

Templand in the 17th and 18th Century: an agricultural hamlet

Phil Rowland

Before the C19th, Templand was a hamlet located on the plateau between Allithwaite and Churchtown (Cartmel) (Fig 1) and close to Birkby Hall to the west. Templand was located in the ancient Parish of Cartmel in the Township of Lower Allithwaite. To the South and East of Templand was a patch of Common land used by the local farmers to graze their livestock in the summer months.

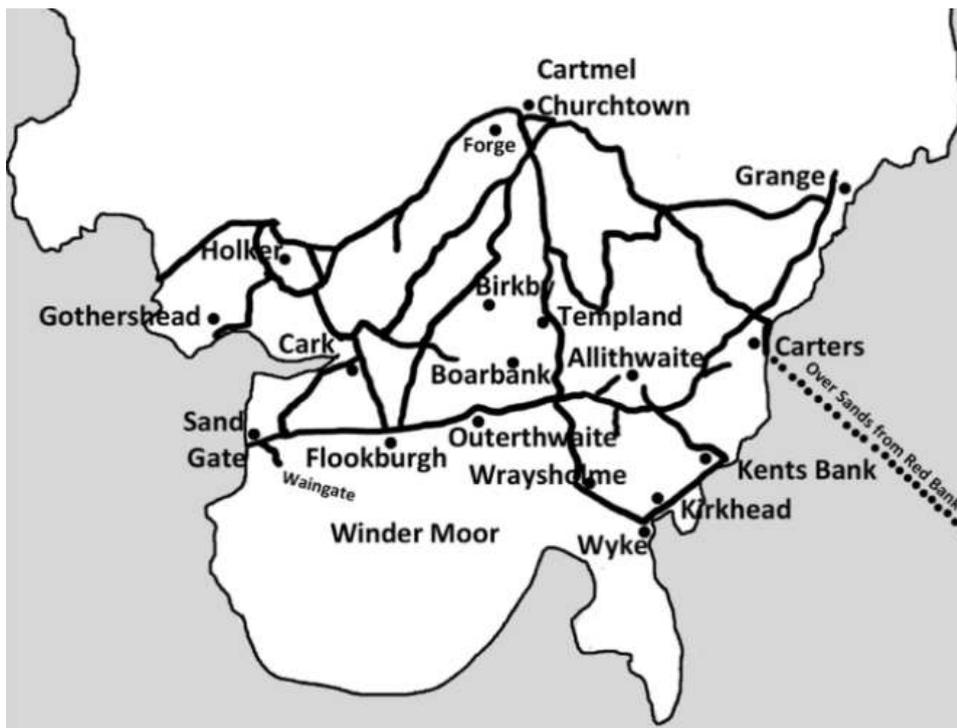


Fig.1. Map showing the roads and tracks surveyed by Kuerden in 1684 ¹

A route from the sands at Wyke to Cartmel, passed by Templand, a possible resting place for weary travellers. Around the time of Kuerden's survey (1686), the War Office commissioned a survey of billeting places on the main routes of the area, including across the Cartmel Peninsula. They reported 4 guest beds available at Templand, with 2 stable places.²

The first detailed map showing Templand was produced by Richard Kuerden in 1684. He conducted a survey of roads in Lancashire, including some of the roads north of the sands of Morecambe Bay (Fig 1).³ His map (Fig 2), not to scale, shows Templand Fell (now known as Wartbarrow), and hedges and walls on one of the roads to Cartmel. Templand Fell and the area to the south was common land until the end of the C18th. The other road to the west from Templand to Cartmel is not shown on this survey map. There are four buildings at Templand on this plan, and there will possibly have been three or four other properties at Templand to the west of his survey map at that time.

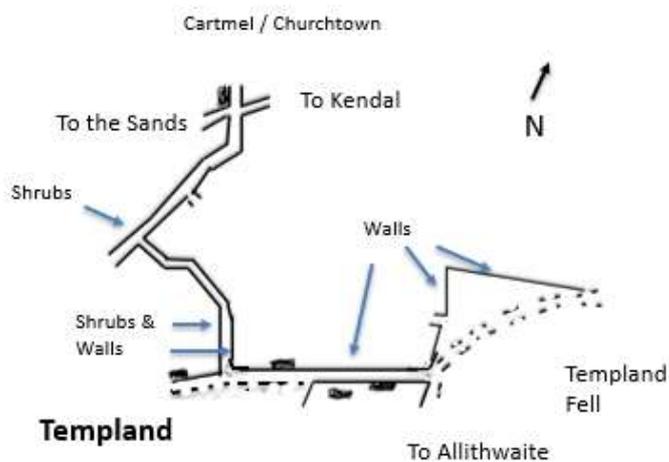


Fig 2. A tracing of the part of the survey Kuerden survey map 1684.⁴ The original image may be viewed on the North-West Regional Heritage Centre website.⁵

Templand was one of many scattered settlements in the ancient parish of something like 40 centres of population.⁶ The majority of the population were engaged in agriculture with approximately 400 land occupiers. Arthur Young reported near the end of the C18th that agriculture in the area was very backward, corn reaped with a sickle and threshed with a flail in much the same way as for centuries⁷ and Stockdale gave a bleak picture of husbandry.⁸ It was only in the second-half of the C18th that the pioneers in the region, Graham, Fletcher, and Curwen started to experiment by improving land drainage and manuring to increase the fertility.² Locally, in 1778, John Wilkinson worked on land drainage and cultivation improvements at Castle Head.⁹ By the beginning of the C18th potatoes were cultivated widely, and towards the end of the century, turnips were grown to help sustain the pastoral stock over the winter. For an in-depth comparison of agriculture in the inventories of Templand and the surrounding area see the article by Jennifer Gallagher.¹⁰

Who lived at Templand and were those who lived there engaged in anything more than subsistence farming? Information from the registers and surviving inventories is explored. Fortunately for research purposes, Templand is recorded as a location in the registers of births, marriages and burials which are available from the middle of the 16th Century until the middle of the 19th Century. The registers hold 370 records for Templand comprising of 17 marriages, 215 baptisms, and 138 burials. The local Archives at Preston and Barrow hold 63 documents, one from C16th, 34 from C17th, and 28 from C18th. There are 38 probate records, four feoffments (given land in exchange of a pledge for service), one agreement, one apprentice contract, and one assignment. Seventeen inventories for this period have survived. The details from these inventories and associated wills provide a wonderful insight into the families, agriculture and life of this period. Please bear in mind the information presented here from the registers and inventories / wills for Templand is from a relatively small data set and any trends are not statistically based or robust.

In the first half of the 17th century the registers suggest there are 7 or 8 families living around Templand, 8-12 families live in the hamlet in the second half of the century, and fewer there during the 18th century until there are only 3 families in the last decade (Fig 3). Families are large and the population appears to be growing with baptisms exceeding burials, as baptisms

average 11 per decade and ten burials 7 per decade including the high mortality of children (53 over the period).

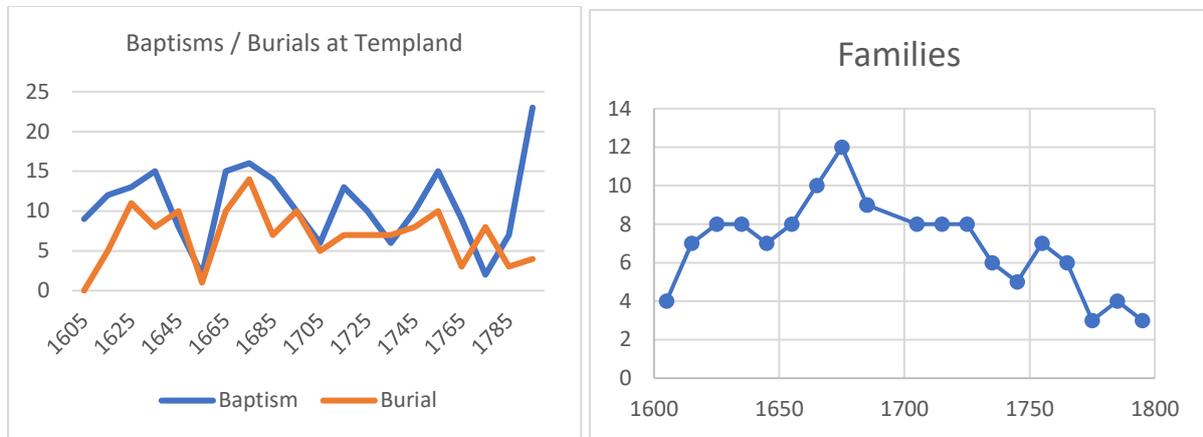


Fig. 3. The number of Births / Burials and families residing at Templand for each decade.

Compiled information shows at least thirteen different family groups were living at Templand over the two centuries. The Holmes family were at Templand from 1600 until 1760 and the Wallers were there during the whole of the 17th century (fig 4). The Wilsons and Dickonsons (carpenters) resided at Templand for a century from around the middle of the 17th century, and the Garners were there for nearly the whole of the C18th. Families residing at Templand for less than 10 years are not included in the information in Fig.4.

See the appendices for family trees of the Wallers, Hayles, Batemans, Burscough, and Gar(d)ners

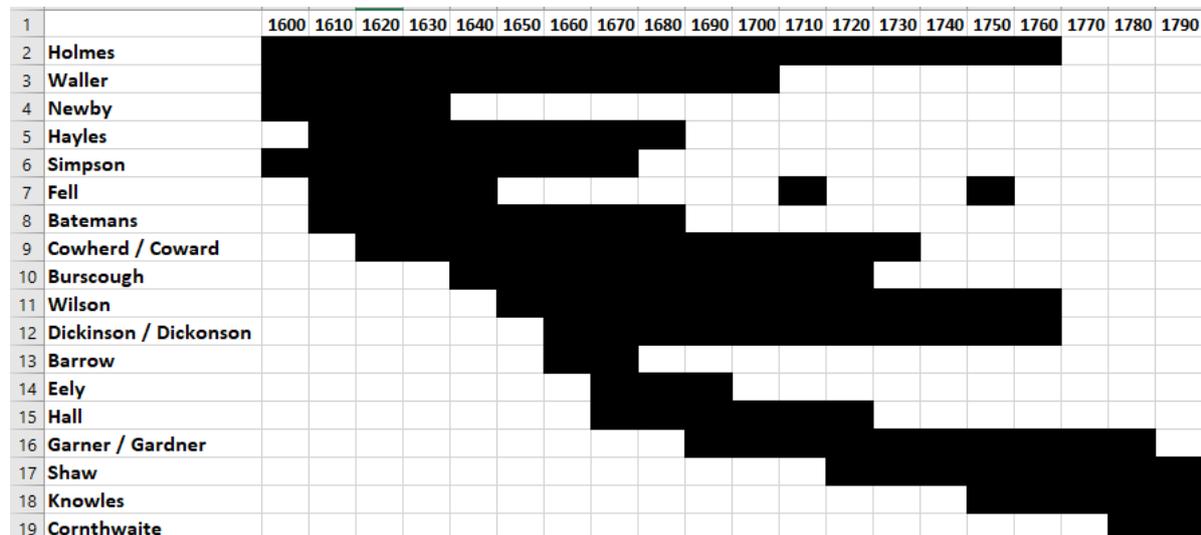


Fig 4. Timeline diagram showing when families were recorded in the Registers as residing at Templand.

The 17 inventories of the estates of Templand residents are held in the Archives at Preston and range in dates from 1645 until 1740 (Table 1). Two of the inventories contain no monetary details and three others contain only personal effects and loans. Nearly all of the inventories indicate farming activity or a smallholding (14 of the 17) and nine of these documents note

significant assets in farming (>£10) in either or both arable crops and pastoral stock. George & Edward Waller, George Hayle and Richard Bateman listed assets in farming of £36 or more.

Inventories show both crops growing in the ground and those stored in lofts and barns. Everyone grew the staple foods of oats and barley, whilst only a few cultivated wheat and corn. George Hayle (£32 in July 1665) and George Waller (£23 in 1690) recorded the greatest values in arable crops. Richard Bateman, Augustine Simpson, William Garner and George Waller also had arable assets greater the £10.

In the following description, the estimates of acreage of crops are based on 30s / acre and one acre of oats could feed family for a year.¹¹ Three inventories from the summer months indicate crops growing. George Hayle cultivated crops of oats and barley at Boarbank and Allithwaite (approx. 6 acres), and corn at Templand (2 acres) in July 1665. Peas, beans meal, and malt appear in his inventory too. In William Gardner's inventory in June 1689, there are oats and barley (approx. 6 acres), peas and beans growing in the ground, and some oats and malt in the loft. Edward Waller grew oats of approx. 4 acres (June 1711) and had wheat and barley in his barn. Following George Waller's death in the winter (Jan 1690), he left large stocks of oats and barley, threshed and unthreshed, in his lofts (Jan 1690), and in the Garner loft, and at Aynsome, and corn in the Bateman barn (equivalent to approx. 10 acres). An earlier winter inventory of Richard Bateman (Dec 1645) recorded oats & barley threshed and unthreshed to the value of £11-10-0 (equivalent to 8 acres), Most grew some corn, peas and beans. Potato culture commenced in West Cumberland in the second half of the C17th but there was no-one at Templand growing potatoes in the period under review.

Sheep has been described as an important feature of the domestic economy with the average flock-size of around 50.¹¹ The breed of sheep is unspecified although in Cumbria the sheep were mostly Herdwick or the Silverdale breed.¹² Around Templand the flock sizes appear smaller. Gardner (1689) kept 16 old sheep and lambs, Richard Bateman 1645, George Hayle 1665, and George Hall flocks were estimated from the value in the inventories to be approximately 30, and George Waller 1690 had a flock of 23. Waller's flock of 23 sheep was very highly valued at £17 presumably because in the January the ewes were carrying lambs. George's son Edward Waller (June 1703) had a larger flock of over 50 sheep (valued at £13) swelled with lambs (£1-17-6) possibly shortly to be sold at the local market. George Hayles (£1), George Hall (£1) and Edward Waller (£2) had significant stocks of wool shortly after clipping in June or July.

Many had a cow or two probably for the dairy. George Waller managed a herd of 16 cattle with a value of £21, including 6 mature cattle (kine), and young stirks, steers and heifers which he was over-wintering (Jan 1690). George Waller had beef (and other things) in his buttery. Edward Waller (June 1703) maintained the herd of his father (value £23) which were listed as beasts and 2 more cows. The cattle breed was unspecified in the inventory although common breeds of cattle in the area were Galloways and Longhorns.⁷

No pigs / swine were listed in inventories at Templand and only small stocks in store: Augustine Simpson (ham), and George Waller, and William Gardner (bacon and hams). It is quite likely that up to the end of the C18th, pork was never considered as important to the economy as sheep or cattle,¹³

Most had one or two horses for transport or ploughing, and George Waller in the late C17th appears to be a breeder with eight horses, and perhaps he was also supplying horses for the cross-sands route?

Twelve of the 17 mentioning some textiles and shows the hamlet growing hemp, producing wool, processing the products, spinning the yarn and producing cloth. The value of these assets is small in most cases indicating this is clearly a cottage industry with a webster (William Smith 1757) and a tailor (Robert Garner 1740-73) recorded in the records. For an in-depth discussion on the textile industry in the Cartmel peninsula including Templand see the article by Pat Rowland.¹⁴

From the middle of the C16th, their furniture and household belongings suggest these people were well-to-do yeomen as most had spits for cooking large joints of meat and ate off pewter and brass.¹⁵

In the C16th, the Hayles (Halle and Hall), Bateman, Burscough and Wallers owned and farmed the land at Templand, and the farms of the Hayles, Wallers and Bateman were very productive. In addition, Richard Bateman (died in 1645), Augustine Fell (d 1711), George Hall (d 1718) and Mary Rigg (d 1740) made loans from income to local inhabitants, a common practise at this time as there was no banking system. John Burscough (1668) obliged his friends to sell two closes to settle his debt, and Edward Waller's inventory (1711) listed obligations, presumably to his siblings and offspring of £160.

The inventories and registers provide a detailed view of the agricultural hamlet in the 17th and early C18th. After this time no further records are found of these families. The registers and archive records list husbandman (8) in the second half of the C18th (Table 2). One senses life was tough at this time, with over-stocking on the Common land, and four residents dying as paupers: Margaret Shaw 1753, Joseph Wilson 1763, Mary Cornthwaite 1791, and Robert Pow 1792. At the end of the C18th, the first newspaper report from Templand advertises the sale of three farms at auction at the Cavendish Arms in Cartmel and this is the first indication of the size of the farms / smallholdings: Knowles (30 acres), John Atkinson (23 acres) and Robert Pool (12 acres).¹⁶ In 1800, Templand Common was enclosed and plots allocated or sold to the local landowners.¹⁷

Conclusions

From the middle of the C17th up to the beginning of the C18th, a time of population growth, there were 8 or more large families living in the hamlet with six smallholdings / farms in the occupation of the Bateman, Hayles / Halls, Burscough, Simpson, Wallers and Gardner. There were 3 or 4 very productive farms, and 4 residents had excess income and made loans to family neighbours and friends

At Templand, the farming was a mixture of arable and pastoral, with much more land under the plough than the present day. They produced more than enough staple food crops of oats, barley and corn for the whole community. Surprisingly 3 farmers also grew wheat. Most supplemented their income by growing hemp and producing yarn and cloth. Most kept a cow and sometimes a few sheep. The Wallers had a larger herd, a decent flock of sheep and were probably horse breeders.

Templand was clearly a successful self-supporting community in the C17th and into the C18th, although life became tougher in the second half of the C18th as the population grew rapidly, Common Land became over-stocked, and those who had resided there long-term, the Coward, Burscough, Wilsons and Dickonson families, died out or moved away.

Further details of the individual farming families are presented in the Appendices.

Jan 2021 v1

Table 1. Summary of the monetary values from inventories of Templand residents (£ in decimals).

	Crops	Animals	Textiles	Personal	Equipment	Loans	Debts	total
Roger Fell Jan 1616 ¹⁸	y	x	y	y	y	x	y	*
Jenette Waller 1621 ¹⁹	y	y	y	y	y	y	x	*
Richard Bateman Dec 1645 ²⁰	16.78	19.27	y	13.80	0.70	65.73	0	118.33
George Hayle July 1665 ²¹	32.16	20.95	y (2.65)	11.98	4.63	2.00	0	72.16
Margaret Halle Mar 1668 ²²	1.89	1.00	y (0.35)	12.71	1.63	0	0	17.23
John Burscough Mar 1668 ²³	3.98	11.00	y (4.1)	4.62	2.53	0	102.37	-80.23
Augustine Simpson Nov 1672 ²⁴	13.15	12.65	y	11.62	0.8	10.48	8.18	40.86
Richard Holmes July 1678 ²⁵	0.17	2.08	y (0.25)	1.18	0.18	0	1.97	1.63
Robert Bateman Feb 1684 ²⁶	1.35	5.50	y (0.35)	4.50	1.25	0	0	12.60
William Garner June 1689 ²⁷	12.15	6.78	y (0.3)	5.15	1.85	12.90 (s)	43.39	-4.46
George Waller Jan 1690 ²⁸	23.53	45.68	x	12.20	1.23	0	0	83.32
Edward Waller June 1703 ²⁹	19.00	46.73	y (3.0)	23.18	1.75	5.00	160.75 b	-70.10
Ann Waller Jan 1707 ³⁰	0	0	y 1.9	5.50	0	0	0	7.40
Augustine Fell Feb 1711 ³¹	0	0	y (0.2)	6.26	0	97.00	37.75 a	65.50
George Hall Nov 1718 ³²	8.55	13.50	y (1.8)	3.91	1.67	108	0	136.28
Josiah Pennington Mar 1739 ³³	2.50	19.50	x	4.75	1.50	0	0	28.25
Mary Rigg Apr 1740 ³⁴	0	0	x	28.98	0	28.95	0	58.93

a legacies, b obligations, * Incomplete values, (s) stock in shop, Textiles yarn wool hemp cloth brackets also included in crop assets.

Table 2. Occupations of some other residents at Templand (from registers and archive documents)

Name	Occupation	Year
John Barrow	Yeoman	1665
Richard Holmes	Husbandman	1689
Thomas Preston	Yeoman	1721-1727
Thomas Coward	Yeoman	1732
John Brockbank	Husbandman	1742
Chris Gibson	Apprentice	1751
William High	Husbandman	1770
Matthew Knowles	Husbandman	1773
Richard Scrogham	Husbandman	1773
James Falsehead	Labourer	1775
Thomas Caddy	Husbandman	1785
Patrick Moore	Husbandman	1785
Richard Wilson	Carpenter	1660
Thomas Dickonson	Carpenter	1718
Myles Dickenson	Carpenter	1720
Robert Garner	Tailor	1740 1758 1773
William Smith	Webster	1757
John Wilson	Mariner	1695
Thomas Preston	Mariner	1723
Miles Knowls	Mariner	1767
Thomas Scrogham	Mariner	1767

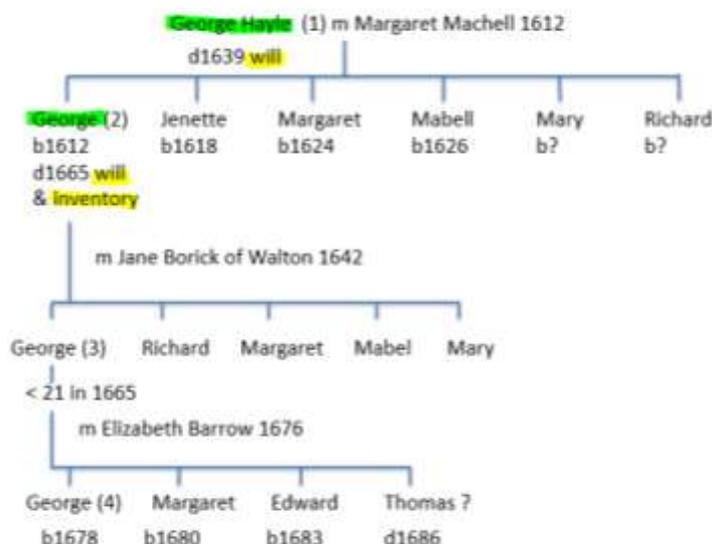
Appendix 1: Hayles /Hales and Halle

The Hayle Family lived at Templand in the C17th and the registers show they lived there between 1612 (baptism George 2) and 1686 (burial of Thomas). The registers are incomplete around the time of the birth of George 3 and his siblings. The documents for George 1 (will dated 1639) and George 2 Yeoman (will and inventory 1665) provide details of the family and the farming at Templand. George 1 passed his land at Templand to George 2, who in turn left his land to George 3 in 1665.

George 2 died with assets of £72 and passed on his estate to his son George 3, with half a lifetime interest to his wife Jane. Approximately 80% of his assets in July 1665 were tied up in his farming stock, crops and equipment.¹⁹ He had a herd of 8 or 9 beasts (cows), a flock of 30-40 sheep, a horse and a mare for ploughing and transport. They also kept 20 or so hens and geese and a bee hive to produce honey, the only sweetening agent at the time.¹¹ Oats, barley and corn were his crops growing at Templand, and he also had crops in the field at Boarbank meadow and at Allithwaite amounting to approximately 10 acres of standing crops. There were also peas and beans in store. They were spinning yarn and producing cloth for textiles either from their own wool or from hemp / flax from a neighbour on an adjacent farm at Templand.

The spelling of the family name appears to change from Hayle to Halle or Hale in the 1660's. Margaret Halle was probably the wife of George 1 Hayle. She (a widow) left an inventory and a will in 1668 with a value of £8.²⁰ She had barley, malt, oats (threshed & unthreshed), hempseed and hemp and a few sheep old and young (5 or 6).

There was also the Hall family at Templand in the registers from 1665 to 1728, and here it is assumed the Hayles name changes to Hall. George (died in 1718) was a husbandman producing oats, barley and a little wheat. He owned a horse and filly, a cow and heifer, and a flock of 30-40 sheep. He was a tremendous benefactor providing secured loans to the value of £98. George Halle of Templand 1703 was a trustee of Edward Waller's estate in 1703.

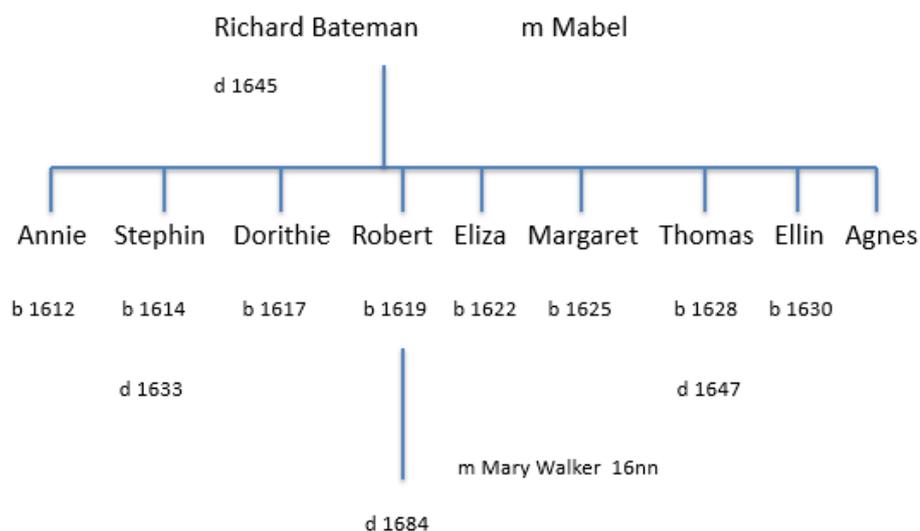


Appendix 2: Bateman

Richard Bateman married Mabel, and they appear to have had at least 8 children. Richard died in December 1645. Three years earlier Stockdale noted that he owed money to the poor,³⁵ which was possibly a contribution / rent for grazing his stock on the adjacent Common Land. Richard had a mixed pastoral and arable farm. He grew oats, barley, peas and beans, and unusually for the area produced wheat. The family also supplemented their income with a cottage textile industry, growing hemp and producing yarn and cloth. There were also approximately 15 fleeces in their store from their flock of 30-40 sheep. They also kept a few cattle. The farm appeared to generate excess income as he loaned money and received an income from mortgage loans to the value of £43 8s.

Richard left Robert (his eldest surviving son) his husbandry gear and money to his other children. He left the right of his tenement and goods to his widow Mabel and 4 lambs from 'next year's crop' to his granddaughter Elizabeth.

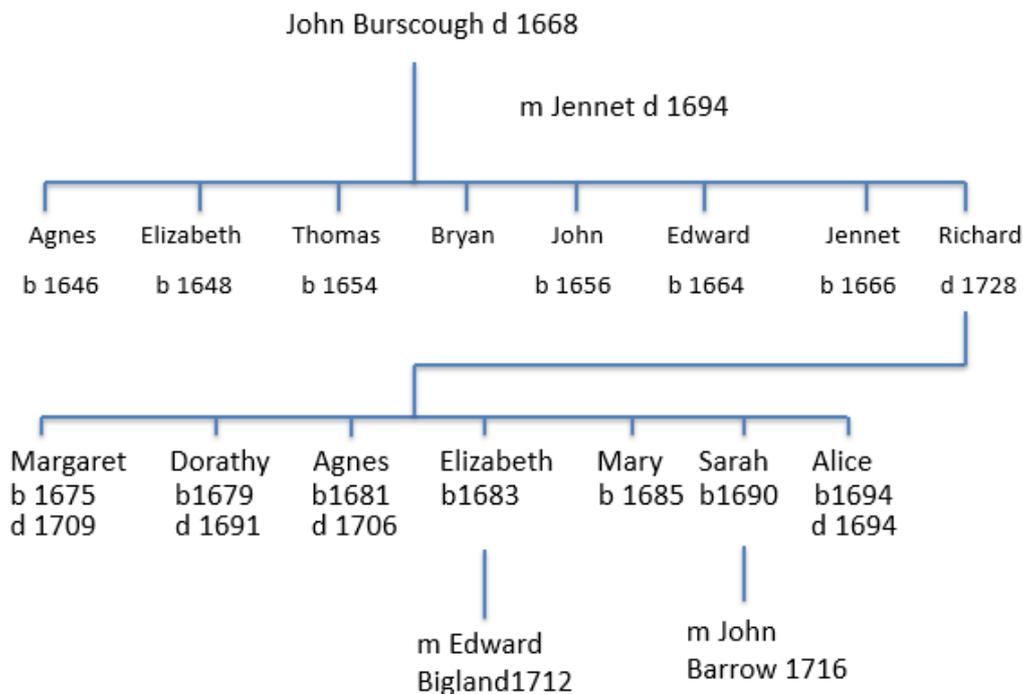
Robert (a yeoman), died in February 1684 leaving his land and buildings to his wife Mary and brother-in-law James Walker, and assets worth £23 from a smallholding. His good friends George Waller, Richard Burscough, George Hall and John Kellett were left 2/6 each to help discharge his obligations.



Appendix 3: Burscough

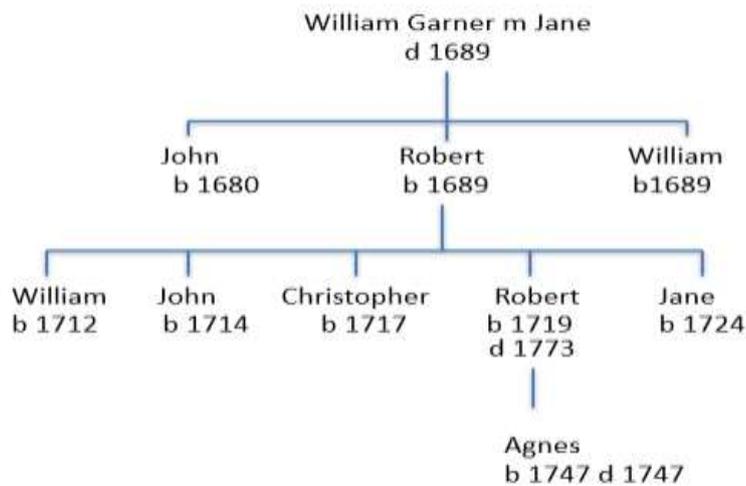
The Burscough family lived at Templand for 70 or so years from the middle of the C17th. John died in March 1668 leaving an inventory and owing a debt of £102 to many family, friends and neighbours. He managed to over-winter 7 cattle (2 kine 3 heifers & 2 stirk) and he had 3 horses (2 mares & 1 gelding) too on the farm. Even at the end of the winter they had stores of oats, barley and beans, and straw and hay for the animals. Like many others at Templand he grew hemp but unusually he owned a spinning wheel to produce yarn.

In his will, he instructed his friends Thomas Burscough, John Simpson, Hugh Kellet and Richard Rowlandson to sell part of his estate, namely Low Field 2.5 acres, and Bottom Close 2 acres, within 3 years to pay off his debts. He gave 20s to each of his sons Thomas, Bryan, John & Edward, and 40s to his daughter Jennet. Half his flock of sheep went to Richard Wilson and the other half to his wife and son Richard: note there were no sheep listed in his inventory.



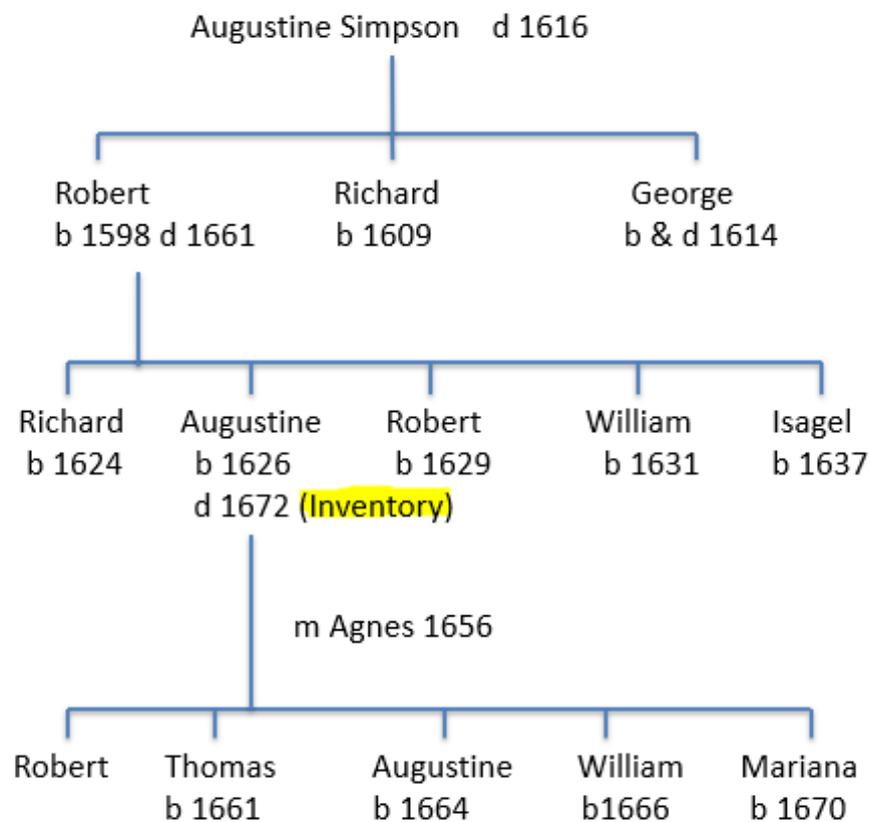
Appendix 4: Garners / Gardners

The Garners / Gardeners farmed at Templand from the middle of the C17th until towards the end of the 18th century. William Gardner of Templand died in 1689 and left an inventory. He left assets of £38, and debts to 26 people of £43. Approximately half his assets (£19) were from his animals and crops, and one third from the assets of his shop (£13). Was the shop at Templand? His inventory taken June shows there were oats, barley, peas, beans, hemp and ley-grass growing in the closes. He had a few cows, a horse, some bees and 16 old sheep and lambs. In his store there was a significant quantity (1 stone) of hemp and yarn, malt, oats and meale (probably coarse flour), plus bacon / hams. The inventory provides clear evidence of arable farm with a few farm animals and a significant hempland. Robert, a sailor was drowned in 1744.



Appendix 5: Simpson

Records of the Simpsons show they were at Templand from 1594 when Agnes the wife of Christopher died ³⁶ until Augustine died in 1671/2 leaving an inventory.²² His inventory is a lovely example of a small farm and the assets held in November. They kept a gelding and a mare, 2 cows and a calf, a flock of sheep (25), and a few poultry. In the stores the family held hemp, yarn, butter cheese, hams, hay and corn. They were one of the families with a loom and very much involved in the textile business. Four years after Augustine's death, his wife Agnes and son Robert bought the fulling mill at Cark in 1676 and sold it in 1682.

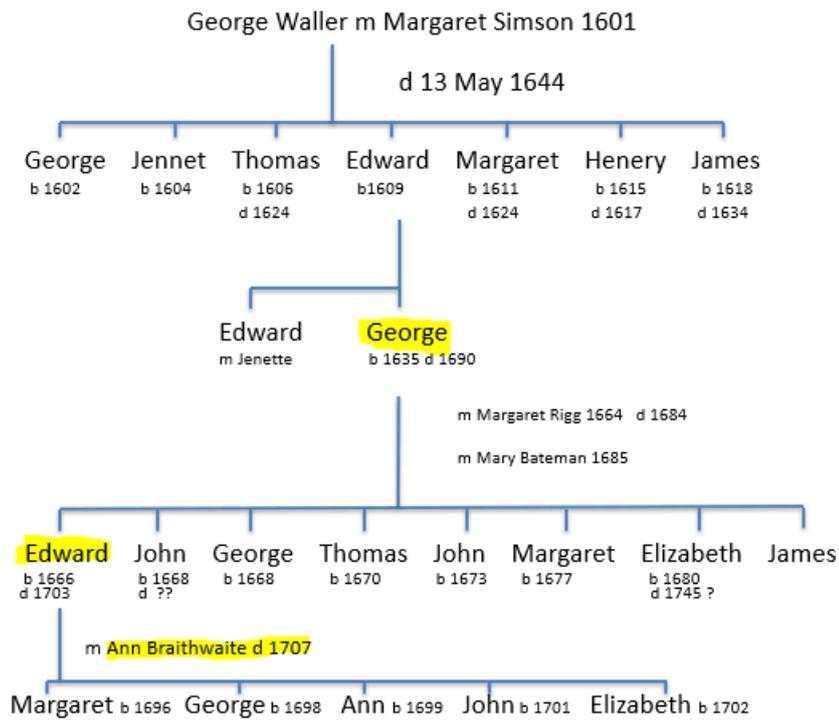


Appendix 6: Waller

There were at least 5 generation of Wallers were residing at Templand for the whole of the C17th. Four inventories from the Waller family survive. George Waller is the first member of the family in the archive records of 1604 and described as an ‘attorney’ living at Templand.³⁷ In 1621, Jennete’s inventory shows the family has a mixed arable and pastoral farm. The other three inventories are between 1690 and 1707.

In his will in 1690, George names Mary as his wife, and his children John, Thomas, James & Elizabeth. George died in the January leaving the most productive farm at Templand with barns containing barley thrashed and unthrashed, malt, corn thrashed and unthrashed, oats and hay. Including the stores on his Aynsome land, I estimate he will have had at least 6 acres of arable under oats, wheat and barley, and 4 acres of grassland for hay. He had 8 horses, a flock of 23 highly valued sheep (£17, probably because they would be carrying lambs in January) and a herd of cattle (steers, stirks and kine totaling 16, value £21). He will traditionally have slaughtered some animals at Martinmass³⁸ (beef in the store) and over-wintered a few young heifers and bullocks, and kept a few mature cows for milk. Hams & barjams in store suggests that pigs were not over-wintered. At that time of year, they also had approx. 30 hens. Although this was clearly the most productive farm at Templand, and should have produced a good income, surprisingly he didn’t show any loans or credit to the local community.

When he died in June 1703, Edward Waller left a wife Ann, and 5 children under the age of 7, and owned land at Templand, Allithwaite, Aynsome, Sawrey and Claife. Edward maintained the herd of cattle inherited from his father (value £23) and a large flock of sheep (50+) and lambs. He was growing oats (4 acres) and barley (3 acres) and a little wheat and hemp. He appointed John Askew (Birkby), George Halle (Templand) and William Simpson (Allithwaite) as trustees of his estate and children. His inventory lists assets of £90 and obligations, presumably to his siblings and offspring of £160. Four years after his death, his wife Ann died (1707). She left her home to their eldest son George and a few odds and ends to the others.



¹ W.D. Shannon. *Seventeenth-Century Lancashire Restored: The Life and Work of Dr Richard Kuerden, Antiquary and Topographer*, 1623-1702 p203.

² Dr A. Crosby Presented at a CPLHS Lecture in March 2020

³ W.D. Shannon. *Seventeenth-Century Lancashire Restored: The Life and Work of Dr Richard Kuerden, Antiquary and Topographer*, 1623-1702 p306.

⁴ Preston Archive DDX 194/36r

⁵ Regional Heritage Centre Lancaster Website <https://regionalheritage.omega.net/items/show/67>

⁶ Dr John Marshall, The News Dec 1984.

⁷ CML Bouch & G P Jones *The Lakes Counties 1500-1830*

⁸ J D Marshall *Furness and the Industrial Revolution*. Moxon Press Ltd 1981

⁹ Pat Rowland. John Wilkinson and the improvement of moss land at Castlehead, Lindale from 1778 to 1808.

<https://cplhs.files.wordpress.com/2015/08/john-wilkinsons-method-of-improving-moss-land-from-1778-to-1808.pdf>.

¹⁰ Jennifer Gallagher and Pat Rowland. *Agriculture in Allithwaite and the surrounding areas in the early modern period using information from C17th & 18th inventories* <https://cplhs.files.wordpress.com/2020/09/agriculture-in-allithwaite-inventories.pdf>.

¹¹ J.D. Marshall *The Domestic economy of Lakeland Yeoman 1660-1749* tcwaas 002 1973 vol73 0017

¹² T H Bainbridge *18C Agriculture in Cumbria*. CWAAS 1942, 42, 56-66

¹³ Catherine Smith *A grumphy in the sty: an archaeological view of pigs in Scotland, from their earliest domestication to the agricultural revolution*. Proc. Soc. Antiq. Scot. 130, 2000, 705-724.

¹⁴ Pat Rowland *et al*, A note on aspects of the flax and hemp industry on the Cartmel Peninsula in the 17th to 19th century. Tcwaas In -press 2021

¹⁵ Templand Household Belongings in the 17-18C Pat Rowland <https://cplhs.files.wordpress.com/2021/01/templand-houshold-belongings-in-the-17-18c.pdf>

¹⁶ Cumberland Pacquet, and Ware's Whitehaven Advertiser 12 June 1798

¹⁷ Templand Common Enclosure by Phil Rowland. CPLHS website

¹⁸ Lancashire Records Office (LRO): WRW/F/R327B/18.

¹⁹ LRO: WRW/F/R360B/9.

²⁰ LRO: WRW/F/R316A/6

²¹ LRO: WRW/F/R334B/6.

²² LRO: WRW/F/R334A/5.

²³ LRO: WRW/F/R317B/51.

²⁴ LRO: WRW/F/R353B/32.

²⁵ LRO: WRW/F/R334C/24.

²⁶ LRO: WRW/F/R319A/45.

²⁷ LRO: WRW/F/R331A/58.

²⁸ LRO: WRW/F/R326A/40

²⁹ LRO: WRW/F/R362A/38.

³⁰ LRO: WRW/F/R362A/37.

³¹ LRO: WRW/F/R330A/8.

³² LRO: WRW/F/R335A/3.

³³ LRO: WRW/F/R348B/10

³⁴ LRO: WRW/F/R351B/41

³⁵ J. Stockdale, *Annals of Cartmel* p72

³⁶ LRO: WRW/F/351B/42

³⁷ LRO: DDX 499/2

³⁸ J D Marshall *Agrarian Wealth and Social Structure in the Pre-Industrial Cumbria*. Economic History Review 33, 4, 503-521 Nov 1980