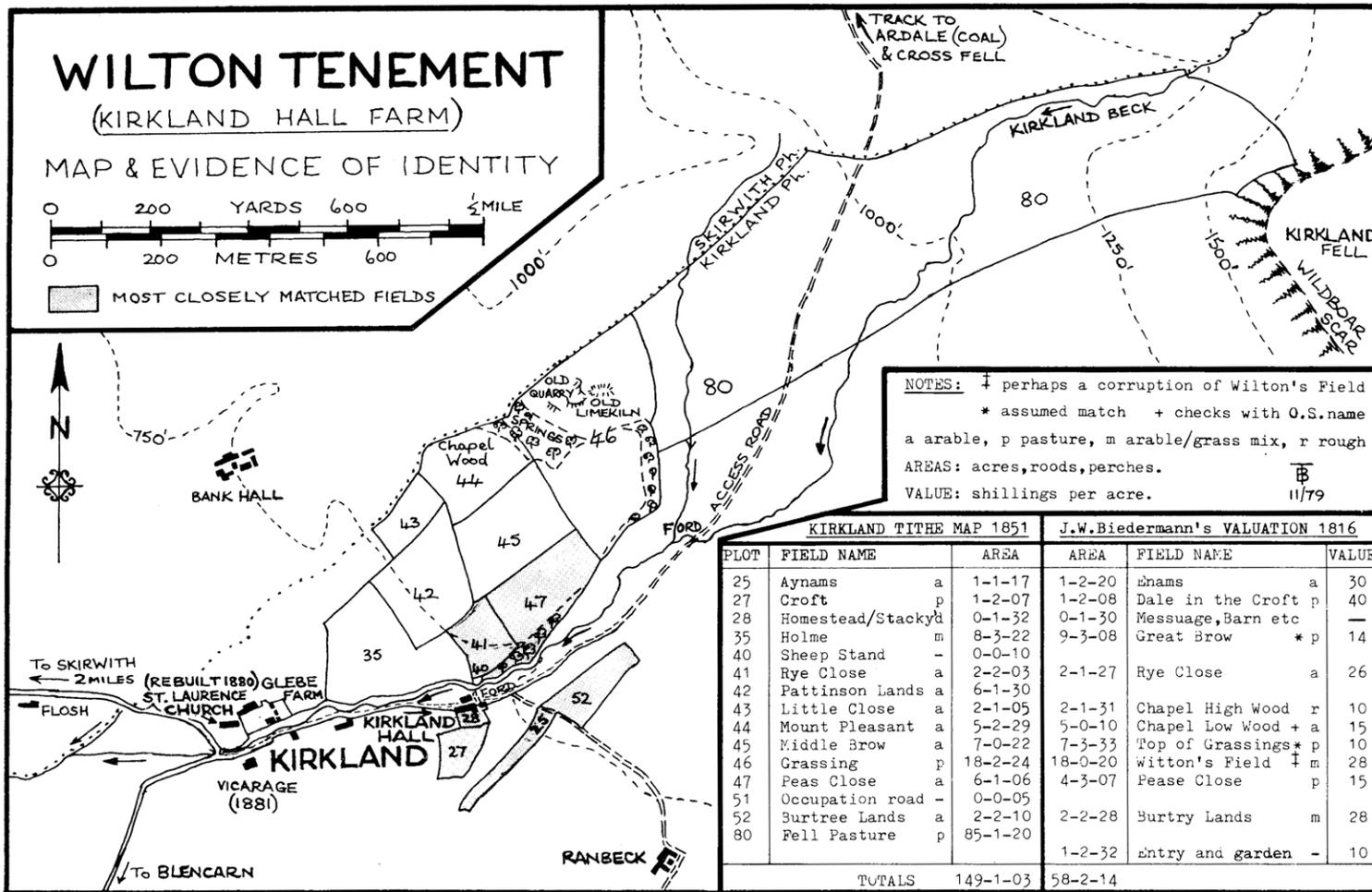


FIG. 1.

Harrison's letters (Ry. 105) cover the period from 1778 to 1805. By 1780 he had become involved with the need to rebuild Wilton Tenement which will be considered first because it clearly reveals the difficulties experienced before building work began.

First, however, the identity of Wilton Tenement must be proved. Harrison's letters show that in 1780 it was occupied by a Thomas Atkinson who was also referred to as "your Farmer at Kirkland". The tithe map of 1851⁵ shows that the Flemings possessed only one farm in Kirkland, eight miles ENE of Penrith. It was occupied by a Richard Atkinson who, in the 1851 Census, was an unmarried man aged 35, farming 58 acres at Town Head. Though the tithe schedule gives the acreage as 149, including 85 acres of fell pasture, Fig. 1 shows that most of the thirteen enclosures can be matched with those named in the estate valuation made by John Biedermann of Tetbury in 1816.⁶ This shows Thomas Atkinson, Richard's grandfather,⁷ as tenant of Wilton Tenement comprising 58 acres. The combination of "Homestead and Stackyard" in plot 28 and several similar field names and acreages indicates that Wilton Tenement is synonymous with the present Kirkland Hall. This identification can be proved from architectural evidence arising from the building work to be discussed shortly and the origin of the name Wilton Tenement can be inferred from Sir Daniel Fleming's *Memoirs*.⁸ These show that in 1375 "Willia[m] de Lancastria . . . [granted] . . . unto Robert de Wilton de Kirkland . . . two Tenements" and the family's name and transactions can be traced until William Fleming bought Lowthwait in Kirkland from Thomas Wilton for £350 in 1631.

The surviving buildings at Kirkland Hall are aligned roughly east-west (Fig. 2). The oldest section is a central barn of random sandstone rubble with a heavy flagstone roof. A substantial farmhouse, facing south with its outshut towards the road, it has typical Cumbrian sandstone dressings to the openings. It was added to the barn's western end probably to gain protection from the strong, cold winds which often blow from Cross Fell. At the barn's eastern end a farm building, incorporating a cart-house, has been added whilst, on the opposite side of the road, a small building, now in poor repair, has a hay-mow and standings for four cows.

The earliest records referring to building work at Kirkland comprise several petty receipts mostly dated 1762 (Ry. 2, 6 & 107). They appear to apply to the eastern section, for they mention a cart-house. An un-named person was paid £1 for cutting ground-work, getting and leading stones, serving, felling and getting clay, whilst John Sanderson was paid £8. 3s. for walling on 5 September 1762. This latter payment may have coincided with completion of the walls for, two days later, W. Birbeck was paid £2. 5s. for "Ale & Beer sent to new Building at Kirkland", presumably for a traditional "Raising" when roof timbers were lifted into position. William Thompson was paid £2. 14s. 6d. for carpentry and a further 15s. for "wrightwork for new stable & carthouse". By 11 October William Sowerby and William Bowerbank had been paid £4. 16s. 6d. for slating and, in December, Sanderson was paid for ridging the roof, making partitions and paving the floor. Wilfred Hewer did the smith's work. The following September, John Carleton of Skirwith was paid £1. 1s. "for his trouble and expences about ye building of ye new barn at Kirkland . . ." whilst on 13 December 1763 John Atkinson, the tenant, was allowed £31. 8s. 4d. for "building a new barn". At this time his rent was £16. 10s. per year. From 1764-69 it was £18, but in 1770 it jumped to £31 (Ry. 107, 113), a rise of 172 per cent coinciding with his landlord's trip to Paris.

A memorandum of 4 February 1773 (Ry. 114) states that "John Atkinson . . . humbly

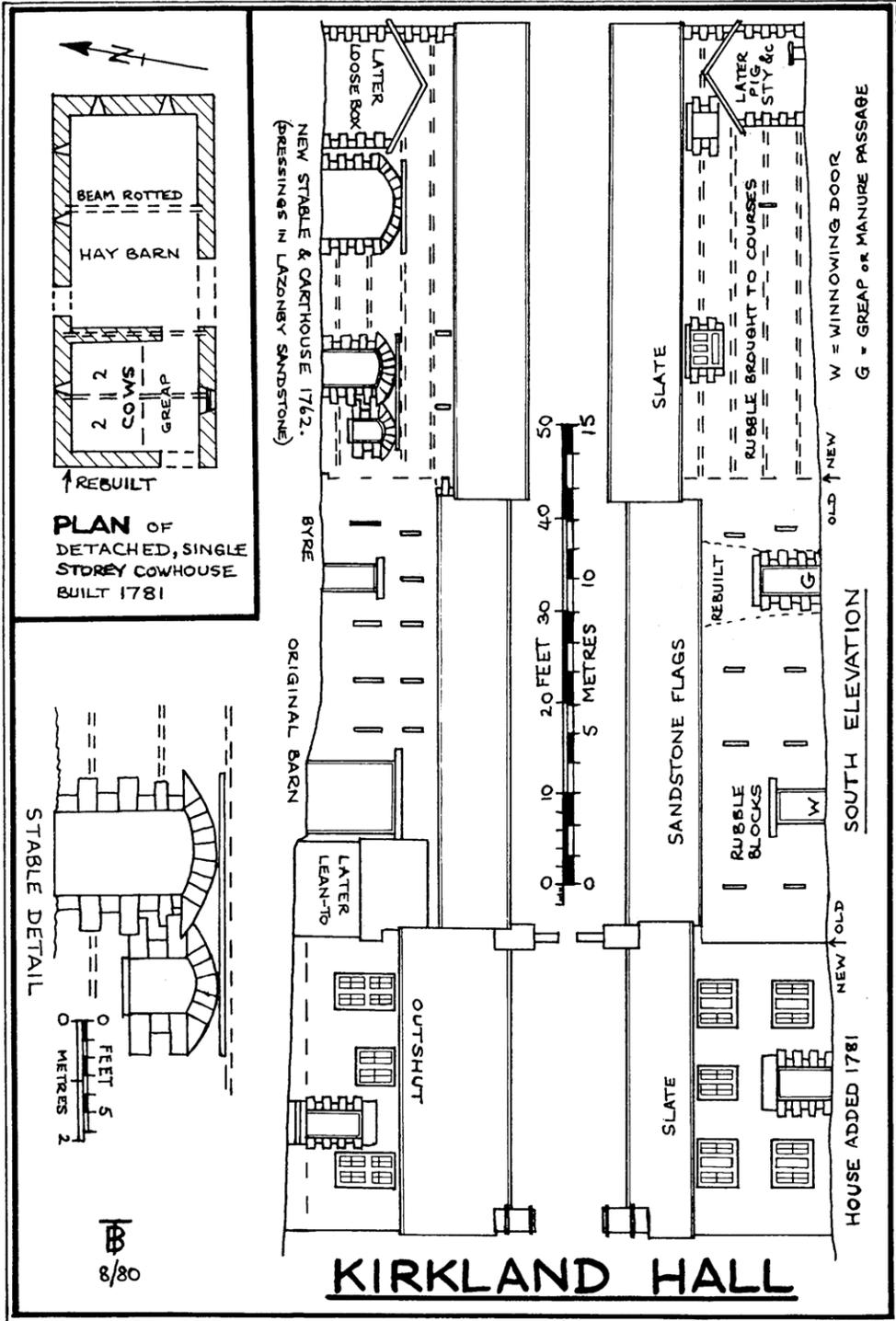


FIG. 2.

proposeth to give for his farm . . . now let at £31 . . . the yearly Rent of £42 in Consideration of the Improvements made by the late Inclosure of the Fell-Pasture” and a note on the back shows that 174 rods of new fence cost £75. On 17 April 1773, 12s. 6d. was recorded as “Expences at Penrith when John Moore went with the surveyor about Kirkland Pasture” (Ry. 113). Probably, the work was instigated by a letter of 24 June 1772 to “John Mower of Grimson Hall Sedber” (Ry. 66), in which Atkinson complained that “Mr Sokeld” [Joseph Salkeld of Ranbeck, the next farm] was claiming:

. . . the tenants liberty to burn lime in our in-pasture which I think is very un proper . . . unless in winter season, for there Is Stone anofe in other parts of the fell . . . If you wod Fence it of this Sommer it wod be . . . much better for my Sheep which I bout becaus they ar not use to the place.

By 1780 the rent was £45. 13s. (Ry. 105)⁹ but on 12 March Thomas Harrison reported to Fleming that “Thomas Atkinson the Farmer of Wilton Tenement says his Term is expired, and . . . wishes to know whether you will grant him a Lease for 7 or 9 Years and complains the Farm [rent] is too high”. Undoubtedly this dissatisfaction stemmed from a complaint reported by Harrison on 10 February 1780:

Thomas Atkinson of Kirkland came here last night with a lamentable tale of the great distress he and his family are in from the late snow (which almost filled their house) and the water they had to carry out in Consequence thereof. He says . . . that if he has not a new House built immediately he will leave the Farm this Spring and expects . . . an answer very shortly. He brought with him a Plan and Estimate upon a rather smaller scale, and says that he will undertake to have a House, and Cowhouse as he wants it, built and finished for Eighty Guineas, having the materials of the old House and the old slate which came off the old Mill at Skirwith, and also having Liberty to cut the necessary Oak Timber upon Skirwith Demesne and having the Oak Bark¹⁰, but not the Top.

Although Harrison asked Fleming for urgent instructions, eight months passed before he went to inspect the property. On 17 November 1780 he wrote:

I have been at Skirwith and Kirkland and from what I saw of your House at the latter place . . . there’s not the least pretence for repairing it . . . for it is so bad and shaken throughout that repairing it is only another word for rebuilding it . . . so I got Mr Salkeld to assist me and we planned . . . a new house to be built at the End of the Barn [Fig. 2], by which an End Wall will be saved. I desired a Carpenter at Skirwith, who was with us, to make . . . an Estimate of the Expences, including a small Building to bind up four Cows, by way of a Cowhouse, which the Farmer says he much wants, and Mr Salkeld was so kind as [to] say he would make an Estimate too. The Farmer would get and lead the Stones and Lime as low he says as anyone, and he desires to have a Lease of his Farm for nine or twelve years at the rent it now is . . .”.

In vain he asked for instructions again and on 9 March 1781 had to report to Fleming that he had “. . . had an Account from Thomas Atkinson . . . that a great Part of the west side of his House is fallen down, and [he is] pressing to know what is to be done”. Still no response came from London, so Harrison, having talked again to Atkinson, issued an ultimatum to Fleming on 15 April:

. . . it was concluded that . . . if I hear nothing to the contrary from you on or before tomorrow se’nnight I am to . . . direct him to go forward with building a new House agreeable to his proposals . . . I am satisfied it is utterly impracticable to repair or even long to keep up the old House in which the Family are quite afraid to live any longer. I asked him if he could not take or you could not buy some other House in the Village but he says there’s no such thing to be done.

He requested a reply by return of post but none has been found even though it would have

been kept as authority to begin work. This train of events suggests that the landlord cared little for his tenant's plight, but the architectural evidence at Kirkland Hall proves that the rebuilding was carried out as planned. East of the present buildings, some low, grass-covered foundations are aligned north-south and since it was the west *side* of Atkinson's house which collapsed this may indicate its position. There is no other evidence; neither is there any indication of how or where the family lived whilst their home was dismantled.¹¹

The only evidence that building had commenced by mid-May is Gibson's letter to Fleming dated 9 June 1781 (Ry. 108). He had been to Kirkland:

... on the 15th May, and returned here the 20th. I had Men cutting & Peeling the Wood, and sent to Mr Geo. Atkinson at Templesoreby to send for the Bark out of the field, and Pay what he tho[ugh]t it worth when Cut up, as he heretofore did. I had the Wood Cut into proper Lengths for various purposes; and finding some more [was] necessary, I again went the 31st May, and returned here 2nd Ins^t. I also left the Workmen such Plans as I tho[ugh]t was necessary . . . and shall Survey them when it may be tho[ugh]t necessary.

Unfortunately no other detail of the work is available for, once the supply of oak timber had been organized, the estate seems to have taken no further part in the affair. Since "Atkinson [was] to find all materials and Workmanship" including "Slate from the foot of Ullswater [for which] he will pay the price thereof", the landlord was relieved of much of his customary responsibility.

It was normal for "Repairs . . . [to be] . . . made at the joint expense of landlord and tenant; the former supporting the walls, doors and timber and the latter thatch, slate and glass &c."¹² Such conditions probably applied to all the Fleming estates for the "Conditions for letting Millhouse in Middleton for 10 years" have survived (Ry. 2). Dated 27 October 1759 they state that:

The farmer shall . . . keep all the houses . . . in good and sufficient repair, save in timber and walls . . . the houses . . . every year . . . to be well & sufficiently thatct. The farmer . . . shall allow . . . [access] . . . to repair the houses in wood & stone when necessary . . . timber & walls [to be] kept in repair at ye expence of of the said Sir Michael le Fleming except what fails and goes out of repair by [the farmer's] own negligent or wilful waste . . . The farmer to have all the houses delivered to him when he enters thereon, in sufficient repair in thatch and redeliver them in like repair . . ."¹³

Returning to John Gibson's letter of 9 June, his next paragraph introduces important detail of how slate was to be obtained from Rydal. He wrote:

As you have both Laths and Slates here [at Rydal] which may be Delivered at Ullswater foot (from whence the Farmer will take them) at as low a Price as he can have them elsewhere, and allow a small Profit to your self, and will be equal as so much Cash paid to him, I purpose to begin sending the Second sort of your Slates over Kirkstone in a few Days by Joseph Grave of this place.

An account entry in which £1. 7s. 1d. was "Charged . . . to Sir Michael Fleming for Carriage of 163 Load Slates down Ullswater @ 2d." in 1780¹⁴ shows that this was already an established practice on the Rydal estate.

Others were similarly engaged in this trade over Kirkstone. In the Browne manuscripts¹⁵ an agreement dated 11 June 1784 shows that for £11.:

Mr John Harrison of Deepdale in Patterdale . . . sold John Dixon of Townhead [Troutbeck] . . . three Galoways (with acoutrements for 4 for leading slate on Crooks) for . . . John Dixon . . . to lead slate from the Quarry at Kinngate to the top of Kirkstone at the usual prices.

Presumably John Harrison made arrangements to carry the slate down to Ullswater for eventual sale in the manner described by William Hutchinson in 1773-4. He noted that fine blue slates from quarries in the mountains at the head of Ullswater “are brought down . . . on horseback . . . to the lake where they are received into flat-bottomed boats and navigated to proper stations for country sale”. According to Joseph Budworth, writing in 1792, one of the best boatmen on Ullswater had been John Mounsey, the so-called “King of Patterdale”, who not only transported his own slate but also hired his services to other suppliers.¹⁶

Undoubtedly the slate for the new barn at Skirwith Hall came by the route described for, in November 1773, £12. 0s. 6d. was paid for “Cartage of 222 Load of Slates from Pooily Bridge @ 1s. 1d.”¹⁷ As the estimates (Ry. 66) had allowed for 200 loads at 4s. 2d., the difference of 3s. 1d. probably covered the initial cost,¹⁸ transport over Kirkstone and along Ullswater and left some profit for Fleming.

In contrast to Wilton Tenement, Skirwith Hall is a large farm. At the 1816 valuation of Lady Fleming’s estates it comprised 475 acres and a further 170 acres were added by the Skirwith enclosure award in 1857.¹⁹ With other additions and the inclusion of the land formerly belonging to Wilton Tenement the total is now over 1000 acres. In 1976 the farm was sold by the Slack family, who had farmed there since the end of the eighteenth century, to Conder Mill Trust Ltd., whose tenants are Messrs. McCrone of Southwaite, Carlisle.

The buildings, of local Triassic sandstone blocks, are arranged on all sides of a rectangular farmyard but they cannot be dated accurately from architectural evidence alone. Thirty yards west of the main buildings a rectangular dove-cote contains about 500 nesting holes. Structurally, it is relatively sound and is the sole remnant of the late medieval farmstead whose replacement forms the next part of this study.

Nicholson and Burn (II, 444-5) outlined the early ownership of Skirwith Hall which was bought by Agnes Fleming, widow of William Fleming of Rydal, in 1606 for £1030.²⁰ In 1618 she settled Skirwith on her second son Daniel for life and, at his death on 2 August 1621, it passed to his widow Isabel, daughter of James Brathwaite of Ambleside, for her life. When she died on 15 June 1639 the property passed to her eldest son, William, and at his death on 24 May 1653 to his eldest son Sir Daniel Fleming of Rydal Hall.²¹

Sir Daniel’s account books (Ry. 119) contain useful, though scattered, comments on the early farm buildings at Skirwith. For example, in 1656 the stable was repaired using “13 Cart load of Slate at 8d. p. load” and in 1657 Jane Holme, his tenant, was reimbursed for repairs to the garner floor and the ox-house. On 20 August 1679 John Spedding, the estate bailiff at Skirwith had paid “William Richardson for walling, getting of stones & serveing, at ye Gavelend of ye corne-barne, stable-end, Garner-end &c 42s.”. Also he paid “Tho. Dobinson for wright’s work 2s. 4d., For leading of stones and [for] drink at Skirwith & Kirkland & for lime to ye Barnes Gavelend 6s.”. A final payment for these major repairs was made on 18 July 1681. In October 1683 Fleming reimbursed £8. 8s. od. to his tenant Thomas Carleton for having paid “ye wrights and wallers for rebuilding of an Oxe-house, Cow-house & Haybarne” and the following year allowed him 5s. “for putting up a sile in ye High Haybarne”, “3s. 4d. for [repairing] ye Dovecoat” and over £4 for repairs to the Hall roof.

These buildings were still in use in 1770 when George Ullock’s yearly rent was raised abruptly from £105 to £172, an increase of 164 per cent.²² He therefore gave up the tenancy, for on 2 November 1771 “Expenses in letting Skirwith Hall” amounted to £1. 4s.

(Ry. 113). The new tenant was John Milner paying £200 per year²³ and, by the normal terms already noted, the estate would put the buildings into proper structural repair.

In a letter dated 16 June 1772, (Ry. 66) Milner informed John Moore that:

... the Mill is very much out of Repair so that if you think ... of Removing it you had Better Before any thing be done of Value to it. The Tennants seem to be very desirous to have it movd so ... please ... come and see what must be Done.

He wanted Moore to see the trees which "according to y[our or]der ... I've got ... fell'd an[d] p[re]par'd". Probably these were intended for more urgent building work which must have been discussed that summer, for on 3 October Milner wrote again (Ry. 66):

... I have sent you the Plan of the Barn with Four Double Byers to hold 38 Head of Cattle and a Stable to hold six Horses and a Charge of every Article as near as I can. ... I have set Two Men to get stones for the wall that I was telling you about and the Best of the stones I ordered them to lay by for the Barn.

Neither plan nor estimate has survived. Milner admitted that he had omitted the price of "the Lime [which] if it comes from Kirkland ... will come cheaper than where I got mine from ... it beign ... nigher hand". He also forgot "The Iron work [which] will be of no great Value" and he "did not Inquire which was the Lowest Vallue of ... the Slate, Slating and the woodwork", so they would have been rather misleading figures anyway.

To overcome these omissions Moore seems to have asked Gibson to produce a proper appraisal. On 19 May 1773 the latter sent Fleming detailed estimates for a barn "about 40 Yards in Length and 6 Yards in Breadth within the Walls" and also for a farmhouse (to be considered later) (Ry. 66). Gibson's covering letter explained that his figures were based on "an Estimate ... given by an Undertaker Recommended by Messrs. Geo. & Mat. Atkinson" but had been adjusted using his own judgement and "proposels from other Workmen on the Day advertised for Letting off" the work.

He outlined the proposed changes in farmstead layout (Fig. 5):

The House is intended to stand ... where the Old Thatched Barn now is fronting the Mill with the new Barn behinde the Northeast Corner ... where the Slated Barn now stands, and the present little Stable behinde the Southwest Corner in the same form as the Plan that I made out for it,²⁴ and you saw.

Thus the house was to face south with a pleasant prospect overlooking Skirwith (or Brigg) beck and the Mill, which stood near the present entrance from the road.²⁵ The thatched barn was undoubtedly the haybarn whose new sile (or cruck) was fitted in 1684 and the slated barn to be replaced was probably that built in 1683. Perhaps it had become too small or its walls unsound, for Milner said his "Plan was Drawn ... to suit the Timber of the Old Barn which will be as good as any we can Get [but] I forgot the old Timber when the Value of the Woodwork was set Down". Gibson was of a similar opinion:

... I think it will save some Pounds in the Expence, if [the Dwelling house is] built at the same time or immediately after the Barn by appropriating the old materials to their most proper uses thro' the whole Building. But at the best a Quantity more of Oak Timber will be wanted for the Barn, the greatest part of which may be had by cutting down the Old Dying Trees there, and very few others.

He recommended that this should "... be done with all Speed while the Sap is good" so that the bark could be peeled easily and sold for tanning at an advantageous price. Milner

also had urged haste so that "Some of the woodwork . . . Such as Boards Sawing for floors and Doors and Such like" could be started as soon as possible "as they would have time to Dry and be fit for using". He suggested also that "as there is so much Shaken Wood that will be of Little or no use else . . . the stable Loft [floor] will come cheaper to lay it with Plaster" presumably to prevent grain lodging in the cracks or falling through them. "Sawing and Laying 246 Yards Oak Flooring" was to cost 8d. per square yard.

Gibson went to Skirwith on 1 June 1773 and on the 14th reported that they had ". . . got some of the Old Oak Trees Cut Down and some upon the Ground where the Farmer proposes to Plow, we Stubbed up and they would finish them the last week". The building account, in Gibson's neat handwriting, (see footnote 17) records money paid to the builders by John Milner. It shows that £3. 5s. 4d. had been paid to "Wm. Barget Carp[ente]r for Felling Wood, Sawing Scaffolding Planks and Sundry Work preceeding 31st May 1773 when they begun to fell more Oak for the Buildings" and £1. 9s. 4d. was paid to "Richard Coats & Joseph Westmorland for Grubbing 32 Oak trees". Barget and a William Clark were paid a further £34. 12s. 6d. for carpentry, but no details were given.

Gibson also took the opportunity to call ". . . upon George Atkinson at Templesowerby [who] . . . ordered 60 Deals to be sent from Sandsfield below Carlisle to Skirwith Hall, to be Used for Scaffolding there and then for Flooring Boords". Clearly there was a scarcity of good timber. Sandsfield (NY 332 616) was 25 miles (40 km) away "opposite to Rockliffe . . . where vessels of 60 tons burthen can lie to receive and discharge their cargoes" comprising "considerable quantities of fir, timber . . . and merchant goods" for "though the tide flows a few miles further . . . the Eden . . . is perplexed with shoals and its navigation cannot be said to reach beyond Sandsfield".²⁶ Imported deal was often preferred for better quality floors.²⁷ Gibson also "ordered [Atkinson] to send for the Bark when it is Dry" for George and Matthew Atkinson were tanners who frequently bought bark from the estate in return for plastering hair costing 1s. 4d. per stone (Ry. 66).²⁸

Gibson's estimates show that a stone of hair (underpriced at 1s. 2d.) was needed for every two bushels of lime for plastering and pointing both buildings, for which 175 bushels of lime (underpriced at 1s. 0d.) were required. A further 490 bushels of lime were needed for making mortar consisting of a cartload of sand, costing 3d. per load, for each bushel of lime. Even if a cartload contained rather "less than sixteen cubic feet"²⁹ these quantities would make a very lean mortar of about 1 to 12 by volume. The total cost of lime was estimated at £33. 5s. for both buildings.

Thus, following Milner's suggestion, by mid-May 1773 Gibson had ordered men "to Build a new Lime Killn at Kirkland . . . to have the Lime at a lower Rate both for the Buildings and Improving both Estates".³⁰ In his letter to Fleming on Monday 14 June he expected that it "would be finished . . . last week". An old lime kiln survives in Witton's field at Kirkland (Fig. 1) at NY 652 331, the only one on the estates. Perhaps that was where Mr Salkeld had been burning lime on John Atkinson's in-pasture in 1772. The barn building account (Ry. 66) shows a payment for 282½ bushels of lime (at 1s. 2d.) used between 26 June and 23 September 1773 but, apparently, the new kiln could not keep pace with the masons' demands, for a further "18 bushels [was] Bro[ugh]t out of the Field".

The two men whom Milner had set "to get stones for the wall . . . and . . . the Barn" the previous October are named in the account as Isaac Sanderson and Andrew Cook, who quarried 596 and 682 cartloads of stone at 2d. and 1¾d. respectively. Cartage from the quarry cost a further 2d. a load and the stone undoubtedly came from one of the two

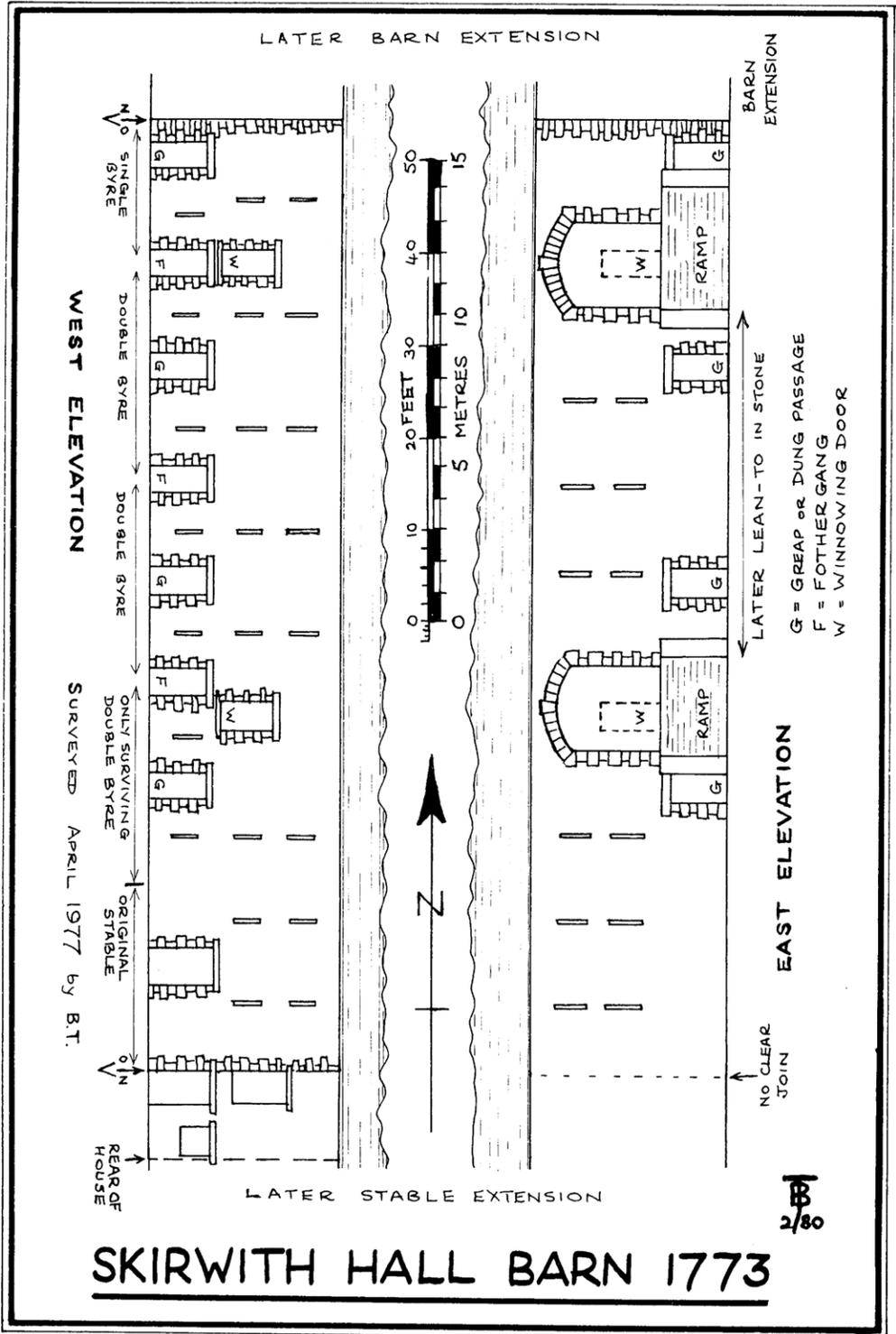


Fig. 3.

sandstone quarries on the north side of Skirwith (Briggle) beck about $\frac{1}{4}$ and $\frac{2}{3}$ mile northwest of the farmstead. Unfortunately an unspecified quantity of stone was used for the new wall and the units of measurement used in the account do not match those of the estimate, so detailed study is precluded. "Building and mixing the Morter for 800 [square] Yards of Wall" was to have cost 8d. per square yard. Nearly half of the stone was to be obtained by "taking down & Removing 300 [square] Yards [of] Stones of the old Building @ 2d." whilst "Quarrying and Carting 500 [square] Yards of new Stones @ 10d." was to make up the required quantity. Thus re-used stone on site was to cost only one fifth as much as new stone, a considerable saving.

Despite all these economies, fieldwork measurements show that the barn (Fig. 3) was shortened by six yards. On 14 June, Gibson wrote to Fleming:

. . . Mr Moore Informed me on Saturday last at Kendal that you . . . would not have the Buildings so large as at first proposed . . . so that we agreed to Build it about 34 Yards [long]. . . I contracted with Thomas Addison the Mason who Built Mr Yates's House to Build the Barn with all possible speed. . . I also Contracted for Building the House, but not to be done without your further Directions.

John Orfeur Yates from Wigton lived at Skirwith Abbey, nearly half a mile southeast of Skirwith Hall. He bought the property from the Adderton family (Ry. 66) in 1768 and then married Mary Aglionby of Nunnery at Ainstable on 1 December. Skirwith Abbey, described by Hutchinson in 1794 as "a modern built mansion", was enfranchised on 11 February 1773³¹ so presumably Yates, who had made a fortune in the East Indies, took that opportunity to build his new house. Gibson's letter provides the best evidence so far found for dating the house.

By 19 May 1773 Gibson had already ordered Addison "to forward the Quarrying of the Stones and prepair them for the Barn Doors" and also to build the lime kiln at Kirkland. Work on the new barn progressed through the summer of 1773 so that, by the end of October, £29. 10s. 3d. had been paid to "Tho^s Addison at Sundry times on Acc^t of the Buildings" and on 16 November, £21 was "Paid Richard Addison on Acc^t of the Buildings".³² A year later, on 21 November 1774, £20. 5s. 9d. was paid to them jointly "in full for work done at the Byers, Stable and Barn". Undoubtedly these payments included the estimated "372 Feet of Stones and Scapling or Ruf Hewing @ 3d." for window and door dressings, but the building account records only the "Cartage of 54 Cart Load [of] Door Jaums, Windows &c. @ 2d.". At this price, they must have been made by the masons in the estate quarry nearby.

Unfortunately few items in the building account are dated, so it is not possible to establish a detailed schedule of the work. Stone getting had commenced in October 1772 and a good proportion of the carpentry preparation had been done before the end of May 1773. A payment of £12. 18s. 5d. for "Cartage of Sundrys . . . from 9th March 1773 To 28th Oct^r foll." probably indicates when the barn's shell was erected for, on 26 October £3. 9s. was "Paid John Kendal on Acc^t of Slating". If this represented about twenty days' work for two men at 1s. 9d. a day, the walls must have been completed by the end of September, which agrees well with the later date on the lime bill already quoted, namely 23 September.

Finishing work must have continued through the winter, for £6. 14s. was paid for "Sundrys for the Building . . . from 5th Nov^r 1773 To 17th Feb. 1774". The work would have included laying the floor (and perhaps plastering it), fixing partitioning "in Stalls and

Fother Gangs @ 12d.” a yard and “in Stable Stalls, Mangers &c @ 1s. 10d.”. Making and fixing the large barn doors cost 5s. each, cowhouse doors 1s. 6d. each and the stable door 4s. These items would have been included in the carpenters’ second payment. The account does not mention the “240 [square] Yards of Paving”, which was sufficient to cover all the ground floor, but, in November, 9s. od. “Cash [had been] Paid at Penrith for 9 Cart Load of Flags” and cartage from there cost a further 1s. 6d. a load.

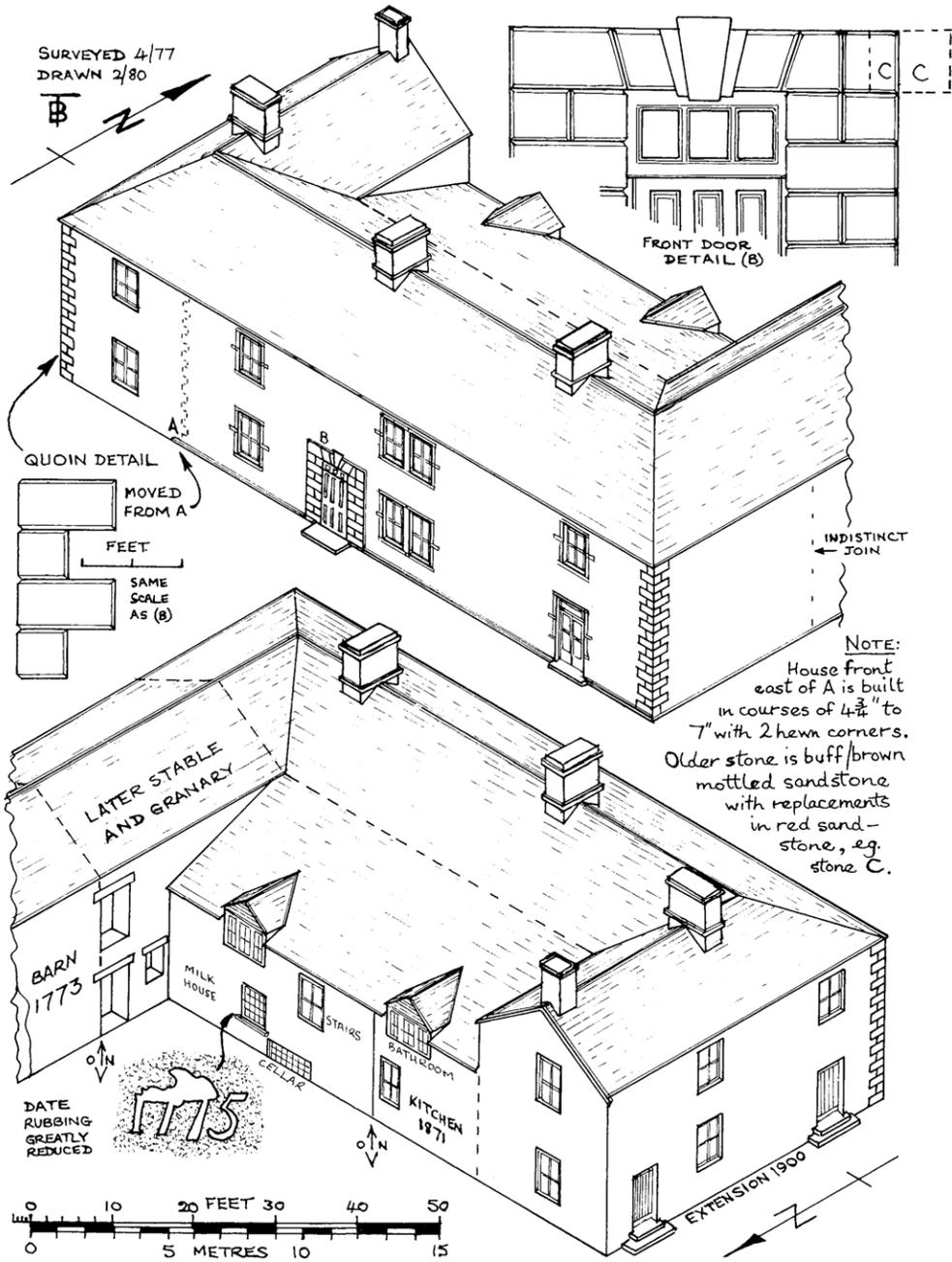
On 31 May 1774 Joseph Verty was paid over £3 “for Black Smith work & Nails”, but only £2. 10s. had been estimated for “Ironwork [such] as Crooks, Bands, Latches &c. for Doors”. The other workmen were not paid “in full” until 21 and 22 November 1774. These included the payments to the Addisons and Barget and Clark, £6. 4s. 1d. “Paid John Kendal in full for Slating” and £4. 10s. 4d. “Paid John Rogers in full for Nails . . . Rec^d on the Slaters Acc^t”. Unfortunately the tradesmen’s bills have not survived. On 23 November 5s. od. was “Paid The Rev^d Mr. [Andrew] Holiday for Measuring the Building”. He lived at Blencarn and had been curate at Kirkland since 1737.³³ Presumably he acted as quantity surveyor and arbitrator to settle the tradesmen’s claims – a year after the main structure had been completed. Five shillings was “Paid for Ale to the Workmen &c.” and the same amount “To 6 Dinners Mr Moore &c.” no doubt to ease the proceedings. Two days later 12s. 5d. was “Paid Mr Calvin for Paint for Doors” to complete the barn payments. Although the building account could have been more detailed and some items were underpriced, only the cost of deals from Sandsfield and the timber and slate from estate resources appear to have been omitted. The payments total about £220 compared with the £181 estimated for the planned, larger building but, significantly, the barn’s recorded cost was almost covered by one year’s farm rent of £200. Figure 3 shows details of the building.

To achieve maximum economy by re-use of building materials, Gibson had recommended that the new dwelling-house should be built at the same time as the barn, but added that it “may be deferred till the next year if required”. Fleming accepted this suggestion but, on 23 May 1775, John Moore wrote urgently from Kendal to Sir Michael at South Audley Street, London (Ry. 66):

I must desire your immediate directions about Skirwith Hall; the walls & timber are giving way, which gives very fearful apprehensions to the farmer and his family – I advised Mr Gibson to go over & examine it & he seems to think it is in danger to fall and that soon – We have ventured . . . to have cut down . . . some oak trees . . . for rebuilding it. If you shall determine . . . to build a new house this summer . . . send your orders soon – the plan that was made for your approbation had four rooms in the front – whether on second consideration you will not think three sufficient – building is now very expensive: the barn you have built proves that.”

Gibson’s estimate, totalling almost £233, had been made for a “Dwelling . . . consisting of House, Parlour, Kitchen and another Room or Parlour, with Staircase and Milkhouse Backwards being 28 Yards long and 22 Feet Wide” external dimensions. The estimate for “Carrying up 8 Chimney Pipes” in “2 Chimney Tops” suggests that a bedroom was to be over each of the main rooms. Gibson had advised Fleming that “nothing can well be omitted save one spare Room in the Dwelling house, nor even that if any Room is Reserved for your own Use upon any Occasion”. Measurements on the present house show that they chose not to build the fourth room (Figs. 4 and 5).

Details of the old, crumbling house are available in an inventory published in these *Transactions* in 1928.³⁴ Dated 17 June 1639 it lists the contents of the hall, parlour, kitchen, low kitchen, larder house, milk house and buttery together with nine rooms



SKIRWITH HALL FARMHOUSE

FIG. 4.

upstairs. A second inventory (Ry. 66), signed by William Fleming but not dated,³⁵ lists the same rooms and shows more detail for the milkhouse and mill where the first document was damaged. It shows that the silver and pewter was missing from the buttery, bedding was recorded only in the hall loft and no kitchen utensils were listed. The furnishings were almost identical but there is no indication of the size, shape, arrangement or condition of the accommodation. In 1794 William Hutchinson³⁶ commented that "The [old] hall was a miserable mansion [with] narrow and low doors, and loup-holes rather than windows – over the door 1617 D.I.J.F." which suggests that Daniel and Isabel Fleming had made alterations prior to taking over the house in 1618. Unfortunately W. G. Collingwood's article copied Parson and White's wrongly ascribed date (1795) for the rebuilding.³⁷

Clearly, the new Skirwith Hall, like the house at Wilton Tenement, was to be considerably smaller than its predecessor; just sufficient for a tenant farmer. It was to have "2 Hewn Corners, & the Front Built with Free Stone in Courses not more than 8 Inches in highth nor less than 5 Inches" (Fig. 4). This was because of "these sort of Stones being already there in the old walls" and indeed the largest single charge in the estimate included "taking down the Slates and Walls of the Old House". "All the Stones [were] to be got upon the Premises and at the Quarry in the Estate Except only the Flaggs for the Floors". Perhaps this explains the purpose of the flagstones brought from Penrith in 1773.

Certainly, preparations for rebuilding the house had been commenced two years before Moore's letter. By 14 June 1773 Gibson had contracted with Thomas Addison to build the house and on 21 November 1774 the building account shows that £5. 5s. had been paid to the Addisons "on Acc^t of Hewn work prepared for the Dwelling House". Furthermore, the house was to have "250 Foot [of] Fir Timber for Floors & Doors @ 2s. 1d.", the largest single carpentry expense, and in November 1774 "4 Horses & Carts [went] to Pooily Bridge for Fir Plank" at 3s. od. per journey. Hence the payment of £5. 5s. to "Mr James for Fir Plank" on 9 August 1774 was probably for that purpose. Between 17 August 1774 and 9 March 1776 the Atkinsons of Temple Sowerby supplied "76 stones of plastering hair to Skirwith Hall @ 16d. £5. 1s. 4d." and in 1775 bought "Bark from Skirwith Hall for £4. 10s." (Ry. 66). This probably indicates the period of active rebuilding work on the house but the final entry in Gibson's building account is dated 22 February 1775 and no later account has survived to give better information.

The date 1775 is carved crudely on the milkhouse window-sill (Fig. 4) but more provoking evidence that work was in progress is found in the Culgaith chapelry registers. On 11 August 1775 was buried "Thomas Addison, Mason, aged 61, Killed". Fortunately the newly established *Cumberland Pacquet* reported what had happened.

... on Thursday last, as Mr Thomas Addinson and his men were pulling down Skirwith Hall . . . they undermined a gabal end to let it down together. Mr Addinson standing at a little distance called to the men when it began to shrink, who all got from it, but . . . in stepping backwards [he] stumbled over a log . . . and a great part of the building falling on him, he was crushed to death, and his body for some time [lay] buried in the ruins.³⁸

Even now falls and trips account for 22 per cent of all building site accidents and of falls, 46 per cent occur on level ground mainly resulting from trips over materials left untidily on site.³⁹ Administration of Addison's estate was granted to his widow Hannah at Orton on 26 August by Richard Burn (1709-1785), the well-known antiquary. Also named was "Richard Addison of Newbiggen, Westmorland, yeoman," apparently the eldest son who, as a mason aged 24, married Anne Salkeld at Milburn on 12 July 1772.⁴⁰ He was born in

1747 at Kings Meaburn. His father Thomas, who married Hannah Atkinson of Milburn on 14 June 1741, was baptised at Morland on 28 December 1713, the son of Robert Addison of Meaburn.⁴¹ Richard's brother Thomas, also a mason and born at Bolton in 1751, married Jane Sewell at Culgaith on 27 May 1775.⁴² Presumably both sons worked with Thomas Addison at Skirwith Hall and probably completed the job for him, though no record survives. There is no other information about rebuilding the farmhouse but, to judge from Matthew Atkinson's bill for plastering hair, it was probably finished during the summer of 1776.

The mill, reported to be in poor repair in June 1772, was partially rebuilt in 1774. The building account records that on 23 November Andrew Cook, Thomas Bird and two other men were paid for a total of 14 days' walling work at 1s. 10d. a day and William Barget received 3s. 4d. for two days' carpentry work there. However, work was suspended whilst the house was rebuilt and attention was then given to providing open sheds for shelter from the weather. On 23 February 1777 Gibson wrote (Ry. 108):

Altho' the Hemmels or Shades for Cattle, Plows, Carts &c at Skirwith Hall were ready for the Slates in Oct^r last, they are not Covered by reason of the Winter being almost constantly Frost. The Building of the Mill was never yet Let (tho' much wanted) fearing that the Farmer would not mannage well to get Materials to both the Shades and Mill in One Year, but . . . it would be proper to be Let very early in the Spring . . . I think John Miller the Farmer is in Arrear with his Rent . . . but he has been fallowing and liming some poor ground.

Two scraps of evidence show that the mill was indeed rebuilt. In February 1780 Thomas Atkinson of Wilton Tenement wanted "the old slate which came off the old Mill at Skirwith" for his new house; and a receipted bill for £25. 6s. (Ry. 66) lists iron parts supplied "for Scureth Mill" between 24 October 1777 and 14 February 1778 by Thomas Cornthwaite. In an account of December 1784, he was referred to as a "Whitesmith [of] Kendal" (Ry. 108).

Gibson's warning about Milner's rent arrears heralded the latter's downfall. On 29 July 1779 Harrison, now Fleming's agent and "very able if a contest break out", received a mere £27 on account (Ry. 106), so on 17 December he wrote to Fleming (Ry. 112):

Dear Friend,

I went over to Skirwith with an Intention to have had a full end with John Milner one way or other and went with him to Penrith to consult with a Brother-in-Law he has there. It was at length concluded that the Estate at Edenhall should be sold there by public Auction the 19th January next, unless it can be disposed of sooner by private contract, and that the purchaser shall thereon give security to my satisfaction for the purchase money towards your rent . . .⁴³

Thus on 1 February 1780 John Milner conveyed to Sir Philip Musgrave for £400 his inherited customary holding in the Manor of Edenhall, together with some land he had bought from William Knight and Thomas Nelson.⁴⁴ Milner's brother-in-law was a John Pearson who had married Frances Milner at Long Marton on 21 May 1768. Their three eldest children were baptised at Edenhall,⁴⁵ so they may have been living at the wife's home when Milner took on the tenancy of Skirwith Hall. Born in 1734, John Milner had married Sarah Pattinson of Langwathby, at Edenhall on 8 August 1759 having got her into trouble. By March 1780 they had produced thirteen children, which might help to explain their financial problems.⁴⁶ Their eldest child Frances, baptised at Edenhall on 12 November 1759, married John Wilkinson, aged 23 of Clifton, on 14 May 1780 at Kirkland. These

lived at Whinny Ridge when their eldest child, Margaret, was baptised on 9 March 1783, but there is no other mention of them in the Clifton registers.

Although £400 was received by Harrison “from Sir Philip Musgrave by Payment of Mr Dobson in further Part of Rent . . . of said John Milner”, it did not solve the latter’s difficulties (Ry. 106). On 17 November 1780, having referred to the need to rebuild Wilton Tenement, Harrison wrote to Fleming (Ry. 105):

With respect to Milner at Skirwith I could make nothing of him as to his arrear, having, he said, no money, but a very large stock, however he wants to stay upon his Farm. He proposes to give £150 a Year . . . but I told him it signified nothing . . . unless he would give security for the payment. He said his Son-in-Law, one Wilkinson at Clifton, a Man of some substance but a loose Chap I find, would be bound with him for the growing rent, but then I asked him what must be done as to the large arrear and that he reckoned he could pay . . . Farms in that neighbourhood are, I find, much dropped and likely to do, that if Milner would pay more regularly perhaps the rent he bids may not be much amiss.

However, the following day a letter from Mr Dobson, the agent at Edenhall, gave an unfavourable report on John Wilkinson,⁴⁷ so Harrison continued his efforts to recover the outstanding rent. On 23 February 1781 he reported “I have wrote to Milner at Skirreth again as to his Rent”, but on both 30 April and 30 October had to admit “I hear nothing from Milner”. Finally, on 16 November he reported (Ry. 106):

I got Milner’s affair compromised at Shapp on Monday by taking the Bond of two Surities with him for the Rent in arrear payable in Moieties, one half the 13th Feb & the other half the 12th May next. They are also bound with him for spending all the Vestures upon the Premises, and his quietly leaving the same at the usual times in the Spring. To mend the security I took not only a Warrant of Attorney to confess a Judgment thereon, but also a mortgage from one of the Surities of some Lands at Clifton where he lives, being the person who married Milner’s Daughter; and as I think it right to enter up the Judgement I shall do so. Inclosed are the Conditions I have drawn for letting Coniston & Skirwith Halls . . .

Thus, only eighteen months after his marriage, young Wilkinson, however much “a loose Chap” he was, had shouldered responsibility for his father-in-law’s debts at the end of an eventful ten-year tenancy which had taken Milner from being a land-buying yeoman to virtual bankruptcy. Perhaps Milner had been foolish or too ambitious but one wonders what would have been his reaction had he seen Harrison’s comment in a letter of 22 May 1787; “I have had another application to farm Skirwith Hall and [only] £158 p.annum bid for it . . .”

Still there were complaints. On 9 July 1782 Harrison saw Milner in Penrith and extracted £20. 13s. from him, but no more could be had “for a month yet when the sale money will be due” (Ry. 106). Then on Christmas Day 1782 Gibson reported (Ry. 108):

On the Fourth Ins^t I went to Skirwith and . . . found things there in a very dissagreeable situation . . . John Milner having taken away sundry Articles of yours, an Inventory and Estimate whereof, by myself and Two Carpenters which were employed at the Buildings, I immediately sent to Mr Harrison. The House and Kitchen Chimneys smook so much that it is almost impossible to live in them [*sic*], besides ruining the house. If the Windows are not Painted very soon [they] will take great damage . . .

This is the last mention of Milner whose later fortunes have not been traced.

More recent building developments at Skirwith Hall are not well documented, but need to be mentioned and related to fieldwork observations (Fig. 5). An estate plan of about

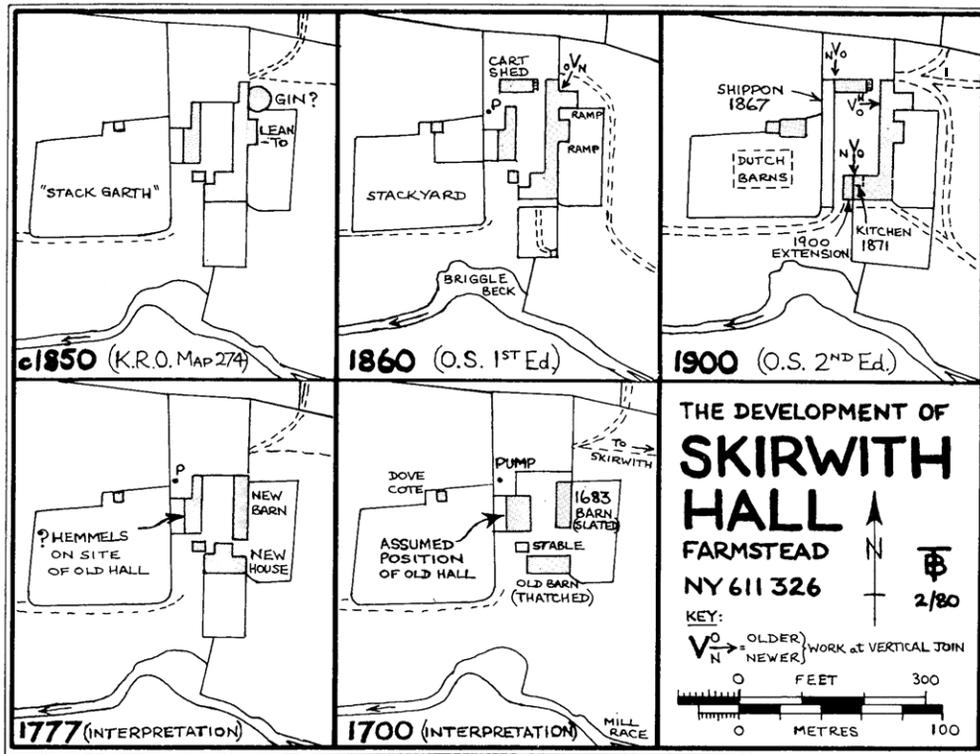


FIG. 5.

1850⁴⁸ shows the house as built in 1775, three rooms wide (22.5 yards) across the south front (Fig. 4). Behind the western end, a small rectangular building was undoubtedly the little stable mentioned in 1656 and 1773. The space between house and barn is shown filled in by a stable (now a workshop) with a granary above. A lean-to for store cattle is shown added to the barn's eastern side between the ramp entrances, whilst the barn's northern end had a narrower extension with a circular building to the east, typical of a horse-gin for powering a thresher or mill.

The first edition Ordnance Survey plan of 1860 (1:2,500) shows a new cart shed with loose-boxes and granary across the northern side of the farmyard. The barn's northern extension, now shown full-width, is separated by a partly bonded join in the stonework and the upper part of the barn gable was removed to link the two lofts. The horse-gin is shown replaced by a rectangular structure, still containing barn machinery, and a vertical join survives in the north wall. These changes have not been confirmed by documentary evidence. It seems unlikely that the estate map is wrong for most of the dimensions match the O.S. plan closely, for example the building on the farmyard's western side. As there is no evidence to the contrary, this appears to have been the "hemmels or shades" completed in 1777.

The 1900 O.S. plan shows that they had been replaced by a single-storey cow shed, seventy yards long, against the old western boundary wall of the yard. In addition the house had been 'squared-off' (so destroying the stable) and then extended. An account book entry

(Ry. 120) shows that in 1871 £49. 12s. 8d. had been paid to "Hopes & Co. New Kitchen & sundry repairs Skirwith". Similarly by 6 March 1867 several instalments totalling £350 had been paid to "Hopes & Jackson . . . on a/c Buildings at Skirwith Hall" and on 4 February 1867 W. S. Benson was paid £4 for "Superintending new Buildings Skirwith", presumably the new shippon.

Independent confirmation of these developments was given in a letter to the author by Mr G. L. Slack of Silloth. In July 1977 he wrote:

. . . my family farmed at Skirwith Hall since the late 1700s from father to son. We have left the farm, having sold it last year. The present house was extended during the Boer War in 1900. The range of shippons was built during my grandfather's time round about 1870; the granary and cart shed . . . prior to that probably about 1860 . . .

The last house extension left an unbonded join in the rear wall, but on the front wall Thomas Addison's dressed quoin was skilfully removed and re-used so that the join in the sandstone blocks is only just discernible. Inside, however, the former back doors to the yard remain. Also by 1900 an extension had been built against the ancient dove-cote, Dutch barns had been erected in the old stackyard and the garden had been extended eastwards. Externally the farm has changed little since then but the 1773 barn has been modified considerably inside. New walls have been built under broken lintels and beams, softwood replacements for beams and roof trusses have been inserted, some walls removed and a grain drier installed. The loft has been ceiled and roof-lights installed. Under new ownership the house is to be converted into two homes for employees.

Although it has not been possible to discover what happened to each farmer and his family whilst their homes were rebuilt two centuries ago, their difficulties before and after have been revealed. The sources and costs of building materials and the methods of achieving economy have been discussed in detail. The planning and modification of work from first recommendation to final execution has been examined in sufficient depth to reveal the decision-making process, the role of each participant and something of their character. Even if this article has produced an adequate answer to Millward and Robinson's challenging statement, one must wonder, in view of the difficulties experienced on this relatively prosperous estate, how much greater must have been the Lakeland yeoman's problems struggling with fewer resources during the "Great Rebuilding" earlier in the eighteenth century.

Notes and References

- ¹ Preserved at Cumbria County Record Office, Kendal (K.R.O.), Rydal Manuscripts WD/Ry. Hereafter box numbers appear in brackets in the text. For clarity, some punctuation changes have been made in quotations.
- ² C. Roy Hudleston, "The Fleming Family . . .", CW2, lxiv, 285 and *passim*.
- ³ Family pedigree in K.R.O., WDX/214. John Moore's sons were Giles (1737-1779) rector of Windermere, and William (1754-1832) who inherited Grimeshill in 1780.
- ⁴ Gibson's letters (Ry. 108) cover the period 1773-1784. W. Senhouse of Nether Hall wrote to Sir Michael Fleming on 10 Dec. 1782 that he had called at Rydal and had "had the pleasure of seeing my old acquaintance John Gibson whose plump and rosy cheeks seemed to bespeak the Hospitality of that roof which he has so long and happily lived under" (Ry. 106).
- ⁵ Cumbria R.O., Carlisle, (C.R.O.), DRC/8/109. Kirkland Fell was not enclosed until 1857 and 1866 when Maj. Gen. G. C. H. le Fleming had 98½ stints on Cross Fell for Kirkland Farm.
- ⁶ K.R.O., WD/Ry Red Book (unboxed). "Valuation of Estates . . . of Lady le Fleming", 1816.

- ⁷ Richard Atkinson, baptised 3 Dec. 1815, was the fourth child of John Atkinson (died 1847) and Margaret *née* Varty of Ousby, married 12 Aug. 1810 (their first child was baptised 19 Nov. 1810). John was baptised 5 Nov. 1775, eldest son of Thomas Atkinson (died 1827) and Esther *née* Simpson of Dacre, married 27 June 1775. Thomas was baptised 3 July 1748, son of John Atkinson of Kirkland. C.R.O., Parish Registers.
- ⁸ W. G. Collingwood (Ed.) *The Memoirs of Sir Daniel Fleming*, CW, Tract Series, XI, 1928, pp. 67, 69, 112-16.
- ⁹ Confirmed in Ry. 107, Estate Rental 1777. John Atkinson was still tenant.
- ¹⁰ The considerable value of oak bark is indicated in B. Tyson, "Low Park barn, Rydal . . .", CW2, lxxix, 92.
- ¹¹ In 1779, the Otley family of Troutbeck appear to have continued living in their house even when the gable wall was demolished for extensions. B. Tyson, "The Cragg, Troutbeck . . .", CW2, lxxviii, 112.
- ¹² J. Bailey and G. Culley, *View of the Agriculture of . . . Cumberland*, 1805, 207.
- ¹³ On these conditions William Knipe rented Millhouse for £26. 15s. per year.
- ¹⁴ K.R.O., WD/Ry. 107, "Slate Book", 1779-82, page 3.
- ¹⁵ K.R.O., WD/TE, XIII, 139.
- ¹⁶ W. Hutchinson, *Excursion to the Lakes . . .*, 1776, 81. J. Budworth, *Fortnight's Ramble to the Lakes*, 1795, 103.
- ¹⁷ K.R.O., Ry. 66. Building account from 9 March 1773 to 22 February 1775. This box also contains the Skirwith Hall building estimates and Gibson's covering letter.
- ¹⁸ William Rigg was selling second quality slate from Coniston at 1s. 1d. to 1s. 11d. a load and thirds at 11d. (Ry. 107). A load was two hundredweight.
- ¹⁹ K.R.O., Dr A. Eccles, *Catalogue of Estate Maps*, plans 274 (c. 1850), 275 (1858).
- ²⁰ K.R.O., Ry. 66, "A copy of the boulder of ye manor of Kirkland . . . 1682".
- ²¹ Collingwood, *Memoirs*, *op. cit.*, 61.
- ²² K.R.O., Ry. 107 "Accounts of . . . farmers"; Ry. 113, Estate Rental of 1770.
- ²³ Building account (Ry. 66) and 1777 Rental (Ry. 107).
- ²⁴ There is no evidence to show that the little stable was altered in the ensuing work. It was demolished when the kitchen was extended in 1871.
- ²⁵ No trace survives but the O.S. plan (1860) 1:2,500 shows it as a saw mill.
- ²⁶ Parson & White, *Directory of Cumberland & Westmorland*, 1829, 361. Wm. Hutchinson, *History of Cumberland*, 1794, II, 522. Bailey & Culley, *op. cit.*, 203.
- ²⁷ See, for example, B. Tyson, "The Cragg, Troutbeck . . .", CW2, lxxviii, 110-12.
- ²⁸ George Atkinson owned Skygarth Hill, Kirkby Thore and died in 1781 leaving a widow Bridget. (K.R.O., WDX/82, Bundle 2, admittance dated 15 July 1780). Matthew's wife was Mary. Both families are listed in the 1787 Census of Westmorland (K.R.O., WQS P/C).
- ²⁹ A. Pringle, *View of Agriculture of . . . Westmorland*, 1794, 307.
- ³⁰ Thus William Hutchinson, *op. cit.*, 1794, I, 258, noted that in Kirkland "Lime was much used in Husbandry of late years, 5d. the Winchester bushel". Suitable "Fuel - chiefly coals, 6d. a Winchester bushel . . . [came from] . . . Ardalehead [Fig. 1]; a disputed right, and now wrought by Sir Michael le Fleming".
- ³¹ Receipt for printing 78 enfranchisement certificates (Ry. 114). Thirteen unexecuted documents (Ry. 111). Fleming obtained £984 from the manors of Skirwith and Kirkland by this means and the transaction cost Yates £66. 14s. plus £11 in arrears (Ry. 107). Yates died on 7 Sept. 1818 aged 84 (K.R.O. WDX/214).
- ³² The same amount of cash had been "paid to John Milner by John Moore Esq" on 6 November. Presumably, Milner could not meet Addison's demands for payment.
- ³³ Andrew Holliday was buried at Kirkland on 13 August 1780 aged 67, and his widow Jane (*née* Parcivell) on 13 June 1809 aged 87. They married there 14 May 1744 and had ten children by 1764. His will was proved at Carlisle 19 July 1781.
- ³⁴ W. G. Collingwood, "The Inventory of Mistress [Isabel] Fleming of Skirwith 1639", CW2, xxviii, 33-40. This document has not been found.
- ³⁵ He succeeded his mother, Isabel, when she died at Skirwith on 15 June 1639.
- ³⁶ W. Hutchinson, *op. cit.*, 1794, I, 260.
- ³⁷ Parson & White, *Directory . . .*, 1829, 489. Also Wm. Whellan, *History of Cumb. & Westm.*, 1860, 567.
- ³⁸ On 24 Nov. 1774 the paper reported a similar accident. "Last week as some Masons were taking down an old gable at Dalkeith, it fell upon them and buried four in the ruins: one of them was taken out alive but 3 were killed".
- ³⁹ Federation of Civil Engineering Contractors, *Supervisor's Safety Booklet*, 1961, 11, 32, 17.

- ⁴⁰ Their eight children, baptised at Newbiggin and Dufton, are listed in the 1787 Census of Westmorland (K.R.O., WQS P/C). Richard Addison, mason aged 41, was buried at Dufton on 14 June 1789.
- ⁴¹ Baptism entries from 1706 to 1723 describe Robert Addison as a mason. He was buried at Morland on 21 July 1748. No doubt, as one of "the best Workmen reputed in" Westmorland, it was he who approved the estimates for rebuilding Bampton church in 1726 and made the new font there. M. E. Noble, *History of Bampton*, 1901, 213, 217.
- ⁴² Sons John (24 Sept. 1775) and Thomas (29 June 1777) were baptised at Kirkland.
- ⁴³ A postscript to this letter states "Col. [John] Moore is come Home from Sunderland [where he had been with the militia] very ill indeed. They have called in Dr Ainslie". Moore died on 22 January 1780.
- ⁴⁴ C.R.O., D/Mus., Edenhall Title Deeds; witnesses Christopher & Isabella Dobson.
- ⁴⁵ Jane (1770), John (1772), Mary (1776). Frances, baptised on 13 Nov. 1736, seems to have been the only other child of John Milner's parents.
- ⁴⁶ Their children were baptised in Edenhall, Langwathby and Kirkland. John Milner was the eldest son of John Milnar (buried 6 March 1758) and Bridget (*née* Brough of Edenhall, buried 10 Dec. 1765) who married on 18 Nov. 1731. His grandparents were probably John Milnar (buried 25 Sept. 1721) and Isabella (buried 8 Jan. 1728).
- ⁴⁷ K.R.O., WD/Ry. 106. Letter T. Harrison to Sir Michael, 19 Nov. 1780.
- ⁴⁸ K.R.O., Estate map 274, scale 1:2,500.

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