The Consumer and Consumption in South Westmorland, circa 1700 to 1750: a Yeoman Family's Possessions and Acquisitions.

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ABSTRACT

The central focus of this thesis is the early-eighteenth century consumer in south Westmorland, and his possessions and acquisitions. It is based on a family case study of the Brownes, a yeoman family of Troutbeck, a scattered township situated in south Westmorland. Benjamin Browne (1664-1748) is central, because he amassed a wealth of documentation which allows extraordinary insights into his life and that of his family and neighbours during the early-eighteenth century. Unusually, Townend, the family's home for over four hundred years, and much of the furniture inside, has survived too.

Debates surrounding consumer behaviour and material culture have focused upon finding the first recorded appearance of certain new items across regions of the country, in probate inventories. It is now clear that understanding consumer behaviour involves more than counting the goods held at death, with lifecycle and regional influences playing a crucial part. Using these documents, the house and the extant possessions, we gain a more complete picture of the consumer, understanding behaviour in relation to life, not as an abstract activity as it is so often portrayed. Consumption emerges as the result of an assembly of strategies: new, second-hand, vernacular, metropolitan, investment, inheritance, ownership and use-rights. These strategies were affected by externally defined influences with a distinct regional flavour, including budget, opportunity, market-location, life-cycle, inheritance customs and tenancy. This led to community 'norms' of function, taste and status, and we see that consumption was not about the single purchases of individual people, but about social context.

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ABBREVIATONS

C.R.O./K.	**Cumbria Record Office, Kendal.**
L.R.O./P.	**Lancashire Record Office, Preston.**
W.D./T.E.	**Westmorland Deanery, Townend.**
T.C.W.A.A.S.	**Transactions of the Cumberland and Westmorland Archeological and Anitquarian Society.**
T. H.S.L.C.	**Transactions of the Historical Society of Lancashire and Cheshire.**

Editorial Note

All transcriptions are in original spelling. To aid comprehension some punctuation is added and incorrect capitalization is not retained. Where abbreviations are confusing or words are missing, contractions are rendered in square brackets.

INTRODUCTION

'The fact remains that these farmhouses are the outward expression of the developing character and experience of entire dales communities. Two or three hundred years ago a stark and simple way of life was pursued within their walls'.[1]

To understand the actual workings of the early-modern concepts of status, rank and patterns of consumption we need to know more about the individuals, their way of life and, as Earle has called for, details down to 'even the fairly crude level of the best bedroom'.[2] The central focus of this thesis is a family case study of the Brownes, a yeoman family of Troutbeck, a scattered township situated in south Westmorland. Benjamin Browne (1664-1748), is central, because he amassed a wealth of documentation which allows extraordinary insights into his life and that of his family and neighbours during the early-eighteenth century. Unusually, Townend, the family's home for over four hundred years, and much of the furniture inside, has survived too. Using these documents, house and the extant possessions, we gain a complete picture of the consumer, understanding behaviour in relation to life, not as an abstract activity as it is so often portrayed. Glennie has acknowledged that 'we know far too little about why particular things became desirable whereas others did not. On this topic, we require closer integration of documentary evidence and interpretation of the forms and material artefacts'.[3]

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[1] J.D. Marshall, *Old Lakeland, Some Cumbrian Social History*, (1971), p. 37.
[2] P. Earle, 'The 'middling sort' in London', in J. Barry and C. Brooks, (eds), *The Middling Sort: Culture, Society and Politics in England, 1550-1800*, (1994), p. 147.
[3] P. Glennie, 'Consumption Within Historical Studies', in D. Millar (ed), *Acknowledging Consumption*, (1995), p. 190.

Until now, little was known about the detail of consumer behaviour of south Westmorland yeomen, and they are simply assumed to have had backward tastes, conservative attitudes and 'stark and simple' interiors.[4] The question of how and where they bought their material goods has been largely neglected in the past. This thesis considers whether such a community was polarised and withdrawn from society or had interests to wider, even metropolitan, fashions and ways. The Brownes were grounded in the local community, not set apart, and thus their documentation sheds light on others, confirming that they were rarely alone in their patterns of behaviour. Through them, we can resolve many unanswered questions by analysing the quantity and quality of goods, considering where they came from, and by finding out what happened to these things after they became redundant.

Through such analysis, complex patterns of ownership are revealed and a better understanding of consumption emerges. This research adds a new dimension to the meaning of 'vernacular' consumption and highlights a core of behavioural influences including family dynamics, relationships, income, access to suppliers and local custom. It is clear that understanding consumer behaviour involves more than counting the goods held at death, as previous studies have tended to concentrate upon.

Historiographical Context

The yeoman was part of a group in early-modern society now generally referred to as the 'middling sort'. This group has emerged through recent historical debates as a key agent in political 'state-formation' and the growth of the consumer economy in England between the sixteenth and eighteenth centuries. Definitions have proved

[4]J. D. Marshall, 'Agrarian wealth and social structure in pre-industrial Cumbria', *Economic History Review*, 33, (1980), pp. 503-21 and J. D. Marshall, 'The domestic economy of the Lakeland yeomen

elusive, but the label is usually applied to those who attained economic independence and prosperity directly through their own labour, whether in agriculture, trade, manufacture or in the 'professions'. In general, the 'middling' were distinct from the landed elite, who depended on unearned and family reliable incomes, and from the labouring poor, who worked but never attained clear prosperity. Wrightson traced the use of the term 'sort' to the mid-to-late sixteenth century, with the earliest example of 'middling sort' in 1542, when Henry Brinklow referred to the 'pore and myddel sort of people'.[5] While Wrightson dated the origin of the term to the sixteenth century, he argued that it did not pass into more general currency until the mid-seventeenth century. Polemics and pamphleteering during the Civil War, and the growth of distinctive urban trading elites after 1660, gave the term a greater resonance alongside a new awareness within society of position and rank. By the late-seventeenth century, the term was used regularly, and society in Wrightson's view had become tripartite with the 'middling sort' forming a recognisable and very distinctive grouping between the labouring poor and the very rich.[6]

Earle continued the discourse on terminology by drawing upon Defoe's early eighteenth century references to 'sorts'.[7] Defoe saw the structure of society as divided into seven categories, the 'middling sort' being the third section between the 'rich who live plentifully' and 'the working trades who labour hard'.[8] Whichever system is preferred, the occupation and rank of its members are still debated. Rodgers argued that the 'middling sort' came from a commercially successful background, 'employers,

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1660-1749' *T.C.W.A.A.S.*, 2, (1973). pp. 190-219, and J. D. Marshall, (1971) p. 37.
[5] K. Wrightson, '"Sorts of People" in Tudor and Stuart England', in J. Barry and S. Brooks, (eds), (1994), pp. 28-51, see p. 41.
[6] K. Wrightson, *English Society, 1580-1680*, (1982), p. 64.
[7] P. Earle, (1994), p. 142.
[8] Ibid., p. 142.

consumers, office-holders and property owners', and were unlikely to do more than aspire to gentility.[9] Although there has been an increase of recent research into the social attributes of the 'middle sort,' much of this work has focused on public activity and its role in forming identity.[10] As yet, debates continue to focus more on establishing the particular status attributes of various occupation labels within the 'middling sort', than on the nature of the group identity shared by different occupations living similar styles of life. Hunt attempts to construct a 'middling' identity around values of work, thrift and domesticity, but does not engage specifically with material consumption trends.[11] Stone noted that there was a 'blurring of that previously critical division between gentlemen and others by the emergence of a new titular group, sandwiched in between, and comprising parts of lesser gentry on the one hand and the upper yeomanry and shopkeepers on the other'.[12] Hoskins pointed to the 'peasant-gentry' of Leicestershire and observed that as they turned to urban centres and took on professional roles, they were 'losing the homely rural culture for a wider, more sophisticated urban culture -books, silver, mirrors and china, carpets and curtains, cushions and conversation'.[13]

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[9] N. Rodgers, 'The Middling Sort in Eighteenth Century Politics', in J. Barry and C. Brooks, (eds), (1994), pp. 159-180, see p. 161.

[10] Recent works that have sought to define aspects of 'middling' identity include S. Hindle, 'The Political Culture of the 'middling sort'' in *Rural Communities c1550-1800*, (2001), pp. 125-152. H. R. French, 'Social status, localism and the middle sort of people in England 1620-1750' *Past and Present* 166, (2000), pp. 66-99. J.R. Kent, 'The rural 'middling sort' in early modern England, c1640-1740; some economic, political and socio-cultural characteristics' *Rural History* 10, (1999), pp. 19-54. S. A. Caunce, 'Not Sprung from Princes: the Nature of Middling Society in eighteenth-century West Yorkshire', in D. Nichols, (ed), *The Making of the British Middle Class? Studies in Regional and Cultural History Sicnce 1750*, (1998).

[11] M.R. Hunt, *The 'middling sort': Commerce, Gender and the Family in England, 1660-1750*, (1995).

[12] L. Stone, 'Social mobility in England 1500-1700', *Past and Present*, Vol. 33, (1966), p. 54.

[13] W.G. Hoskins, *The Midland Peasant: the Economic and Social History of a Leicestershire Village*, (1957), pp. 198-99.

Some attention has been directed towards the status and rank of yeomen in Westmorland though they are still not fully understood as a group.[14] Marshall has argued that they were a 'large and varied group' with the label being attached to almost all owner-occupiers.[15] By the late-seventeenth and early-eighteenth centuries families such as the Brownes, who were generally termed 'yeoman' in their documentation, were occasionally adopting the title of 'gent'. This variation is important; we know little about the detail of these families, and their standards of living. Marshall has described the seventeenth century Lakeland yeoman as 'not encumbered with a mass of material possessions, beyond the necessary farm and domestic gear, and there was little to stimulate his appetite for more.'[16] Yet, he observed that by the mid-eighteenth century, even 'humble' yeomen had 'taken advantage of the greater flow of consumer goods', though the depth of the market, the detail of these goods and reasons for the changes remain largely unclear.[17]

So far, there have been general studies of material consumption and Earle's London study, but there has been little research into the relationship between rural identity and patterns of consumption, leaving major gaps in our knowledge. Glennie has argued that 'much about consumption patterns and consumption processes in the past, especially before the nineteenth century, remains obscure'.[18] This is largely because the supply side of the Industrial Revolution has, until recently, received far more attention in terms of historical debate than the rise of consumerism.[19] In recent years, the debate has been opened, but the resulting conclusions are fragmentary. This is

[14] J. D. Marshall, (1971) and (1973).
[15] J.D. Marshall, (1971), p. 34. The nature of the tenancies made this a large group.
[16] Ibid., p. 45.
[17] Ibid., p. 47.
[18] P. Glennie, (1995), p. 180.

largely due to the incoherence of sources and divergent, ill-defined research agendas, a common problem in social history.[20] Approaches can be taken from so many theoretical perspectives, within a range of disciplines and from a variety of cultures, that fragmentation is hardly surprising.[21]

Even the fundamentals are still uncertain, and consumer society, generally defined as being a system of 'provision through the market', has been given a wide range of birth-dates.[22] When, and at what speed this occurred is obviously of vital importance to historians: it has to be fitted into the wider picture of social and economic changes. In 1982, McKendrick, Brewer, and Plumb identified the 'birth' during the late eighteenth century, setting in motion debate on what caused 'the necessary convulsion on the demand side of the equation to match the convulsion on the supply side'.[23] They were not, however, the first to recognise the importance of demand. Gilboy, as far back as 1932, had argued that a demand for standardised goods had spread through the population before the mass production of the factory system could become typical.[24] In response, others had looked to the demand from overseas trade to explain rising output, but this was really about combining many strands within the existing low levels of demand to create a critical mass.[25] Hudson has argued that we cannot ignore that factor,[26] but as Weatherill suggested, there was a naivety in some

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[19] As discussed by P. Hudson, *The Industrial Revolution*, (1992), especially Chapter six 'Consumption and Commerce'.
[20] P. Glennie, (1995), p. 164.
[21] B. Fine and E. Leopold, *The World of Consumption*, (1993), particularly Chapter Three, 'Disarray in the Theory of Consumption'.
[22] Ibid., p. 64.
[23] N. McKendrick, J. Brewer and J. H. Plumb, *The Birth of a Consumer Society: the Commercialisation of Eighteenth Century England*, (1982).
[24] E.W. Gilboy, 'Demand as a Factor in the Industrial Revolution' reprinted in R. M. Hartwell, (ed), *The Causes of the Industrial Revolution in England*, (1967), pp. 121-38.
[25] R. Davies, *The Industrial Revolution and British Overseas Trade*, (1979).
[26] P. Hudson, *Regions and Industries*, (1989), p. 181.

discussion: 'why did we even debate the role of the home market when it was so obviously important?'[27]

McKendrick, Brewer and Plumb divided the chief causal factors in the rise of the consumer society into four main areas. First, the role of emulation typified by servants copying the fashionable habits of their masters and mistresses, which drove consumers to purchase goods that those in higher ranks were using. Second, was the influence of London as an utterly dominant metropolis, and as the leader in fashion that spread throughout the country. Third, were the changes in the consumption patterns caused by greater wage earning capacity of agricultural labourers, women and children, which increased patterns of traditionally low spending groups. Finally, the success of new marketing and commercial approaches, particularly of entrepreneurs such as Wedgwood, who were shown to have aimed their goods at a wide market, using new production techniques. Much of their argument has since been attacked on various grounds and from various directions by scholars who have pointed to underlying problems in their sources and arguments.

In particular, more recent studies suggest the late eighteenth century was not the 'birth' of consumer society. Weatherill and Shammas recognise its emergence in the late seventeenth century, and Glennie criticises even this because large-scale studies 'urgently require a long-run context' to take in the earlier medieval period.[28] The second problem, levelled against emulation, is that the influence of the gentry, in causing others to emulate fashion and purchase new goods, does not tally with the

[27] L. Weatherill, *Consumer Behaviour and Material Culture in Britain, 1660-1760,* (1986), but see the second edition, (1996), which contains a new preface by Weatherill offering an update on the subject, p. xiv. C. Shammas, T*he Pre-industrial Consumer in England and America,* (1990).
[28] P. Glennie, (1995), p. 173.

quantified analysis of probate inventories which show the wealthy merchants as being more likely to own new items than the gentry. The importance of new goods as an indicator of consumption patterns is an area that needs further analysis, as this project confirms. Also criticised is the notion that the servant aped his master, as this is based on a more complex system. In high-ranking households servants might have been dressed to suit their master's own taste, but most servants worked in ordinary households.[29] However, emulation theory has not been entirely overturned; Borsay, in his study of provincial towns, found it evident in stimulating demand in public spheres. He argued that the town gentry distanced themselves from the plebeians through various leisure activities and therefore excluded those without time, money and polite manners.[30] This situation would be open to emulative behaviour, with social climbers able to copy the fashions of those they aspired towards. In wider terms, emulation alone has been shown to ignore the depth of the market from labourer to aristocrat, and gives ownership of goods only one social function.[31] Finally, McKendrick's use of Wedgwood as an example of changes in marketing and salesmanship was not representative of the wider market or even pottery production in general. Ceramics were not the same as trades making pewter wares, clocks and other goods, and these were too important to be overlooked.[32] It was also misleading to make assertions on trade and producers to the exclusion of the people using the goods as McKendrick, using Wedgwood's documents, has done.[33] The wave of debate that followed McKendrick was pushed back largely by the probate inventory studies of

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[29] B. Fine and E. Leopold, (1993), pp. 124-125.
[30] P. Borsay, *The English Urban Renaissance: Culture and Society in the Provincial Town, 1660-1770,* (1989).
[31] M. Spufford, *The Great Reclothing of Rural England: Petty Chapmen and their Wares in the Seventeenth Century,* (1984), and J. Thirsk, *Economic Policy and Projects: The Development of a Consumer Society in Early Modern England,* (1978). Both argued that the market for even novelty goods extended down to the labourer.
[32] L. Weatherill, (1988), p. 195.
[33] B. Fine and E. Leopold, (1993), p. 78.

Weatherill and Shammas who turned to the preceding years of the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries.[34]

Weatherill broke new ground by focusing on the identification of which groups owned various types of goods, and when the threshold of such ownership was crossed.[35] This showed the percolation of goods through social hierarchies and regions over a period of time. Her sample of almost 3,000 probate inventories was taken from eight regions of England and part of Lowland Scotland. She used the quantified results to consider consumption and domestic expenditure within various types of household. Weatherill's results are directly relevant to this research, and in subsequent chapters, her statistics are used, where relevant, as a measure against which the findings of this research can be compared. Using what she termed 'key goods' Weatherill concentrated on selected items in the inventories to establish patterns in ownership of the practical, traditional 'essentials' such as cooking utensils and newly available items such as china. Weatherill omitted furniture, except for tables, and left uncovered the whole question as to how much and what type of furniture was in the home. Whilst she offered a pioneering general view of the period, the lack of regional perspective and detail has, inevitably, left many unanswered questions. The local industry, agriculture, political and religious backgrounds are only touched upon, yet we know how vital these were in relation to local cultures, economy and consumer behaviour. However, Weatherill has successfully challenged the notion of social emulation theory as prime motivator. The results showed that the gentry lacked evidence of 'new' items; tradesmen and

[34] L. Weatherill, (1988), also 'The Meaning of Consumer Behaviour in Late-seventeenth and Early-eighteenth Century England', in J. Brewer and R. Porter (eds), *Consumption and the World of Goods*, (1993) and C. Shammas, (1990).
[35] L. Weatherill, (1988), p. 125.

professional people were more likely to own such goods. Weatherill recognised that her study had left gaps and has suggested more consideration of other influential factors including supply, trade and the wider functions of the object, which this project does.[36]

Shammas widened the survey to encompass North America and, using quantified inventory analysis, compared long-run spending patterns of a wide range of goods from non-durable to semi-durable and durable. She also considered the importance of markets, drawing from work by Mui and Mui on the history of shops.[37] Shammas looked at the frequency with which commodities appeared in inventories from sixteenth-century Oxford, seventeenth-century Worcestershire and eighteenth-century Massachusetts. She observed changes in the domestic environment and in the commodities, such as bedding and linen which, she felt, were seen as investments. She argued that the use of tablecloths might have made the table look nicer, but it did not really signify any change in dining behaviour. Rather, the cloth had an investment value that the woman saw as part of her dowry and widow right. This project takes this notion further and argues that using goods as a form of investment was not limited to women or to linen. We also see that there was a change in dining attitudes, and such goods could have more than one use value to the consumer. Similarly, Shammas showed the importance of context, using the example of cooking utensils. Many labourers, even those with their own cottages, would have taken their meals at an alehouse or at the table of their employer, and consequently did not need to purchase utensils of their own.[38] Despite recognising the importance of such context,

[36] L. Weatherill, (1988), p. 196.
[37] H. C. Mui and L. H. Mui, *Shops and Shopkeeping in Eighteenth Century England*, (1989).
[38] C. Shammas, (1990), p. 11.

the inventory methodology, as with Weatherill, still did not allow for a fully contextualised view.

Much criticism of these quantitative surveys has centred around the problems faced when using inventories in isolation, and especially for comparative purposes, over regions and periods of time.[39] These problems are now well established and debated, they centre upon inconsistencies in the inventory format, the stage of the lifecycle when an inventory was taken, and the lack of representation of certain social groupings, such as women and the poor. The research for this project has brought to light further problems, hitherto unrecognised, particularly pertinent to the study of household goods. For instance the practice of renting a property partially or even fully equipped, has been ignored in such studies of consumption. Thus, massive gaps have remained due to the crudely quantitative nature of results, which can only be filled by a qualitative approach.

Lemire has drawn attention to further gaps in the research by addressing the availability in some regions of second-hand clothes and pawnshops that revealed 'a hitherto unrecognised depth of the demand'.[40] This has shown how the very lowest ranks might obtain goods. The second-hand, and third, fourth and fifth-hand, sales of goods would serve to stimulate the market for fashionable goods with old goods sold to raise cash for new ones. There was also a culture of repair, symbolised by tinkers and cobblers, and few things were thrown away. The implications for a strong second-hand market and the recycling of materials could be far greater than this, in

[39] P. Glennie, (1995), p. 170 and N. Cox and J. Cox, 'Probate Inventories: the Legal Background', *The Local Historian*, 16, 3, (1984), pp. 131-145.
[40] B. Lemire, 'Consumerism in Pre-industrial and early industrial Britain: the Trade in Second-hand Clothes', *Journal of British Studies*, Vol. 27, (1988), pp. 1-24.

terms of investment in certain goods over others. Nenadic, in her study of Glasgow and Edinburgh 'middle-rank' consumers, found that the second-hand market was important for a range of goods, and not just to the poor. She noted that the second-hand market played a 'vital role in shaping the patterns of goods acquisition in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries'.[41] Pennell has pointed towards the significance of used goods amongst cooking utensils, and found a number of examples where second-hand goods were sought after.[42] The dearth of literature, especially on second-hand furniture, during the early-modern period is quite startling considering its durability and the likelihood for it to have a second, third and fourth lifecycle, in terms of ownership or use. It is precisely this kind of detail that Fine and Leopold have stressed as the most important way forward, arguing that a commodity has a life which can be traced both forwards to the buyer, and backwards to the seller, previous owners and then producer(s).[43]

A consensus of opinion in theoretical consumption studies has called for more regard to cultural setting and the material object as the best way forward. Fine and Leopold have argued that we must 'not detach consumer behaviour from everyday life'. Rather, there is a need to study 'consumers in relation to other senses of identity such as family, land, community and custom, party, spiritual faith and nationality'.[44] This process has begun; Brewer and Porter have offered analyses from a diverse range of scholars.[45] Of these, Vickery has demonstrated the social ideology and sentimentality that can be bestowed upon an object in addition to the more obvious utilitarian use

[41] S. Nenadic, 'Middle rank consumers and domestic culture in Edinburgh and Glasgow, 1720-1840', *Past and Present*, 145, (1994), pp. 122-156 and see also D. Woodward, 'Swords into Ploughshares: recycling in pre-industrial England', *Economic History Review*, 38, 2, (1985), pp.175-91.
[42] S. Pennell, *'The Material Culture of Food in Early-Modern England, c1650-1750'*, Oxford D. Phil, (1997), see Chapter Four in particular.
[43] B. Fine and E. Leopold, (1993), p. 22, p. 40 and p. 20.

values, overlooked by previous studies.[46] However, equally significant is the importance stressed by Nenadic of functional consumption and the 'high-use' values of some objects, especially heavy furniture, which maintained its value even amongst high-ranking individuals in her urban study.[47] The object itself is clearly significant in understanding the intrinsic use-value it carried within a community or region.

Unfortunately, fetishism and connoisseurship have dogged many studies of artefacts, where the interest has focused upon design, the atypical, value or provenance, leading to value judgements and overly descriptive texts. However, the object, including buildings, can be used for serious research as architectural studies have proven, and as archaeologists have always known.[48] Although much has been written on furniture, it is a subject which until recently was concerned with providing object centred texts such as those offered be the early contributors Reeves, Brinstead and Gordon.[49] Even more recent work has been dominated by the desire to catalogue and typify objects as can be seen by Cotton's work on regional chair designs.[50] Whilst this was initially a natural and valuable way of outlining the subject it is necessary to move on. Chinnery used a typological approach with his major work on British oak furniture, but substantiated this with a survey of the many vital elements including economy, urbanisation, guilds, class structure, architecture and interior decoration, which all influenced the design of the objects.[51] There is no intention here to dispute his conclusions, but to extend them. Two further studies of furniture have made a marked

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[44] Ibid., p. 191.
[45] J. Brewer and R. Porter (eds), *Consumption and the World of Goods*, (1993).
[46] A. Vickery, 'Women and the World of Goods: a Lancashire Consumer and her Possessions, 1751-81', in J. Brewer and R. Porter, (eds), (1993), pp. 274-301.
[47] S. Nenadic, (1994), p. 134.
[48] For example R. W. Brunskill, *Traditional Buildings of Britain*, (1992).
[49] H. Brinstead, *The Furniture Styles*, (1929), D. Reeves, *Furniture: an Explanatory History*, (1947), H. Gordon, *Old English Furniture*, (1948).
[50] B. Cotton, *The Regional Chair*, (1991).

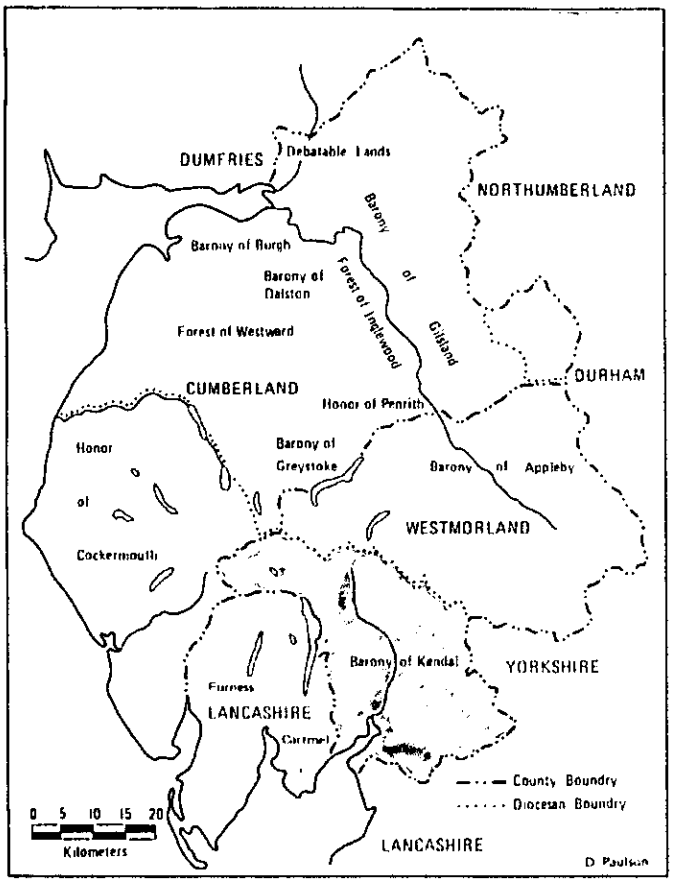
effort to consider the object in terms of its cultural background and meaning. Gilbert considered furniture in relation to institutional setting, architecture and social class. Whilst out of the time scale for this project, his study is important in that it showed that the purpose and function of furniture is related to the environment within which it is placed. Therefore institutions which gave rise to particular requirements can be associated with certain styles and designs.[52] Similarly, Kinmonth's survey, whilst based on a typological analysis of Irish furniture, showed how the design of the object was intrinsically linked to local culture and expressed its values and views.[53] Clearly, more research is needed before the links between cultures and material goods can be fully established. This project meets the requirements most recently called for by Glennie and others, through consideration of region, family, income and personal lifecycle, and it links material and documentary evidence with the object being given specific attention.

Regional Survey

Westmorland is now part of the modern Cumbria, having been amalgamated with Cumberland and Lancashire, north of Morecambe Bay in 1974. The old county borders and the area of south Westmorland are shown **Figure 0.1**. The region, sometimes referred to as the 'Lake Counties' and containing the Lake District, is united by its physical features and in some senses defined by them and by a geographical detachment from the rest of England, at least on the map.[54] The Pennines are to the east, while to the west and south, providing coastal links, is the

[51] V. Chinnery, *Oak Furniture: the British Tradition*, (1986).
[52] C. Gilbert, *English Vernacular Furniture, 1750-1900*, (1991).
[53] C. Kinmonth, *Irish Country Furniture, 1700-1950*, (1993).
[54] C. M. L. Bouch, *The Lake Counties 1500-1830, a Social and Economic History*, (1961), and A. J. L. Winchester, *The Harvest of the Hills, Rural Life in Northern England and the Scottish Borders 1400-1700*, (2000).

Irish Sea and Morecambe Bay, and to the north is Scotland. The majority of the Lake District was leased by the Crown to various families from the thirteenth century.[55] They, in turn, leased individual holdings to tenant farmers on the basis of border tenant-right, a customary tenure which benefited from low rents and secure leases due to the close proximity of the Scottish border when the tenants had to provide arms in case of border invasions.



Major political, feudal, and religious divisions, Cumberland and Westmorland counties

Figure 0.1. Map showing pre-1974 county borders.
Colour added to highlight area of south Westmorland, or Kendal Ward.
Source: A.B. Appleby, *Famine in Tudor and Stuart England*, (1978), p. 21.

The area is dominated by a central mountainous block, which is cut by valleys and lakes and is flanked by open fells. However, this natural isolation can be greatly exaggerated given its long coastline and location on a strategic route from London to

[55]For more detail see A. J. L. Winchester, (2000), p. 16, pp. 26-52 and specifically for Manor of

Scotland. Moreover, the region is so large that it cannot be considered as a whole, one of the reasons for previous inaccurate representations, Thirsk, for instance, classified Westmorland as fells and moorland.[56] However, Winchester has illustrated the grades of land more accurately and it is clear that there are pockets of good agricultural land especially in the lower southern area, around Kendal, which enjoys a softer rolling landscape, with craggy limestone-outcrops.[57] It becomes more rugged towards Windermere and beyond where the mountains dominate the skyline. Fiennes described the approach to Kendal from the south, in 1695 as 'very rich good land enclosed... little round green hills flourishing with corn and grass as green and fresh... graine as barley, oats, peas, beans and lentile' but no wheat or rye 'for they are so cold and late in the yeare they cannot venture at that sort of tillage.[58] Here the valley bottoms provided some arable land needed to grow the subsistence crops noted by Fiennes, mostly oats and barley. It was too wet for wheat, and whilst the valley sides provided pasture and woodland, the steep-sided fells, dominated by wind and rain, offered grazing for only the hardiest of animals.[59] There were cattle, but sheep in particular coped best with the rough grazing on the higher fells.

As well as providing food, it has long been recognised that early-modern agriculture was of paramount importance to trade and industry in the provision of raw materials, and despite the dominance of sheep, this was not restricted to wool. Leather, tallow, construction materials such as wood, stone and slate, and fuels such as peat and charcoal were all in demand. In some areas, the lack of potential for farming may

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Windermere p. 153.

[56] J. Thirsk, *Agricultural Regions and Agrarian History of England, 1500-1750*, (1987), p. 39.

[57] A. J. L. Winchester, *Landscape and Society in Medieval Cumbria*, (1987), p. 9, and more recently in (2000) pp. 78-103.

[58] C. Morris, (ed), *The Illustrated Journeys of Celia Fiennes, 1682-1712,* (1982), pp. 164-165.

have encouraged manufacturing, with farmers and their families working in trades and crafts, such as charcoal burning, alongside their agricultural work.[60]

Outside London, England was still primarily a rural society in which only a fifth of the population lived in towns of more than 10,000 people, even in 1750. The few towns in the Lake Counties were not even in the same league as the leading provincial capitals. In 1674-5 south Westmorland, had an estimated 3,208 households and 16,457 inhabitants.[61] Although the county town was Appleby, Kendal was larger and more significant for trade and commerce. Even so, Hearth Tax returns of 1669-73 and a census of 1695, suggest Kendal's population was only around 2,200.[62] It was the foremost market town in the region, standing on the route between Carlisle and Lancaster, where the western approach to Scotland is very narrow, as shown in **Figure 0.2.** Links radiated in all directions feeding from and to a network of other smaller market centres, north-west to Ambleside, Cockermouth and Keswick, south-west to Ulverston and Cartmel, north-east to Orton, east to Sedbergh and south-east to Kirkby Lonsdale and Burton-in-Kendal. Marshall has argued that these other market towns were not insignificant, but 'mutually supportive'.[63] However, this was a tenuous network with some of the other centres very small indeed and general population levels low. The mutual support was perhaps in the demand for raw materials from the hinterland, which in turn, supplied consumers who used Kendal to obtain goods not available nearer home.

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[59]A. B. Appleby, *Famine in Tudor and Stuart England*, (1978), pp.95-154. See also, M. A. Parsons, 'Pasture farming in Troutbeck, Westmorland, 1550-1750', *T.C.W.A.A.S., 2*, (1993), pp.115-130 and J.D. Marshall, (1980), pp. 503-21.
[60]J. D., Marshall, (1973), pp. 190-200. P. Hudson, (1989), p. 2.
[61] C.B. Philips, 'Town and Country: Economic Change in Kendal c 1550-1700', in P. Clark, (ed), *Transformation of English Towns*, (1984), p. 108 and see 'The population of the Borough of Kendal in 1576', *T.C.W.A.A.S.* 2, (1981), pp. 57-63.
[62] C. B. Philips, (1984), p. 109.

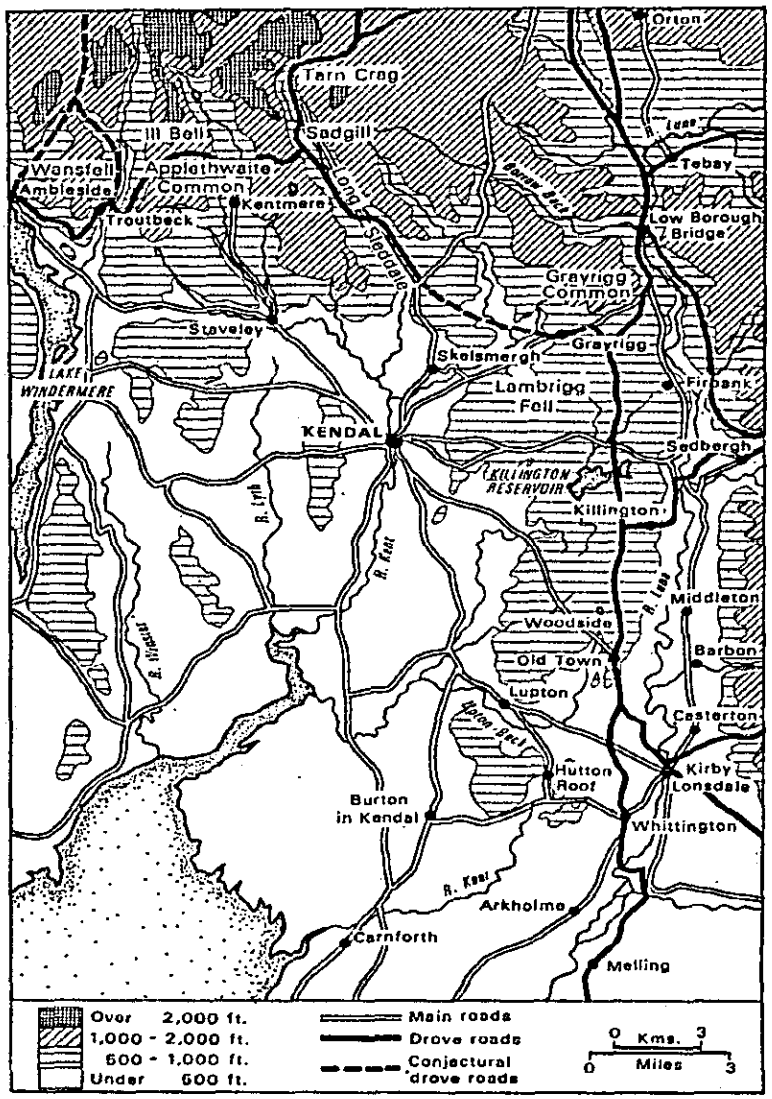

Figure 0.2. Map showing routes into Kendal.
Source: J.D. Marshall, *Old Lakeland*, (1971), p. 84.

Philips suggested that it was the town's ability to prevent the poor settling, that helped it prosper, because this restricted cheap labour, but it was more than this; Kendal dominated the regional market for wool and cloth, due to its strategic location.[64] By 1724, on his tour of England, Defoe commented on Kendal's wool trade and in particular the area's considerable manufacture of stockings.[65] However, whilst Kendal appeared to be dominated by the manufacture of textiles, there were many other

[63] J. D. Marshall, 'The Rise and Transformation of the Cumbrian Market town', *Northern History*, Vol. XIX, (1983) pp. 128-210.
[64] C. B. Philips, (1984), p.109.

producers and retailers of goods in the town.[66] Of the two hundred and thirty-eight Kendal apprentices recorded between 1715 and 1724, one hundred and two were within the textile trades and one hundred and thirty-six were in the non-textile producing trades, including butcher, grocer, haberdasher, mercer, merchant, apothecary, barber, clockmaker, cooper, wig-maker, tallow chandler, building, and leather crafts.[67] There were nine tanners, four saddlers, and forty-three cloggers, cordwainers and cobblers listed so leather goods and shoes were clearly important and Fiennes made a point of mentioning it as she travelled through the town in 1695.[68] She also commented on the wide availability of goods 'twice a week is the market furnished with all sorts of things'.[69]

For administrative purposes the Kendal Ward, which covered the south Westmorland area was divided into forty townships or 'constabularies', most of these consisted of little more than a scattering of remote farmhouses, some clustered in hamlets, but many standing alone surrounded only by fells and woodlands. Troutbeck, one of these scattered townships, lies eleven miles to the north west of Kendal on the eastern shores of Windermere, seen in **Figure 0.2,** just off the 'great road between Kendal and Cockermouth' with Ambleside to the west and Patterdale to the north.[70] It is flanked by Applethwaite, which lies on the other side of the valley on the south-east side of the beck. Troutbeck was described in 1692 as a 'long, rambling disorderly

[65] D. Defoe, A *Tour Through England and Wales Divided into Circuits or Journies,* (1724, reprint, London, 1927) p. 270.
[66] J. D. Marshall, (1983), pp. 138-139.
[67] J. Satchell, *The Kendal Weaver,* (1986), p. 39.
[68] C. Morris, (ed) (1982), p. 165.
[69] C. Morris, (ed) (1982), p. 142.
[70] J. M. Ewebank, (ed), *Antiquary on Horseback,* (1963), p. 132.

village but with good houses in it... fair stone buildings and most of them are slated.'[71] A map of Troutbeck is shown in **Figure 0.3**.

Troutbeck has attracted attention since the early twentieth century, not least because of its scenic position, vernacular architecture, and the Browne archive, but the older historical works are antiquarian, and on occasion little more than a collection of transcribed documents.[72] More recently, Marshall has considered the layout of the village and access to springs, and briefly pointed to the importance of several families within the township, including the Cooksons, Bensons, Atkinsons and Braithwaites, but especially the Longmires, Birketts and, of course, the Brownes, whom he argued '*were* Troutbeck'.[73] However, we must tread cautiously around this view and see the documents in proportion, because the Brownes are over represented. Furthermore, these families were so well mixed through marriage that they were almost inseparable by the eighteenth century, the Brownes were as much Longmire and Birkett as they were Browne. Parsons has considered several aspects of Troutbeck history, including the poor, though she concentrated upon administrative aspects.[74] This does not shed much light on the extent of poverty, other than to note 'surviving evidence does not suggest that poverty existed on a large scale in Troutbeck in the seventeenth century',

[71] Ibid., p. 124. Tyson has researched house and barn building during the eighteenth century in Troutbeck, some of which were owned by the Brownes, B. Tyson, 'Some Traditional Buildings in the Troutbeck Valley', *T.C.W.A.A.S.*, 2, (1982) pp. 157-176.

[72] G.H. Joyce, *Some Records f Troutbeck*, (1937), B. L. Thompson, *The Troutbeck Hundreds and the Common Lands of Troutbeck Westmorland*, Privately published, (1968). S. H. Scott, *A Westmorland Village*, (1904), Scott's work is peppered with inaccuracies for example, he says Ben Browne acquired Limefitt through marriage, which he did not, and says that the property called the 'Lane' is now 'Glenside', which is proven incorrect by B. Tyson, (1982), p. 157.

[73] J. D. Marshall, (1971), Particularly Chapter Six, 'A Westmorland village: Troutbeck', especially pp. 109-112. Much of the chapter is concerned with the nineteenth century and the village as it stands today.

[74] M. A. Parsons, 'Poor relief in Troutbeck, 1640-1836', *T.C.W.A.A.S.* 2, (1995), pp. 169-186.

though there was an increase by the late eighteenth century.[75] However, her work on woodland, pasture farming and the development of the chapel is more instructive.[76]

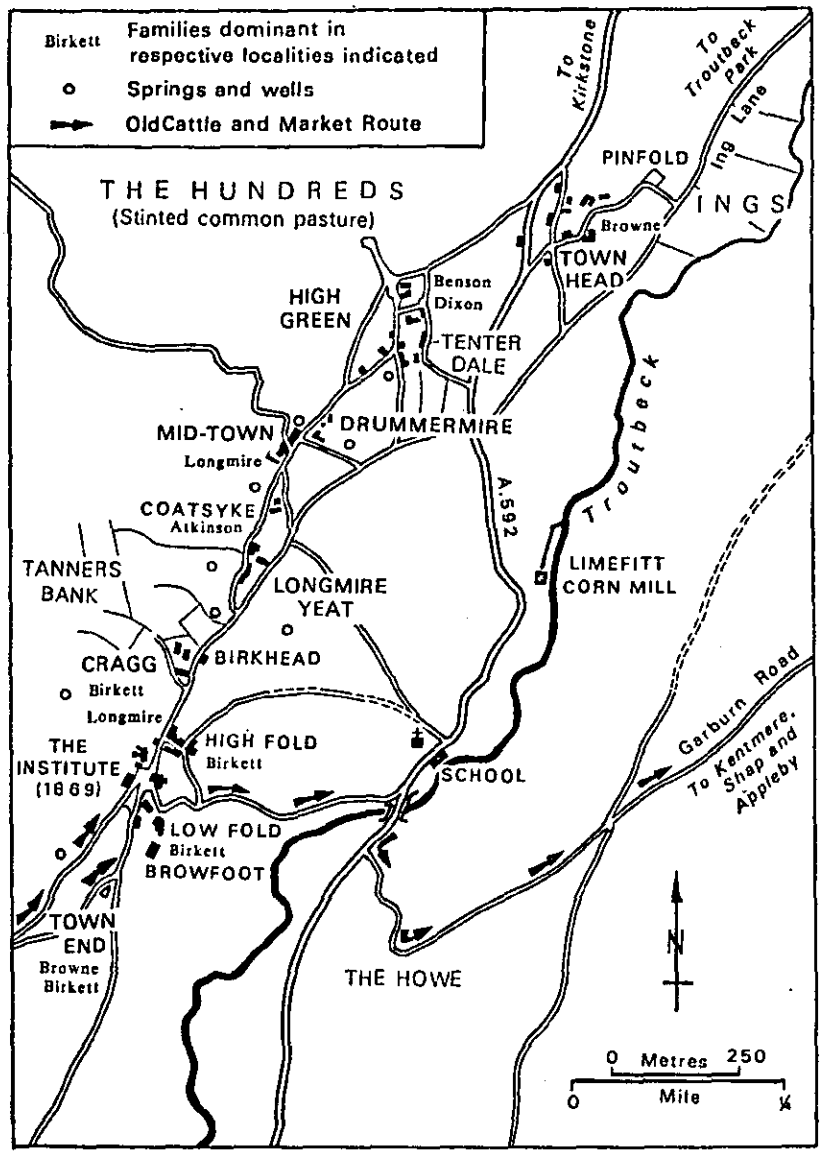

Figure 0.3. Map showing settlements, springs and routes through Troutbeck.
Source: J.D. Marshall, *Old Lakeland*, (1971), p. 107.

In the thirteenth century there were only eight tenancies in Troutbeck, rising to nineteen by the end of the fourteenth century, and continuing to multiply until in 1574 there were fifty-six.[77] The tenants had the right to sell and bequeath the property, or 'messuage and tenement' as the dwellings and land were called, almost as freehold,

[75] M. A. Parsons, (1995), p171.
[76] M. A. Parsons, (1993) and 'The woodland of Troutbeck and its exploitation to 1800', *T.C.W.A.A.S.* 2, (1997), pp. 79-101.

one of the characteristic features of border tenure. They also benefited from stinted grazing rights to the fells, known as 'chattell gaites' or cattle gates and had rights to dig peat and coppice woodlands.[78] The landlords were mostly absent, for instance Lord Lonsdale, who owned the majority of Troutbeck, lived at Lowther, near Penrith. He employed bailiffs to collect fines and rents, with the Brownes taking this role in the Troutbeck area over several generations, though they were not the only family to do so.[79] The security of the tenancy, and freedom from landlords to do essentially as they pleased, gave a far greater degree of independence than other areas of England where tenancies were far less secure. Winchester has recently argued that 'customary tenantright ensured the survival of a traditional society of small owner-occupiers... the decision making power remained firmly in the local farming community'.[80] By the seventeenth century, the more substantial holders came to dominate the Lake District scene by forming yeoman farming dynasties, often remaining on their tenancies for generations.[81] The Brownes were one such family, and a particularly persistent one.

Troutbeck has no centre but straggles up the valley in a series of hamlets following the course of the Trout Beck, and is surrounded by craggy fells rising to seven hundred metres. Part of the parish of Windermere, the village had a stone chapel built in 1562, to replace a wooden one and families were given the right to baptise and bury parishioners.[82] As they had established and still paid for this chapel and its ministers, it was run democratically by a 'jury' of local tenants who voted on matters such as the

[77] B. Farrer, *Records of the Barony of Kendal II,* (1924), p. 50 and p. 55.
[78] See M. A. Parsons, (1993), for more on grazing rights in Troutbeck, pp. 120-125.
[79] B. Farrer, (1924), p. 50, in 1560, the bailiff was James Coikeson, [Cookson].
[80] A. J. L. Winchester, (2000) p. 16.
[81] J. D. Marshall, (1973), pp. 190-219.

appointment of new curates and seating arrangements. A 'salary' was raised by the inhabitants according to where they held a seat in the chapel, with the best and most expensive seats in the chancel.[83] In 1637, a school was added and by 1639, was catering for the children of Troutbeck at a cost to the parents of two shillings per child, per year.[84] The school was run by a governing body of Troutbeck and Applethwaite inhabitants, drawn from the more 'substantial tenants', and the Brownes were amongst these.[85] The Browne family was a significant presence in Troutbeck, but they were never the 'squire'. Decisions were shared and voted upon, and the Brownes were involved with this, but not in control of it.

Sources and Methods

The Browne archive runs from the sixteenth to the twentieth centuries and in total the quantity of individual sheets, if all were separated, runs into tens of thousands, an extraordinary and probably unparalleled number for a yeoman family. This is what shows us the details so often overlooked in large quantitative projects in order to complement the wider picture established by them. As well as amassing a plethora of miscellaneous memoranda, the Brownes were involved as executors of wills and trustees of estates and acted as High Constable as well as acting as bailiff. They kept copies of sale schedules, wills and title deeds, and created huge quantities of paperwork involving official business throughout the Kendal Ward. These documents often relate to other families and build a picture of the Browne's neighbours meaning

[82] C.R.O./K., W.D./T.E. 24/4 (later copy). Also quoted in G.H. Joyce, *Some Records of Troutbeck*, (1937), p. 11. For full history of the chapel see M. A. Parsons, 'Troutbeck Chapel of Ease from its foundation to 1800.' *T.C.W.A.A.S.*, 2, (1996), pp. 140-160.
[83] C.R.O./K. W.D./T.E., Box 24/4, and G. H. Joyce, (1937), p11.
[84] Ibid., p11.
[85] Ibid., p11.

that the family does not have to be viewed in isolation, so this is not primarily a family history.

The genealogy of the Browne family is shown in **Appendix One,** it is complex because of the repetition of Christian names, particularly George and Benjamin. Therefore, for the purposes of this research each George is numbered in chronological order from one to nine, for the line of descent see **Appendix Two.** Benjamin Browne, the main figure of this project, is referred to as Ben and his son as Ben Jnr., as they were commonly known. To clarify the account a chronology of significant events is shown in **Appendix Three.**

Given the state of existing knowledge and the lack of an agreed, sound theoretical base to consumption studies in general, the methodological approach taken for this project is deliberately eclectic and wide-ranging, though not unstructured. This project was originally designed to rely heavily on a probate inventory analysis, the bedrock of material for most early-modern studies of consumption and an important and useful document, not least because it is often the only documentation left for some individuals. Inventories can reveal a faceted, synchronic snapshot of that person and their standard of living and consumption, and studied en masse can provide statistics for regional and national ownership. However, early research conducted on miscellaneous, family and solicitors' collections as well as the Browne archive, revealed that probate inventories, were manifestly inadequate on their own. They are still useful, of course, and are used here to show general ownership trends and figures for the Troutbeck area in order to place the Browne family within the community rather than apart from it. However, they are not relied upon alone, for many references to household goods come from a wide variety of other documents. The

sample of forty-two inventories used for comparative purposes include all the inventoried, male decedents from Troutbeck and Applethwaite, between 1714 and 1748, except for those listing only bonds and money, as occasionally happened.[86]

Of the other sources used extensively, title deeds were particularly useful. These were not restricted to the Browne archive, and included many from other deposits. Another important and enlightening source were the letters within the Browne archive, mostly from the first half of the eighteenth century.[87] The letters are a vital collection because they are the nearest we can get to a recorded conversation, and sometimes give us both sides of the correspondence through draft copies. They illuminate complex relationships and reveal dynamics and personalities between parents and children, brothers and sisters, grandparents and grandchildren, 'in-laws' and business or official acquaintances. The household account books also offered a rare and detailed insight into early-modern economic activity. Ben produced the main household accounts between 1719 and 1748, though fragments for other years remain.[88]

Despite the vastness of the collection, some things are obviously missing. There may have been areas, in the correspondence or accounts, that subsequent members of the family may have wished to obscure and as the collection of papers remained in the house until the mid-twentieth century there was plenty of opportunity for them to be disposed of selectively. One of the nineteenth century descendants, the ninth and last George Browne at Townend, worked on the documents, sorting and binding them,

[86] The references for this sample are shown in the bibliography.
[87] The majority are in C.R.O./K. W.D./T.E. Vol. V, but many others are scattered throughout the archive.
[88] C.R.O./K. W.D./T.E. Box 8/1 and 2.

and it is possible that he filtered some from the collection. He worked with S.H. Scott, who wrote a romanticised version of the history of Troutbeck and the Browne family.[89] Some censorship might also have happened throughout earlier generations, for instance, several years of Ben Browne's early eighteenth century account books are missing without any obvious explanation, despite fragments of earlier ones surviving. They could have been lost, but we cannot rule out that they might have held information the family preferred to keep private.

Unlike most previous studies, this research does not stand on documentary evidence alone, but is greatly enhanced by the survival of the Townend property, now owned by the National Trust and open to the public, and many original possessions. The architectural evidence is very useful in terms of the relationship between household furnishings and property, and the use of rooms within the home. The surviving items, mostly furniture and books, allowed in some instances for direct links between document and artefact. It enabled, for instance, every angle of book ownership to be studied, including quantity, quality, age, source, cost, previous and subsequent owners, literary content and even, at times, to whom the book was lent.

It was George [9], a nineteenth century antiquarian and woodworker and last of the male heirs to Townend, who played the most significant part in the current condition of the house interior. He set up a workshop in the yard in front of Townend where he spent much of his time making and carving furniture.[90] Rollinson has suggested that he was 'maintaining a family tradition of making their own furniture from the

[89]S.H. Scott, (1904).

[90] This is since gone, but a photograph of the workshop is extant in the collection of photographs at Townend in the library. Special permission needed to view. George [9] kept a diary, the entries show he made furniture for others as well as himself C.R.O./K. W.D./T.E. Box 8/12.

seventeenth to the nineteenth centuries', but there is no evidence to suggest this was the case, certainly between 1650 and 1750, in any document or artefact, and it must be dismissed as wishful thinking.[91] George's [9] work included reproduction seventeenth century pieces, such as the children's chairs still at Townend, but he also carved onto originals and added spurious dates and initials to fixtures and fittings throughout the house. He made major additions by incorporating reproduction fitted furniture, for instance the cupboard with bookshelves above, in the main room downstairs known as the 'House'. He probably recognised the significance of Townend alongside the documentation and knew his work was colouring his family history. He was creating an interior, which he probably felt, signified his family as important locally and historically. These activities, despite causing damage and misrepresentations of the past, created an interest in Townend long before it became a National Trust property. Postcards of the interior and exterior were taken in the early years of the twentieth century entitled 'Mr Browne's house' as shown in **Illustration 0.1.** These alterations were not unique as other items of seventeenth century furniture, from different collections, show varying levels of Victorian embellishment.[92] The Arts and Crafts movement was a major influence at the time, and George [9] was part of a wider trend.[93]

[91] W. Rollinson, *Life and Tradition in the Lake District*, (1974), p. 40.
[92] See Shibden Hall , Halifax, as an earlier example.
[93]See J. Brunton, *The Arts and Crafts Movement in the Lake District, a Social History*, (2001).

Source: postcard by Brunskill and Sons, Windermere.

Illustration 0.1. Postcard of Townend interior, postmark dated 1907.

That Townend came to be the property of the National Trust was decided by several quirks of fate. George [9] had no sons and three daughters, none of whom married or had children. Clara, the second daughter was the only one to outlive her father and continued at Townend until her death in 1943. She planned to leave the house and land to relatives, also Brownes, who lived at The Boot, a farm across the valley in Applethwaite. However, when these Brownes upset her by going to Africa for a

number of years, Clara left the property to a distant cousin, Richard Browne, instead.[94] He promptly sold Townend to Oswald Hedley, who died the following year. The Treasury accepted Townend as payment of Estate Duty and they transferred it to the National Trust in 1947. They then bought the contents of the house from Mrs. Hedley.[95] Whilst ownership by the National Trust has led to the preservation and conservation of the house, and allowed public access, it has led to further inaccuracies in representation and a lot of items now on show are not original.[96] The interior today, then, is a glorified view of a Victorian antiquarian's house rather than an authentic seventeenth or eighteenth century interior. However, this must not detract from the importance of the goods that are preserved and the original parts of the house. Many items within the house were there in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries and despite the modifications, they are still a unique and valuable source to the historian. Similarly, while alterations were made to the fabric of the house such as the windows, porch, and parlour, by George [9], these are insignificant compared to the scale of modernisation and modification generally carried out, and much of the earlier interior remains intact or recoverable.

Chapter Outline

The second chapter explores the background of the Browne family, their origins and early interests to set the context for everything else. Family relationships, significant

[94] I am most grateful to Mr. Browne of Worcestershire for the early part of this story, which has remained unrecorded until now.
[95]National Trust pamphlet, *Townend*, (1986), p. 3.
[96]Linens, pots, pans, some pewter and items of furniture were added to the house to enhance the interior for public viewing. Some of these have a local provenance, but are nineteenth rather than seventeenth century. Other items have been recreated in the original style, such as the bedding and hangings on the tester beds. Sadly, some items are missing following a burglary in the 1980s, such as an eighteenth century pewter tankard marked with Benjamin Browne's initials and others have been substituted with

events, neighbourhood disputes, visits to London, risky business ventures, sources of income, office holding and daily lifestyle are considered. A detailed picture of the family during the early eighteenth century is established, forming the context for later chapters. This is enhanced by comparative analysis of the Browne family with their neighbours in Troutbeck and Applethwaite, and with wider regional and national inventory studies, using hearth and window tax returns among other sources.

Chapter Three explores the early layout of the building and offers an explanation for later changes. The early-eighteenth century interior is analysed, and levels of furnishing in the house established at a stage long before the probate inventory was taken. This gives us the opportunity to see the type of goods referred to and an understanding of the physical nature of these, an important factor when considering the importance of design and novelty. The careful and precise nature of some of the records means that the age and point of acquisition of items can be fully analysed.

Chapter Four continues this theme illuminating the often rounded figures of the probate inventory, and showing exactly the type of quantities involved in ownership of goods such as cutlery, and the varying quality of these. We can see the texture of ownership and it becomes clear that it was naïve to think in terms of quantity alone, disregarding age and characteristics, and that the material goods in the home were a rich tapestry of type, age and quality. The books in the Browne library have allowed for an in-depth analysis, comparing the collection with others, exploring the subject matter of the texts and examining how the books were acquired.

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similar models, such as the clocks. It is possible to check the origins of the goods in the house on a current inventory.

Chapter Five concentrates on the systems of acquisition, one of the areas so neglected in previous studies and recently earmarked as the way forward. The methods employed to acquire goods were complex and these many routes to ownership, including local and distant retailers, craftsmen and dealers, second-hand sales, and the complexities of this, are all explored. Finally, this chapter explores the importance of other ways of acquiring the use of goods, generally overlooked in studies of consumption including goods that were included in the conveyances, and in leases, as part of the rental agreement of the property. Massive studies of consumption have drawn conclusions on ownership rather than use-rights alone, and may have to be re-evaluated.

The conclusion draws together these themes and reflects on the position of the Browne family and what their motives and practices tell us about consumption and material culture. We see that consumption was not about the single purchases of single people, nor was there a one-to-one relationship between consumption and industrial output. It was a complex process, dependent on an assembly of strategies, which took place within a social context.

CHAPTER ONE

THE BROWNE FAMILY OF TROUTBECK: BACKGROUND AND CONTEXT

The Browne family of Townend, the focus of much of this thesis, became an important yeoman family in Troutbeck, holding the customary tenure of a traditional farmhouse and land, and taking on significant roles such as bailiff and High Constable.[1] The family continued to hold their property in Troutbeck until the twentieth century. They first appeared on the other side of the valley at Applethwaite in 1390, when one Thomas Browne held a joint tenure and a parcel of land.[2] By 1559, they had moved into Troutbeck and George [1] left two properties worth ten 'chattles' each, and one mill to his sons.[3] Thomas, George's [1] eldest son started the Townend line by marrying a daughter of the Longmire family, a pattern of marriages that continued into the mid-eighteenth century. Thomas's will confirms that they lived in a 'stone house' with lofts and chambers, and had a barn and cow house.[4] Thomas's eldest son, George [2], got the 'houses which be unamed', presumably Townend, and from this he had to contribute towards his younger siblings' settlements.[5] In 1587, George [2] sold a mill to Christopher Philipson and then in

[1] For a chronology of events for the Browne family see Appendix Three. For full pedigree see Appendix One.
[2] W. Farrer, *Records of Kendal*, Vol. 2, (1924), p. 67.
[3] C.R.O./K W.D./T.E. Unbound 118 and copy at Vol. XIV, 1. 'Chattles' were the number of beasts that you could turn out on the fells.
[4] C.R.O./K. M.F./G.L. 79. Thomas, his wife Katheryn and his brother Christopher all died in 1587, a year when typhus swept through the region, see A.B. Appleby, *Famine in Tudor and Stuart England*, (1978), specifically chapter seven, 'Famine and Disease, 1587-1588'. Appleby shows that this was a year where burials rose by three or four times the usual number in many Westmorland villages. He concludes that the pattern of deaths suggests typhus 'with some assistance from famine'.
[5] His father added a warning for George [2], which hints at some unease with these arrangements. 'And if my son George do not hold him so as covenanted with this order set down in my will and testament but shall make further trouble for my part that [about] my tenement either by law or otherwise then I will that he have no benefit in this my will and testament'. Perhaps George [2]

1588, he bought it back again, why exactly is not clear, though the recitals confirm that his father, Thomas, was a previous owner.[6] They were to continue as maltsters until the eighteenth century and this long-standing additional income probably gave the family an advantage in the community as early as the sixteenth century.

George [2] carried the title of yeoman in his son's marriage settlement in 1623, but was unable to sign his own name, using his mark instead.[7] He arranged for his son to marry Susan Rawlinson of Grizedale Hall, whose brother carried the title of 'gent' suggesting that the Brownes had some standing in the community at that time as they were marrying into a family above them in the social hierarchy.[8] This stated that George [3] would build a new 'house' on the tenement, for which his father would provide the timber and food for the workmen and he would pay their wages.[9] This was probably an addition rather than a rebuild because 'house' referred to the main room or bodystead with 'messuage' generally referring to a whole dwelling in the documentation. George [3] inherited Townend at the time of his marriage, fifteen years before his father died, a pattern of inheritance that continued due to the longevity of the Browne men.[10] In 1646, George [3] was described in Chancery papers as a yeoman, but his brothers Thomas and William were termed husbandmen, showing the title of yeoman was not indiscriminate, and that the brothers were less

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complained at the prospect of sharing with his siblings, his father made them the executors of the will rather than George.

[6] C.R.O./K. W.D./T.E. Unbound 16 and Unbound 6.

[7] C.R.O./K. W.D./T.E. Unbound 119.

[8] C.R.O./K. W.D./T.E. Unbound 119, her father had died and the settlement was between her brother and George [2].

[9] C.R.O./K. W.D./T.E. Unbound 119.

[10] C.R.O./K. W.D./T.E. Vol. XV 84-97. There was an agreement in place that he would give his three brothers twenty pounds each for their inheritance after his father died. George [3] evidently later decided this was not the case and refused to give his brothers their share. Thomas and William, the two surviving brothers, took him to Chancery and pleaded their case against him and won.

prosperous.[11] However, George [3] occasionally took another title, deeds to exchanges of land in 1639 and 1642, describe him as 'bailiff',[12] suggesting that he was working for Lord Lonsdale, a post which his son George [4] and later his grandson, Ben, both took.[13] If so, then the Brownes periodically held that post for over a hundred years, making them significant in the community and in the eyes of the aristocracy long before Ben or even his father took on the post in the 1720s. The Troutbeck school, established in 1639, was governed by eight 'substantial tenants' and George [3] was amongst these men, confirming that he was an important member of the community and that his children probably attended the Troutbeck school.[14] He also purchased the moiety of another water corn mill and a fulling mill at Troutbeck Bridge, for £90 in 1649; the fulling part later became a paper mill.[15] He earned his living through husbandry and malt production, going into partnership with his son George [4] in 1656, and had a rental income from the mills.[16] He improved his land holdings by exchanging land with his neighbours, a way of consolidating his holding without expense.[17] George [3] lived into his nineties and his second wife Mary outlived him by eight years. Therefore, his children, grandchildren and even some of his great grandchildren knew and lived with family memories going back into the sixteenth century, thus their experience and knowledge was not lost between generations.

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[11] C.R.O./K. W.D./T.E. Vol. XV, 84-97.
[12] C.R.O./K. W.D./T.E. Vol. II, 16 and Unbound 142.
[13] C.R.O./K. W.D./T.E. Vol. XIII, 1.
[14] C.R.O./K. W.D./T.E. Vol. XIV, 98 and 72. This is a copy of the deed, made by his son George [4] sometime before 1702.
[15] C.R.O./K. W.D./T.E. Unbound 28 for mill purchase, for leases: Vol. XV, 225, Vol. XIV, 120, 219 and 257, and Vol. VIII 7-10. See J. H. A. Gavin, *Paper Making and Printing in Cumbria, 1600-1900*, (Unpublished M.Phil., Lancaster 1990).
[16] Vol. III, 228. The accounts are kept by George [4] from 1664. Unbound 150b for the transfer of goods for the business partnership in 1656, at the time of George's [4] marriage.
[17] C.R.O./K. W.D./T.E. Unbound 28 for mill and Vol. II, 16 and Unbound 142 for land.

His eldest son, George [4] married Ellinor Fearon in 1656. Unfortunately, no marriage settlement survives, but Fearon was not a local name suggesting that she came from outside the immediate area.[18] George [4] was a leading figure in the local community and served as High Constable of the Kendal Ward in 1667,[19] he had contact with the Fleming family of nearby Rydal and with Lord Lonsdale of Lowther, for whom he served as bailiff.[20] The many deeds and documents bearing his name generally describe him as yeoman, but as with his father, he too was described as 'bailiff' in several documents.[21] In one lease George [4] was described as 'gent and heir of George Browne elder, gent'.[22] The library at Townend shows that he had books on legal and parish matters and there is plenty of documentation to show he was a literate and educated man. He probably attended Troutbeck school since his father was a governor.[23] He travelled to London in 1665, so his view of the world was not restricted to the bounds of south Westmorland.[24] In 1692, Machell, on his journey through the region, mentioned one of the Brownes, probably George [4].[25] 'Hence we travelled to Troutbeck... where I met one Browne, an ingenious countryman'.[26] George [4] began a partnership with his son Ben in 1686 and just as he had done with his father, they grew their own hay and oats, reared sheep for wool, and produced malt from their own and others' barley.[27]

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[18] C.R.O./K. W.D./T.E. Vol. VIII, 1. Scott (1904), p. 32, has suggested that she came from Senhouses in Cumberland, though this is not referenced.
[19] C.R.O./K. W.D./T.E. Vol. I, 1.
[20] C.R.O./K. W.D./T.E. Vol. I, 17, for notes of instructions for George [4], from Daniel Fleming. Vol. XIII, 1, for serving as bailiff.
[21] C.R.O./K. W.D./T.E. See for instance Unbound 65 for 'yeoman' and Unbound 151a for 'bailiff'.
[22] C.R.O./K. W.D./T.E. Unbound 27b and 27a. This is a puzzling document between the Braithwayte family and the Brownes regarding an estate in Yorkshire which suggests the Brownes leased some property from them for six months in 1675, but there is no mention of payment.
[23] C.R.O./K W.D./T.E. His records are throughout the collections, see indexes to W.D./T.E.
[24] C.R.O./K. W.D./T.E. Vol. III,1.
[25] J. M. Ewebank, (ed), (1963), p124.
[26] H. R. French, "'Ingenious and learned gentlemen", -social perceptions and self fashioning among parish elites in Essex, 1680-1740' *Social History*, 25, (2000) pp. 44-65. French argues that this refers to a curious or scientifically interested person.
[27] C.R.O./K. W.D./T.E. Box 11/1.

Farming always depended upon harvests and economic pressures, and the late-seventeenth and early-eighteenth centuries were not easy. Some years, the husbandry accounts included entries of the number of sheep that starved to death, the quantities of wool varied, there were poor profits from malt production and other evidence suggesting low rental incomes from the mills. Thomas Dixon and George [4] were joint owners of the paper mill, leasing it in 1676, for a rental of £2 to each of them and to a succession of tenants thereafter.[28] A letter sent in 1695, from Thomas Dixon to his brother George confirms that it was a difficult time. '...In the mean time I know not what to say about rebuilding the mill and kilne, I am disuaded from laying out £40 or thereabouts at present in hopes of receiving 50s or £3 or so for it...'[29]

Things were difficult enough that in 1699 George [4] penned two letters pleading for help, one to Lord Lonsdale and the other to Sir. William Fleming.[30] He outlined his grievances about the building of a mill very close to his own, how they had since sold the mill at a low price and his worries for his son's future. George was frank and told Lonsdale, '...that licence which you gave at Lowther for shifting the mill proves extremely prejudicial to me and mine, ...setting one up less than a quarter of a mile of mine, which my ancestors have enjoyed for hundreds of years, notwithstanding I am now forced to sell it and but for eighty pounds, which was never let under twelve pounds a year... and now it will not maintain a servant to attend it...I have a son that has followed the trade of maltster but now the milne being gone he is deprived of that and not being brought up with husbandry, would gladly have an imploy in the Excise, I am ashamed to trouble your Lordship considering your high station, but I have often heard of your great kindness to your countrymen... I have writt to my great

[28] C.R.O./K. W.D./T.E. Vol. XIV, 208 and 257 and VIII, 7-10.

benefactor Squire Fleming to the same purpose who knows my son very well...'[31] George [4] recognised that other means of employment could be more beneficial than farming and malt production. Ben's son Richard later took such a post in Yorkshire, though Ben himself was obviously less successful despite his father's efforts.[32] The letters written to Fleming and Lonsdale show that George [4] felt he could call upon them in a time of need and that they knew the Flemings personally. It also suggests though, that despite the acquaintance with Lonsdale this had not prevented him granting the right for a new mill to be built. George [4] omitted mentioning the other mills he owned and Ben was brought up with husbandry, the accounts confirm that he was farming with his father. The sum of eighty pounds was an exaggerated low figure too as he actually got a hundred pounds for the mill.[33]

The figures for the malt sales in **Chart 1.1** show how difficult it was to make a regular return from producing malt. There were several expenses involved such as cinders, duty, the cost of buying in extra malt, and these were listed at cost and deducted from the profits.[34] The peaks and troughs of profits even out when the sales are seen over two years, because what goes out one year comes in partly in the next. This gives an overall average income of £9, but the general picture still suggests a sharp decline in income from malt sales towards the end of the period. The accounts start to dry up between 1711 and 1713, then stop altogether until 1721, perhaps because of Ben's duties as High Constable together with the lack of profit. In 1721,

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[29] C.R.O./K. W.D./T.E. Vol. V, 315.
[30] C.R.O./K. W.D./T.E. Vol. V, 51 and Vol. II, 14.
[31] C.R.O./K. W.D./T.E. Vol. V, 51.
[32] C.R.O./K. W.D./T.E. Vol. VIII, 1.
[33] C.R.O./K. W.D./T.E. Unbound 82.
[34] The sales figures probably conceal the amounts of malt kept for their own household, though in 1728 Ben did make a separate note of this.

he went back into production before permanently retiring in 1728, he made £17 in his best year and only £1 in the worst, and the yearly average was £8.[35]

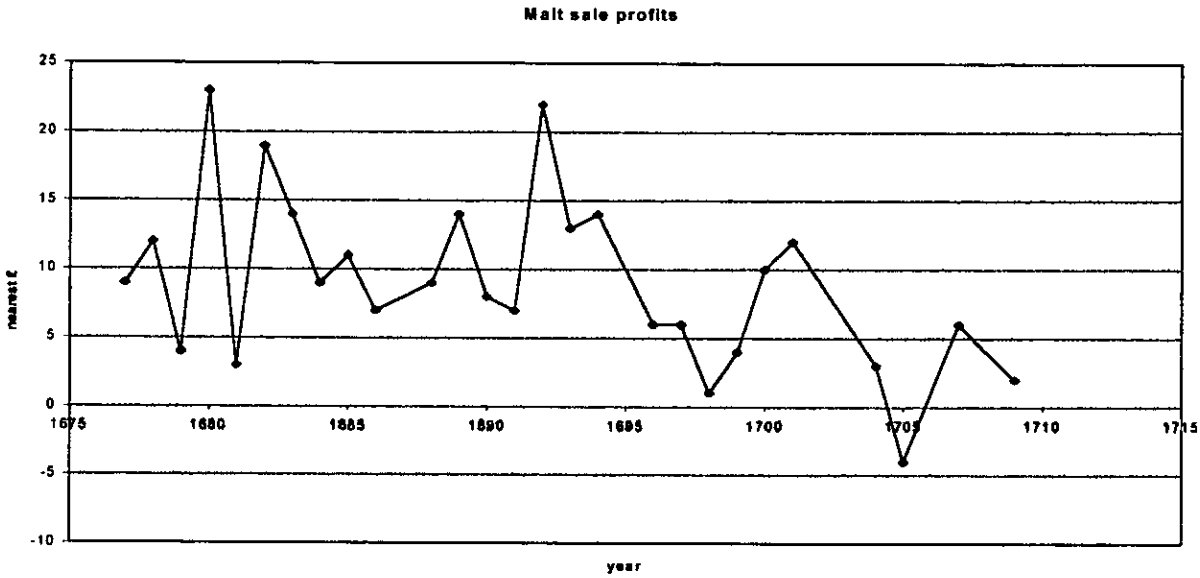

Chart 1.1. Malt sale profits from 1677 to 1709.

George [4], and later Ben, bought segments of land within the Troutbeck area though these did not dramatically increase their holdings. They also swapped land on two occasions as George [3] had done.[36] The purchases of land are shown in **Table 1.1.** The map drawn by Tyson, in **Figure 1.1**, shows the total land holdings in the Troutbeck area in 1846 when, Tyson calculates, they held seven hundred and thirty-five acres. Over half of this was allotment land on Woundale, up Kirkstone Pass, which is not shown here.[37] Clearly, some changes in ownership of land between the first half of the eighteenth century and 1846 took place, but this map does demonstrate the approximate extent and more specifically the scattered nature of their land ownership. The parcels of land are fragmented, unlike the Birketts of Low Wood, whose holdings were consolidated. In 1675, George [4] bought The Lane property from the Birkett family though nothing suggests that they ever lived there

[35] C.R.O./K. W.D./T.E. Vol. V, 51.
[36] For George [3] exchanges see: C.R.O./K. W.D./T.E. Unbound 142, Vol. II, 16, Unbound 164, Unbound F 159 and W.D./T.E. Vol. II, 230.

and from 1699 onwards, the deeds confirm it was leased out to a string of tenants.[38] Where this money came from is unclear, but in 1669, Richard, George's [4] brother, left £100 in trust to his nephew Ben, there is no mention of this money being invested elsewhere and it is possible it funded the purchase, though this remains speculative.[39]

Year	Description	Cost
1669	2 cattel grasses	£2.[40]
1674	1 acre	£10 12s.[41]
1691	2 dales arable and waste	£20 15s.[42]
1692	close of ground	£4.[43]
1695	1¼ roods of land	£6.[44]
1699	wood and waste	£8 10s.[45]
1699	1 rood	exchanged for 2 roods[46]
1702	5 cattel grasses	exchanged for 5 cattel grasses.[47]
1705	1 dale meadow	£1 5s[48]
1712	a hoghouse & 1 rood.	£5 2s 6d[49]
1712	two enclosures of wood	£37 10s[50]

Table 1.1. The parcels of land acquired by George [4] and Ben.

[37] Acres are rounded to nearest acre. For Woundale land, 447 acres, see Tyson (1982) p. 162.
[38] C.R.O./K. W.D./T.E. Box 11/1. In 1699 they got £3 10s per annum.
[39] C.R.O./K. W.D./T.E. Unbound F 15. Richard mentioned his mother-in-law and his son-in-law, but his wife and daughter must have died, as there was no mention of them.
[40] C.R.O./K. W.D./T.E. Vol. XIV, 275.
[41] C.R.O./K. W.D./T.E. Unbound 88.
[42] C.R.O./K. W.D./T.E. Unbound F 64.
[43] C.R.O./K. W.D./T.E. Vol. XIII, 13.
[44] C.R.O./K. W.D./T.E. Unbound F 167.
[45] C.R.O./K. W.D./T.E. Unbound 153. This was a joint venture with John Wallas.
[46] C.R.O./K. W.D./T.E. Unbound 171.
[47] C.R.O./K. W.D./T.E. Unbound 179. He did this jointly with son Ben.
[48] C.R.O./K. W.D./T.E. Vol. XIV, 216.
[49] C.R.O./K. W.D./T.E. Unbound 152.
[50] C.R.O./K. W.D./T.E. Unbound 148.

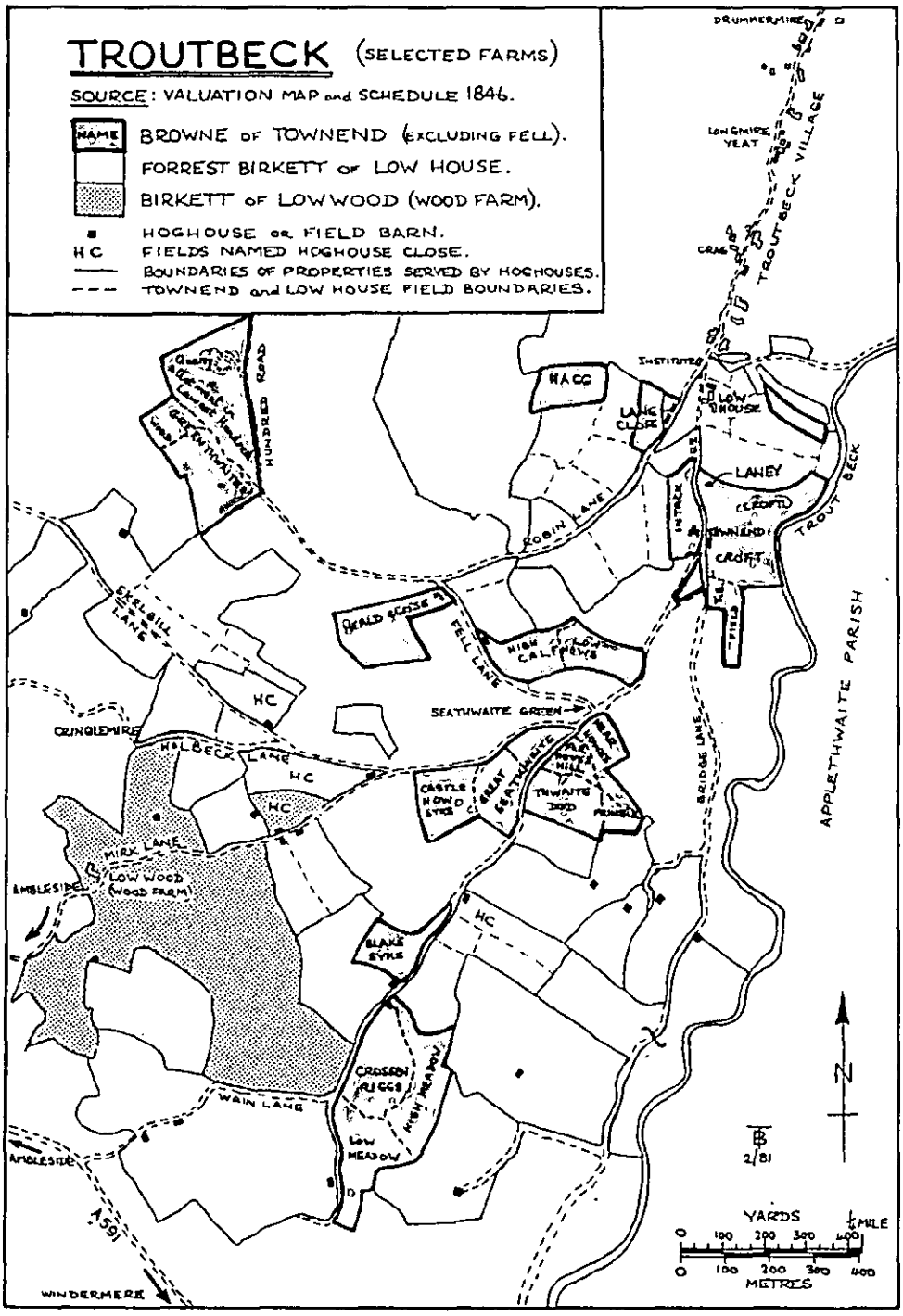

FIG. 4. – Location of hoghouses and field barns south of Troutbeck, 1846. The scattered fields belonging to the Brownes of Townend contrast with more compact farmsteads like Lowwood.

Figure 1.1. Map showing the Browne's land, excluding fell land, in 1846.

Source, B. Tyson, 'Some Traditional Buildings in Troutbeck Valley' *T.C.W.A.A.S.*, 2, (1982), p. 159. Colour added for purposes of this research only.

George [4] and Ellinor had eight children and six survived into adulthood, though only Ben and his sister Bridget stayed in Troutbeck. Of the others, Richard travelled as far away as Europe and Newfoundland, and his letters gave the family an insight into these places.[51] He told them of the riches in Spain and the great trade, 'they call it comerce', he wrote from Cadiz in 1699.[52] Daniel prematurely left his apprenticeship with the intention of joining Richard, but his brother was disappointed and said there was nothing for him in Spain, lamenting 'our family is so unfortunate yt none of us can thrive, I fancy there is some curse befalen itt, wee three younger brothers, two of which was better provided for yn I was, made better scholars than I, and you see it comes to this...'. [53] Richard's letters stopped in 1705 and whatever befell him is unclear. In 1725, Ben Jnr. wrote: 'as to my Uncle Richard's effects or of his death I cannot be truly informed as yet', so the disappearance remained a mystery.[54] It seems by 1710, only two of George's [4] offspring were still living, Ben and his eldest sister Bridget who both married members of the Longmire family.

Letters from family and Ben's own recordings of births and deaths suggest that he was a loving son, brother, husband, father and grandfather, and we can see from his extensive record keeping that he was a literate and educated man though he did not understand Latin.[55] A school exercise book in the library at Townend, which is inscribed by several children, bears the practise signatures of a young Benjamin Browne. It is likely that he went to the school in Troutbeck, as there are no records

[51] C.R.O./K. W.D./T.E. Vol, V, 227.
[52] C.R.O./K. W.D./T.E. Vol. V, 226.
[53] C.R.O./K. W.D./T.E. Vol. V, 227. The letter does not say what the apprenticeship was in.
[54] C.R.O./K. W.D./T.E. Vol. V, 104, for the letter. The genealogy compiled by S. H. Scott (1924), shown in Appendix One, is clearly incorrect in stating he drowned in 1703 as he communicated with Ben in 1705.
[55] C.R.O./K. W.D./T.E. Vol, VIII, 1. This was mentioned in a letter to Cos. Philipson, Vol. VI, 78.

suggesting he went elsewhere.[56] Ben married his first wife Ann Longmire, in 1685, and together they had eight children.[57] Ann did not live to see them into adulthood, as she died after the birth of the eighth child, Mary, who died eighteen months later. Ben noted 'she died of an asthma as we thought for she brought a cough into ye world with her and she was never well a fortnight together till she died'. Illness and disease struck his other children, Agnes died from small pox in 1694, aged three years and eight months and Jane died in 1700 aged one year and nine weeks, of a 'wearing distemper vizt. an asthma or cough and she had rickets too, she declined about nine weeks'. Whilst Ben is revealed as caring and loving, a deeper picture of coughing, unhealthy children emerges, vulnerable to the misery of disease and apparently suffering from forms of malnutrition. This hardly seems to fit with the family's status and shows that they were not able to protect themselves from disease and illness.[58] Ben married Elizabeth Birkett in 1702, and they went on to have one child, Christopher.[59] Elizabeth died in 1728 from 'a pain in ye low end of her belly'.[60]

Ben actively sought an alternative to farming for his four sons and they all left Troutbeck to pursue careers elsewhere. In a letter sent from Richard in 1705, he asked his brother Ben why he thought of putting George [5] into an apprenticeship. 'I observe George is now fitt to goe out to a trade, pray your reason why you'll put him out, which is your eldest son when ye have others yt will be fitt in a little time... what do you desire him for seeing he is tender and not fitt for a labouring trade ... he writes

[56] The school book contains signatures and dates of children from 1664 to 1680, Ben's signature is not dated.
[57] C.R.O./K. W.D./T.E. Vol. VIII, 1.
[58] Though Ben suggests his daughter had 'Rickets' it is not clear what he thought this to be or what the symptoms were. His understanding of his son's 'rheumatism' suggests that the medical terminology is not accurate.
[59] C.R.O./K. W.D./T.E. Vol. VIII, 1.
[60] C.R.O./K. W.D./T.E. Vol. VIII, 1.

well and I presume is a good scholar'.[61] This letter suggests that George [5] was perhaps also too 'tender' for farming, which might have been linked to George's health, Cousin Philipson reported in one letter that George [5] had recently suffered an 'appeplectic fit'.[62] However, as Ben encouraged his other sons into professions he probably felt there was so little money in farming and milling that a profession was a more secure income, just like his own father had over him.[63] George [5] left Troutbeck and rarely wrote home to his father saying little about his work and causing his parents a great deal of anxiety. In 1715, his stepmother begged him to write as it upset his father so much not to hear from him. 'But dear George he tells me with tears that all his troubles that hee undergoes [re: rebellion] are not comparable to his concern he is in about you of your undutifullness to him especially in your slowness in writing to him after all your misfortunes. Nay dear George I cannot express his trouble upon your account I pray write him often and let him understand ye circumstances and thoughts heartily upon all accounts for he is one of the best of fathers.'[64] It is unclear what these misfortunes were. His father wrote to Ben Jnr., 'I long to hear of son George [5] where hee is and when he will be [missing] for hee never writes.'[65] According to letters from Ben Jnr., who often wrote to his father, George worked long hours as a clerk and received his orders from the 'Captain' and the Admiralty, and his work took him to Hull, Berwick and other 'garrison' towns so presumably it was connected to the Navy.[66] George [5] did eventually return north, settling in Staveley near Kendal.

[61] C.R.O./K. W.D./T.E. Vol. V, 230.
[62] C.R.O./K. W.D./T.E. Vol. VI, 59.
[63] C.R.O./K. W.D./T.E. Vol. V, 51.
[64] C.R.O./K. W.D./T.E. Vol. I, 101.
[65] C.R.O./K. W.D./T.E. Vol. V, 261.
[66] C.R.O./K. W.D./T.E Vol. V, 82 and 99.

George [5] still met with disapproval in later years. In the last months of his life, Ben was ill and unable to make the journey of several miles to visit George [5] in Staveley so he wrote asking him to come to Troutbeck as soon as possible.[67] George must have questioned his father's inability to travel and did not visit, so Ben wrote a further letter saying 'I am well assured that I am worse than you think me to be'.[68] There was further disapproval over his finances, he borrowed money from his youngest brother Christopher and in 1734, could not pay it back so Christopher asked his father if he would give him the money George [5] owed.[69] In his will Ben made specific reference to the debts of his son George [5] and asked that the supervisors of his will 'advise my said son George Browne how to best extricate himself out of debt'.[70] There were further hints at a strained relationship in a letter from his brother Richard's widow, after she visited Troutbeck. She wrote to George that 'Father [Ben] was glad to see us but Bros [Ben Jnr.] looks to you and us are all one and has a greater effect on Father than is to any of our intrist' a comment which suggests she thought that the old man was manipulated by his son.[71]

Elizabeth was after financial help of some sort; Richard, Ben's third son, had died leaving her with children to raise and presumably not much money. She went on to say how kind their brother Christopher and her own brother were, implying that Ben Jnr. was not and perhaps hoping that George [5] would be.[72] The original arrangement for the inheritance of Townend was probably for the property to descend to Ben's grandson George [6], but after Ben Jnr.'s early death, the old man left

[67] C.R.O./K. W.D./T.E Vol. V, 275.
[68] C.R.O./K. W.D./T.E Vol. V, 276.
[69] C.R.O./K. W.D./T.E. Vol. V, 137
[70] C.R.O./K. W.D./T.E. Unbound 120.
[71] C.R.O./K. W.D./T.E. Vol. V, 163.

everything to George [5].[73] Ben Jnr.'s widow, Elizabeth, was outraged and a long court battle followed between her and George [5] over allegedly unpaid bills. In one of the pleadings his defence stated: 'what has induced the complainant to bring this groundless vexatious suit cannot perceive save tis out of revenge that she lost her eldest son his grandfather's estate purely thro' her own ill nature and churlish behaviour towards old Mr. Browne so that in fact she has been and is going to make bad much worse.'[74] In the end the case was dropped, George [5] recouped his costs and owned Townend until his death in 1767, when he left virtually everything to his nephew George [6], after all.[75]

In contrast to his older brother, Ben Jnr. was very keen to keep in touch with his father after he left Troutbeck to become an apprentice solicitor in London. His letters reveal a son that was both eager to please, quick to demand and at times even manipulative and deceitful. Ben Jnr. was homesick when he arrived in London, and the hours were long and tedious. He wrote home complaining bitterly about his situation, 'considering my age for if I served 5 years sh'd be 32 which is a 3/ [a third] of my time God knows shd be content to have an indifferent place rather than be apprentice at this age and gett nothing for five years'.[76] It is surprising that Ben Jnr. started his apprenticeship at such an old age. Whatever the reason, he felt his father was wrong in sending him and wrote 'since I have lost the prime of my youth in relying on false friends that gave you promises on my acct. it makes me with a sad heart hon'd father'. He continued to relay his troubles in the early letters and made

[72] C.R.O./K. W.D./T.E. Vol. V, 163. Christopher offered to take one of her boys as an apprentice without charging a fee.
[73] C.R.O./K W.D./T.E. Unbound 120.
[74] C.R.O./K. W.D./T.E. Vol. III, 300.
[75] C.R.O./K. W.D./T.E. Unbound 121.
[76] C.R.O./K. W.D./T.E. Vol. V, 94.

polite yet demanding requests for clothing, money and even food. He kept his parents informed on how much his lodgings cost and whether this included laundry or not and discussed his concerns over his master.[77]

As his confidence grew, he settled into London life and just after Christmas in 1724, married Mary Branch, a maid of his master's, originally from St. Albans.[78] He wrote to his father apologising for not telling him about his intentions, 'I have married my master's woman and have but a little money with her about £15 yet she can turn her hand to anything...'.[79] The couple found lodgings in a house on Water Lane at £6 a year. This consisted of 'two handsome rooms up one flight of stairs' and Ben Jnr. added 'I could not get any one room nay even a garrett under £5 but she knew us both so we had it cheaper'.[80] Ben accepted the situation and gave his blessing, though it is a telling sign of their relationship that Ben Jnr. did such a thing behind his father's back.[81] The following August Ben Jnr. wrote to his parents with the news that 'my wife has been very ill for 6 weeks past of a miscarriage of 2 boys, but praised be to God she is well restored.'[82] It is possible that Mary was pregnant with the twins when she and Ben Jnr. secretly married, but this remains speculative. Ultimately, Mary died prematurely without issue and Ben Jnr. remained in London until 1737.

In 1736, just before returning north, Ben Jnr. bought the lease of the Sun Inn in Lancaster as an investment rather than a residence.[83] He married Elizabeth Longmire in 1737, when he was forty-five, and took on the running of Townend in the same

[77] C.R.O./K. W.D./T.E Vol. V, 88 and 94.
[78] C.R.O./K W.D./T.E. Vol. VIII, 1.
[79] C.R.O./K. W.D./T.E Vol. V, 103.
[80] C.R.O./K W.D./T.E. Vol. V, 106.
[81] C.R.O./K W.D./T.E. Vol. V, 103.
[82] C.R.O./K. W.D./T.E Vol. V, 106.

year with an agreement for his father to stay in the house as a lodger.[84] He bought a further property at Townend in 1738 for £201 7s 6d, though there is nothing to suggest that he lived in this house, neither are there any leases to show if it was rented out and where the money came from is unclear.[85] The couple had five children, four of whom survived into adult life, and it was their second son George [6], who went on to continue the line at Townend after inheriting it in 1767 from his uncle, George [5]. In 1748, Ben Jnr. died of a crippling illness, which spread from one arm to the other, then down both legs, paralysing him.[86] His probate inventory listed amongst the goods, gold rings to a value of £4, a watch worth £4, plate valued at £10 and a clock worth £4, and he was described as a gent.[87] In comparison to other inventories, these were high values, though not totally out of line with others. His inventory totalled £222 15s in 'clear money' and he still owned the lease of the Sun Inn in Lancaster and the Townend property. He was clearly much better off than his elder brother George [5], and his own father who left debts of £87 16s.[88] Ben Jnr. appeared to be a man of substance, ambition, and with extensive experience of London. Ultimately, Ben Jnr.'s prosperity probably did secure the future of Townend as the wealth went on to his son George [6] who became a solicitor and continued living at Townend.[89] We need to consider this when looking at the Brownes before this period, because their later prosperity makes them appear well off.

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[83] C.R.O./K W.D./T.E. Unbound 160.
[84] C.R.O./K. W.D./T.E. Vol. VIII, 1.
[85] C.R.O./K. W.D./T.E. Vol. II, 13.
[86] C.R.O./K. W.D./T.E. An account is given in Vol. VIII, 1, but a more detailed account is given in Unbound 55.
[87] BB Jnr. inventory C.R.O./K W.D./T.E. Unbound 127.
[88] BB Snr. inventory C.R.O./K W.D./T.E. Unbound 129.
[89] C.R.O./K. W.D./T.E. Box 8/5/2-6.

Christopher, like his older brothers, moved away from Troutbeck initially working as an apprentice apothecary in Kendal with Mr. Redman, and later in London.[90] Ben Jnr., at his father's request and with a friend's help, located an apothecary, a Mr. Midgley of Hackney, who had a 'great shopp in Watling Street and is as noted a Chymist as any in London...'[91] The apothecary insisted that Christopher start on a month's trial because 'at first the country being very different from the town and according as they find him in capacity and industry'.[92] Ben Jnr. helped his brother find good lodgings and settle in, and three months later wrote to his father telling him Christopher's master found him a 'very ingenious sharp and promising youth and in little time will be as bright as any in Town' and that he 'has his health very well and mightily likes London'.[93] Despite this, he returned north and by 1729, ran his own apothecary's shop in Kendal and so the town had an apothecary who, presumably, was fully up to date with the latest developments in London cures and medicines.[94]

In 1730, Christopher married Katherine Rowlandson, sister to Dorothy who became Lady Fleming.[95] In 1744, their daughter went to stay in Rydal, with her Aunt and cousins of the Fleming family. She wrote to her grandfather that she was 'doing myself the pleasure of writing to one of the best grandfathers' and how pleased she was that he thought her handwriting had improved and how 'pleasantly' she lived at Rydal.[96] Ben's grandchildren were directly related to the Flemings of Rydal, a gentry family that stood well above the general yeomanry and a significant move up the social scale to marrying within Troutbeck families such as the Longmires. In 1735,

[90] C.R.O./K. W.D./T.E Vol. X, 56.
[91] C.R.O./K. W.D./T.E. Letters Vol. V, 116 and 117.
[92] C.R.O./K. W.D./T.E. Vol. V, 116.
[93] C.R.O./K. W.D./T.E. Vol. V, 117.
[94] C.R.O./K. W.D./T.E. Vol. XI, 108,199, 200.
[95] C.R.O./K. W.D./T.E Vol. V, 24.

Christopher became Mayor of Kendal, so was a very significant man within the town and certainly amongst the very 'upper middling' or 'chief inhabitants'.[97] His 1747-probate inventory showed that his house in Kendal was well furnished and decorated.[98] Pictures hung on the walls of the parlour and bedrooms, there was a clock and pictures 'in the staircase', curtains hung at the windows, several rooms had mirrors and there was glass, china and £7 5s worth of plate. The house incorporated the apothecary's shop and as it was stocked with varnish, turpentine, linseed oil, waters, soap, red and white lead, ochre, spirits, waters, plasters, roots and spices, so he was clearly still working as an apothecary before his illness killed him.[99]

Because Ben lived into his eighties he went through the full spectrum of life cycle stages. Early on, he worked in partnership with his father and had a young family, he later took sole charge of Townend and his grown sons went to London, as a retired widower he lived in his own home as a lodger.[100] Ben took several occupational titles during the course of his life. His father described him as a 'maltster', though the general and most widely used label was of yeoman, even as late as 1745. In his final years 'gent' was used, and despite his father and grandfather's use of 'bailiff' Ben seemed to avoid this.[101] Ben's day-to-day life must obviously have changed according to these circumstances. By his forties and fifties Ben was a busy man,

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[96] C.R.O./K. W.D./T.E. Vol. V, 182.
[97] H.R. French, 'Social Status, Localism and the "Middle Sort of People" in England, 1620-1750,' *Past and Present*, 166, (2000) pp. 66-99.
[98] C.R.O./K. M.F./G.L.
[99] C.R.O./K. W.D./T.E. Vol. VIII, 1, Ben recorded: 'My son Christopher Browne departed his life the 20th day of July 1747 betwixt 8 and 9 a clock in the morning. He began with his illness on Good Friday... and continued from thence coughing and reaching and spitting to such a degree and can scarce be believed till within 12 hours he died he was worn to anatomy nothing left but skin and bones...'
[100] C.R.O./K. W.D./T.E. For living as Jonathan Elleray's lodger see Box 11/2, for living with son see Vol. IX, 157, and working with his father Box 11/2.
[101] C.R.O./K. W.D./T.E. Vol. V, 51 for 'maltster', Vol. III, 92, Unbound 146 and Unbound 84 for 'yeoman', though there are many more. Unbound 56 and 73 for 'gent'.

working for Lady Otway and Lord Lonsdale, being High Constable and running his farm. It is certain from his personal account books that he slowed in retirement, though he was still active and continued to go to Kendal and Staveley to within months of his death. Here we look more closely at the busiest period, from around 1710 to 1730, to establish a realistic picture of Ben's involvement in the daily routine of husbandry and business.

One of the principal activities was growing crops and rearing livestock and he employed both permanent and temporary men and women to work for him. There were two main permanent employees, referred to by Ben as 'my man' and 'my maid'.[102] In 1714, the accounts show both were paid half yearly, as was customary, Thomas Fisher Ben's 'man' received £2 5s and Betty Birkett, his maid 15s.[103] In 1703, Ben leased the Lane tenement to John Forrest, 'his man' for £4 per annum, which would leave only 10s to live on. However, the lease included an orchard, garden, several closes of land, the right to graze cattle on the fells, peat, 'five or six' loads of wood, a crop of ash, six ewes during the term, and a form in the church for his wife to sit upon.[104] Ben maintained the right to half the plums in the orchard, but agreed to pay window tax. Therefore, John had the opportunity to generate an income and provide his family with food and fuel. We also know that the Lane was partly furnished, with beds, cupboard, shelves, table, bench, forms and an elbow chair.[105] These extra benefits would be very important on a low income, and are significant benefits that would be masked in probate inventories and our understanding of levels of comfort. The maid probably lived within Townend, and she remains largely

[102] C.R.O./K. W.D./T.E. Box 8/1/3.
[103] C.R.O./K. W.D./T.E. Box 8/1/3.
[104] C.R.O./K. W.D./T.E. Vol. III, 92.
[105] C.R.O./K. W.D./T.E. Vol. II, 50.

hidden from view in the documentation. There is little evidence to show what activities the two permanent servants were employed in, though presumably it was the daily tasks of looking after livestock and preparing meals and other household chores.

The two permanent workers were the core of the workforce, but at peak times, such as harvesting and ploughing, Ben employed temporary labourers, often female. These are listed in the 'workfolks' section of his accounts and sit alongside various other types of hired labour including the tailors, carpenters and smiths.[106] Some years Ben specified what jobs the labourers did. In 1720, Ann Dixon worked a total of seventeen days and earned 5s, doing agricultural work including dressing ground, digging peats, hay working and shearing.[107] Old Peggy worked for twenty-seven days at the hay, harvest and peats for a payment of 4s 6d.[108] She received less than Ann Dixon did, probably because being 'old' she worked at a slower pace. The following year three women worked the land; Ann Lancaster joined Old Peggy and Ann Dixon, and together they worked for a total of one hundred and seven days through the busiest times of the farming year, doing ploughing, shearing, hay making and other labouring work.[109] The women were versatile, and Old Peggy did twelve days baking in 1722 and spun wool on numerous occasions.[110] Men were particularly employed for specific tasks such as fencing and walling and these skills commanded much higher wages than the women's work. For instance in 1720, two wallers worked for a total of twenty-one days at 6d per day each, double the payments to Ann Lancaster and triple those to Old Peggy.[111]

[106] C.R.O./K. W.D./T.E. Box 8/1 and 2.
[107] C.R.O./K. W.D./T.E. Box 8/1/5.
[108] C.R.O./K. W.D./T.E. Box 8/1/5.
[109] C.R.O./K. W.D./T.E. Box 8/1/5.
[110] C.R.O./K. W.D./T.E. Box 8/1 and 2.
[111] C.R.O./K. W.D./T.E. Box 8/1/5.

How much time or to what extent, if any, Ben involved himself in these jobs is unclear. It is most likely that his full time male worker oversaw the day to day jobs and organised the labourers because Ben was often away from the house. In 1720, for instance, Ben was out on business of one kind or another for a total of one hundred and forty-six days, an average of twelve days per month, mostly day trips, shown in **Table 1.2.** According to his accounts, many hours of his time at home were spent writing warrants to send to the constables and of course keeping his accounts, writing letters and other paperwork. However, Ben definitely took an active interest in what was happening on the farm; he counted the annual hay, oats and barley 'stooks', and kept accounts of buying and selling barley and malt.[112] In his list of cows bulled between 1697 and 1707, and 1716 to 1720, all the cattle were given names, such as Brandy, Lucky and Bonny and the outcome of every bulling and calving was known to him.[113]

[112] C.R.O./K W.D./T.E. Box 11/2.

Month	Days	Month	Days	% Total Away
Jan	13	July	13	40%
Feb	12	Aug	14	
March	12	Sept	10	
April	10	Oct	14	
May	14	Nov	9	
June	17	Dec	8	

Table 1.2. The number of days Ben spent away from Townend on business in 1720.

When Ben was only three years old in 1667, his father was High Constable of the Kendal Ward for one year. That his father held this post probably played a part in Ben taking the position himself from 1711, though unlike his father, he held the post for twenty-one years, until 1732. This was common practise in many counties by the eighteenth century, where the post holder continued for as long as they wanted.[114] The role of High Constable covered the forty smaller 'constablewicks' of the Kendal Ward and carried wide reaching responsibility. Ben's accounts show it consumed much of his time, with a high level of commitment involved, and although he was paid for this, the task was onerous and not to be taken on lightly.[115] His duties included tax collection, overseeing public facilities such as the jailhouse, organising the Militia, a difficult job during the Jacobite Rebellion, coping with vagrancy, and

[113] C.R.O./K W.D./T.E. Box 11/2.
[114] S and B Webb, *Parish and County,* (1963), p. 489.
[115] C.R.O./K. W.D./T.E. Box 9, 1 and 2, and Vol. I, and Vol. XV, 10-43.

having responsibility for highways and bridges.[116] He had a band of forty constables each with their own area, and he gave them instructions by warrant and oversaw their expenses.[117] He often listed in his accounts the number of warrants he had written sometimes with the help of his sons, such as in 1723 when he entered 'Writeing and dispersing 40 long warrants to summon the assessors of the Duties on Houses to bring their duplicates 28 instant... 13s'.[118] In 1714, Ben entered 'My self and sone ryding four days for the ready delivering the said warrants for setting watch and ward'.[119] The accounts suggest that he worked several days each month, with the annual average for 1714 to 1717 at forty-four days per year, though as this is based on the number of expenses entries, which was sometimes less than the number of days worked, it is a conservative figure. In 1715, one of the most difficult years because of the Jacobite Rebellion, Ben's wife Elizabeth wrote a revealing description of his duties to their son George [5]. 'Your father now being High Constable is mightily involved in trouble he is scarce at home in a fortnight he has never been at home above one at a time and when he is at home both himself and his boys writes day and night and this week he has been and is now abroad upon the hunt for taking up some rebels. I pray God grant that he takes no harm. God knows he is upon a desperate undertaking.'[120] The High Constable accounts show that Ben's income from his duties varied from year to year. The major bridge repair work and raising the Militia significantly impacted on the salary. He received £2 per annum for the basic post and 2s 6d for every day worked, plus expenses which varied from 1s to as much as 7s 6d

[116] C.R.O./K. W.D./T.E. Vol. I. The majority of this volume contains communications regarding these duties. See also short essay by A. M. Logie, 'Benjamin Browne High constable of the Kendal Ward 1711-1732', *T.C.W.A.A.S.*, 2, (1971), pp. 76-89, for more on involvement in Jacobite Rebellion.
[117] C.R.O./K. W.D./T.E. Box 9, 2 and Vol. I, 307.
[118] C.R.O./K. W.D./T.E. Box 9, 1.
[119] C.R.O./K. W.D./T.E. Vol. XV, 7.
[120] C.R.O./K. W.D./T.E. Vol. I, 101. This letter is copied onto the reverse of an old indenture in Ben Browne's hand.

per excursion. In 1713, for instance, Ben earned his basic £2 and a further £6 10s 1d actual days of work, and a further £2 in expenses on these days.[121] In 1714, his earnings rose to the basic £2 and a further £11 11s 2d plus £2 17s 2d in expenses and in 1726, the basic £2, an extra £6 6s 8d and 11s in expenses.[122]

The many excursions Ben took into Kendal, Penrith, Ambleside and Hawkshead though based on High Constable business, were often social occasions too. The cost of drinking and eating out on these days was listed under expenses, and we can see that many of the meetings took place at public houses or inns.[123] Ben often met up with friends and family, as in September 1721, he and his wife met with 'cuz. Mary' in Kendal. Sometimes Ben's trips were purely for pleasure, and apparently were not connected to any business, as in the same year, when he took two trips to the races at Kendal 'horse course', a visit to 'a club', and several outings to plays in other years.[124] Ben also paid George Birkett 'our fiddler', presumably for entertaining them at home and he bought 'cards for playing on' so life was not all work and no play.[125]

Work was a necessity though and income had to be generated in order to maintain his way of life. Several sources of income went into the Browne household in the late-seventeenth and early-eighteenth centuries though Ben's account keeping consistently obscured an overall view of the family's finances. Only by bringing together several different sources can we begin to estimate the annual income. The accounts cover eight yearly totals from 1720 to 1727. The annual totals are shown below in **Table**

[121] C.R.O./K. W.D./T.E. Vol. XV, 4.
[122] C.R.O./K. W.D./T.E. Vol. XV, 26.
[123] C.R.O./K. W.D./T.E. Box 8/1/2.
[124] C.R.O./K. W.D./T.E. Box 8/1/5. For more on the Theatre in Kendal see M. Eddershaw, *Grand Fashionable Nights, Kendal Theatre 1575-1985*, (1989).
[125] C.R.O./K. W.D./T.E. Fiddler see Box 8/1, cards Box 8/2.

1.3. These figures were for the 'goods' and wool sold each year and reveal that each year differed from one to the next sometimes by as much as £16.[126] Livestock production was certainly not a way of creating a consistent income on an annual basis. For instance, the number of calves reared and sold depended on the success rate of bulling and calving.[127] The loss of just one beast could knock as much as three pounds from the annual total. The exceptionally good years were probably worked towards over the preceding two or three, with stocks being built specifically to raise capital. The wool was not an important part of the monetary income by this time, but this might not reflect production because the accounts show Ben had large quantities of yarn spun, woven and dyed for their own use and wool was stored in the lofts.[128] For instance, in 1729, he paid to have twenty-three yards of Kersey and twenty yards of Camblett spun, woven and dyed.[129] Over eight years, the average total income from livestock sales was £16 4s, and the wool figures are discounted because there are so few, though a question remains over why they were actually selling wool at all in 1723 and 1724. The farm also gained by saving money, as others did from gathering fuel, peat in particular, and, of course, producing their own food including cheese and meats.[130]

[126] C.R.O./K. W.D./T.E. Box 8/1 and 2. 'Goods' referred to livestock, horses, veal and sometimes skins or tallow.
[127] Ben kept a careful tally of how many cows were bulled and how successful this was. Box 11/1.
[128] C.R.O./K. W.D./T.E. Vol. VIII, 6, for wool stored in the garrets.
[129] C.R.O./K. W.D./T.E. Box 8/2/2.
[130] C.R.O./K. W.D./T.E. Vol. V, 106. Ben asks for one of his mother's 'leather tough cheeses'.

Year	Goods	Wool
1720	£15 9s 5d	-
1721	£23 2s 11d	-
1722	£11 16s 6d	-
1723	£16 0s 6d	£2 15s 9d
1724	£9 12s 6d	£2 5s 4d
1725	£12 9s 6d	8s
1726	£17 1s 0d	-
1727	£26 7s 4d	-

Table 1.3. Income from livestock sales 1720 to 1727.

Ben earned extra income as an agent collecting rental incomes and organising the letting of the tenancies, taking a very active role as his letters to Lady Otway reveal.[131] He worked for her from 1703 to 1718, and was paid £5 per year plus expenses.[132] He was bailiff to Lord Lonsdale for a salary of £6 6s per year plus expenses, though when this started is unclear because although the accounts for his payments cover the years 1729 to 1748, the lists of admittances to the tenancies in his hand go back much earlier.[133] Either way, he was in receipt of a salary from one or the other of them throughout most of his last forty years. The mills and the Lane House tenement were the two chief sources of rental income for Ben and his father before him. In 1703, as we have seen, The Lane was let for £4 per annum, to John

[131] C.R.O./K. W.D./T.E. Vol. VII, 1 to 273, for Lady Otway and Ben Browne's communications and Vol. XIII 81 to 96, for Lord Lonsdale.
[132] C.R.O./K. W.D./T.E. Vol. VII, 150.
[133] C.R.O./K. W.D./T.E. Vol. XIII, 81 to 96 and admittances Vol. IX, 70 to 89.

Forrest, who worked for Ben at Townend.[134] Between 1697 and 1727 the paper mill at Troutbeck Bridge was owned jointly by Ben and George Dixon and leased to 'Tubman', for a payment of £3 per annum each.[135] In 1720, the 'Bridge' corn mill, also owned and leased jointly by George Dixon and Ben, created an income of £1 8s 6d each per annum.[136] Further income came on a more irregular basis, such as the sale of trees for charcoal production. These were substantial sums, for instance in 1725, the right to coppice an enclosure of wood for charcoal was sold to William Dixon for £25 5s 5d and again to William Birkett in 1744, for £40.[137]

These various sources of income are difficult to bring together to give one annual sum. The extra salaries from acting as High Constable and working for Lady Otway and Lord Lonsdale were not earned throughout his life, malting was not always profitable, livestock sales varied, every few years the right to coppice generated a lump sum, and only the small sums through rentals were consistent. To add to the difficulties, the fragmented accounts give inconsistent coverage. However, at any one year between 1710 and 1730, based on the averages available, there was probably an income of around £8 from rentals, £6 from Lonsdale or Otway, £9 from his High Constable duties, £16 from livestock sales, and £8 from malt sales. This gives a sum of £47, almost ten times the salary of his 'man'. There were extras to add on to this such as lump sums from the occasional sales of coppice rights every few years, interest gained from money lent out, and whatever other income that went unrecorded.[138] Ben's account books reveal the annual expenditure more clearly than

[134] C.R.O./K. W.D./T.E. Vol. III, 92.
[135] C.R.O./K. W.D./T.E. Vol. VIII, 7-10.
[136] C.R.O./K. W.D./T.E. Unbound 16.
[137] C.R.O./K. W.D./T.E. Vol. IV, 241 and Vol. III, 104.
[138] Ben had a section for money lent and money owed, so the interest gained was presumably balanced against the interest spent.

the income. In 1725, a typical year, Ben's total including all his domestic, husbandry, and labour costs came to £55 1s 5d, and in 1729 it was £59 6s 10d.[139] This tallies very closely with the approximate income and although it suggests a slightly higher figure than £47, after the extras are added to that and allowing for good years when he made more, it is a good indication of his position.

There is little to suggest Ben invested in many business ventures and when he did, things did not always go according to plan. In 1727, he entered a bond with several other men backing Richard Rowlandson, a Kendal woollen draper, in the selling of stamped parchment and paper and they were all bound to the Crown for a total of £6,300.[140] Exactly how much of this was Ben's responsibility is unclear, though he and four others backed him in two separate agreements worth £1,800 each. If evenly split this would make Ben's total £1,200, and as bonds were usually for double the sum in question, his liabilities would be for £600. This still seems an extraordinary amount considering his relatively low income. Presumably, Ben was hoping to benefit in some way, though no mention is made of this. It certainly turned out to be a much bigger risk than Ben anticipated and when Rowlandson ended up in a London prison owing £2,000, Ben was convinced he was ruined.[141] He wrote to several acquaintances, including Lord Lonsdale, asking for their help and advice.[142] It was obvious that Ben had no idea how much he was liable for in such an event, but did not think he would be able to meet the costs. He lamented in one letter that 'I cannot expect but to make my exit in a gaol'.[143] Though he received letters of reassurance it

[139] C.R.O./K. W.D./T.E. Box 8/2/1 and 2.
[140] C.R.O./K. W.D./T.E. Vol. IV, 86. Richard Rowlandson was brother to Lady Dorothy Fleming and Katherine, Christopher's wife.
[141] C.R.O./K. W.D./T.E. Vol. V, 269, 59 and 60.
[142] For example C.R.O./K. W.D./T.E Vol. V, 75 and 267.
[143] C.R.O./K. W.D./T.E. Vol. V, 269.

did not stop him worrying, and he wrote in 1731, 'I cannot sleep nor lye in my bed for the thought of it'.[144] The cloud loomed over his head for several years, for in 1735, the Stamp Duty Office wrote to Ben warning him that he must meet the remaining debts, with the other backers or face prosecution.[145] A month later his son Ben Jnr. wrote to his father telling him not to worry too much as only the costs of the case were outstanding and his father's part should not exceed £20, Rowlandson's assets had covered the rest.[146] Whether this was the end of the matter is unclear, but there was no further mention of the affair.

Thus, the Brownes were clearly a significant family in Troutbeck, but they did not dominate it. They faced several disputes within the community which show this, most significantly that over the position of Ben's pew. The Troutbeck chapel was run by an elected council of Troutbeck men who were able to vote on matters such as appointing a new minister and where people could sit.[147] In 1707, they decided, with agreement from the Bishop, to move the curate's reading desk from the chancel to a position next to the pulpit, as this would be more convenient for the 'regulation of divine worship'.[148] This left a vacant space by the chancel door, large enough for a pew. Ben wrote to the church authorities asking if he could erect a pew in the space and, as they replied that 'having a very good mansion house and a considerable estate within the said chapelry' he could go ahead, under the condition he let his old pew go to someone else.[149] Ben knew that the official route to get what he wanted was to go to the highest authorities, but this way he alienated himself from his peers within the

[144] C.R.O./K. W.D./T.E Vol. V, 267.
[145] C.R.O./K. W.D./T.E Vol. V, 63a.
[146] C.R.O./K. W.D./T.E Vol. V, 140.
[147] C.R.O./K. W.D./T.E. Vol. VI, 102, for instance shows the 1702 list of voters.
[148] C.R.O./K. W.D./T.E. Unbound 135.
[149] C.R.O./K. W.D./T.E. Unbound 135.

community and underestimated the feelings of the church electorate who opposed the request and took matters into their own hands. They entered the church and broke up the pew, literally chopping it to pieces and declared that 'neither Queen nor Bishop has anything to do there none but themselves'.[150] The dispute lasted for years and in 1710 Ben wrote about the events to his cousin Philipson, telling him how he was 'quite cut out', sitting where 'all persons sit in common' having given up his old pew as directed.[151] Philipson replied with the news that 'Cuz James Longmire of Limefitt', one of the five men who had cut up his pew, had arrived in London to go to the 'Court Christian', but that he thought Longmire was using it as an excuse to visit the 'metropolitan'.[152] Ben wrote back that Longmire was 'full of malice and revenge' against him.[153] Presumably, he got his pew in the end as the Church upheld his rights, and Ben's final comments to his cousin were 'I have not been dealt withall like a Christian, yett I pray God forgive them all'.[154] This case shows how difficult life could become after a dispute in such a small community. Ben's life was deeply affected by the trouble over his pew for at least three years and, perhaps in terms of ill feeling, for much longer. In 1737, however, Ben Jnr. married James Longmire's daughter, Elizabeth, suggesting that the dispute had been forgotten by then.[155]

Throughout his records, Ben made few reports of personal ill health and lived to the age of eighty-four. He suffered the occasional cold, and felt ill through stress during his period of worry over the Stamp Duty case, and in 1705 described himself as 'born

[150] C.R.O./K. W.D./T.E. Vol. VI, 73.
[151] C.R.O./K. W.D./T.E. Vol. VI, 73.
[152] C.R.O./K. W.D./T.E. Vol. VI, 60.
[153] C.R.O./K. W.D./T.E. Vol. VI, 76.
[154] C.R.O./K. W.D./T.E. Vol. VI, 79.
[155] C.R.O./K. W.D./T.E. Vol. VIII, 1.

to trouble'.[156] He suffered from poor eyesight in his later years, frequently buying or mending his 'temple' spectacles,[157] and he occasionally bought tinctures and remedies from Christopher in Kendal.[158] Ben became ill shortly after his son Ben Jnr. died, in the January of 1748, and Eleanor Foster moved into Townend in order to care for him.[159] He carried on keeping records until he made the final entry in his account book in July that year. Though his writing had become clumsy in the last few years, it was still legible.[160] Two hundred and fifty-eight people attended his funeral on the 7th October 1748.[161]

The Browne family was important locally, and the seventeenth century Hearth Tax returns show that Townend was at the top end of the scale in its locality. However, it was relatively average if compared with nearby Ambleside, and we need to make this sort of comparison if we are to understand the Brownes properly.[162] The tax showed that the majority of houses had only one hearth, a handful of others had two or three, and two houses had four, one of which was Townend, as shown in **Table 1.4.** On average, the non-exempt households had just one hearth.[163] Only George Browne and George Birkett had four hearths, and each had two of these 'stopt', in an attempt to lessen the tax burden, a common practice in the area.[164] How long they kept them out of use is not known, though presumably only until the tax was abolished in 1689. In the nearby, larger township of Ambleside, Thomas Braithwaite and Rodger

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[156] C.R.O./K. W.D./T.E Vol. V, 142 and 144 show Ben suffering from a cold, 267 for Stamp Duty worry and Vol. V, 230 for 'born to trouble'.
[157] C.R.O./K. W.D./T.E. Box 8/2/3.
[158] C.R.O./K. W.D./T.E. Box 8/2/2 and 3.
[159] C.R.O./K. W.D./T.E. Vol. III, 295r.
[160] C.R.O./K. W.D./T.E Box 8/1/7.
[161] C.R.O./K. W.D./T.E. Vol. X, 9-11.
[162] W. Farrer, (1923 and 1924), Vol. I, 122, for Kendal and Vol. II, 56, for Troutbeck and Ambleside.
[163] This figure is rounded down from 1.3.
[164] W. Farrer, (1923), p. 126. The tax returns suggest that this was particularly prevalent in the rural areas.

Barwicke both had eight hearths.[165] In Kendal, the 1671 returns for the Highgate area show that after an unknown number of exemptions, the average number of hearths per taxed household was three.[166]

The Window Tax Returns of 1714 similarly show Townend with nineteen windows, was one of the four largest houses in Troutbeck. **Table 1.5** shows that out of thirty-eight listed properties three others had nineteen, two had fourteen and twelve windows each, whilst the majority had eight or nine, with one property having just seven. Townend was then, at the top end of the scale in Troutbeck, though it did not stand apart.

No. of hearths	**No. of householders**
1	41 [13 discharged from payment]
2 (but one unfinished)	1
2	5
3 (but one unfinished)	1
4(but two 'stopt' or 'wald' up)	2
Total	49
Average	1.3

Table 1.4. Troutbeck Hearth Tax Returns 1669-1671.

[165]W. Farrer, (1924), p. 56.

No. of windows	No. of householders	
7	1	
8	8	
9	23	
12	1	
14	1	
19	4	[includes Townend]
Total	38	
Average	10	

Table 1.5. Window Tax Returns for Troutbeck 1714.

Our understanding of the Brownes and their place in local society hierarchy can be further enhanced by an overview of probate inventory analysis on a national, regional and local scale using Weatherill's statistics.[167] For this study, inventories of Troutbeck and Applethwaite between 1714 and 1748 have been analysed in order to understand the levels of ownership of household goods within the community, and assess Ben against his neighbours and social milieu, shown in **Tables 1.5** and **1.6**.[168] Ben's final inventory total was £97, with £63 of this in household goods.[169] Of the

[166]W. Farrer, (1923), p. 121. (Actual average is 2.9) The tax returns are not complete; Highgate was just one area of the town.
[167] L. Weatherill, (1988), p. 184.
[168] The references for the inventory sample are given in the bibliography. The household goods category is based on the same system Weatherill used which excludes money and clothing -which were listed together, husbandry or work gear, livestock and food. It includes all household items such as furniture, bedding, utensils, hearth goods, plate, pewter. See L. Weatherill, (1988) pp. 204-206.
[169] The exact amount of Ben's household goods was £62 15s, rounded to the nearest pound, as Weatherill did with her figures. It is worth noting that he, and many of the other Troutbeck and Applethwaite sample, also had debts. Ben owed £185, so in reality he had a negative total of minus £87 16s 4d. However as Weatherill overlooked similar debts, because it is the value of the goods in the

forty-two other inventories, most were from yeomen, a title that could mask other trades, but the sample also included a carpenter, smith, blacksmith, butcher and waller. The average total value was £140, and average household goods were valued at £18. This placed them a little above Weatherill's primary sector figures and a little below her yeoman figures for both the average and the median totals, shown in **Table 2.7.**[170] Ben fitted none of the average values with his £97. He had less than the average yeoman did and three times the total value of the husbandmen. Though still significantly lower, he was nearest to the average value of primary sector inventory values. In his own community, he had a substantially lower total value, yet in terms of household goods he had three times the average, so it was a higher proportion. He had £63 worth of household goods, and this clearly placed him alongside Weatherill's average gentry total of £55.[171] However, others had significant amounts too, and Ben did not have the largest quantity of household goods, John Wilson, of the How, had £79 9s worth, so considerably more.[172] Those with land, especially the elderly, might have had less surplus money and no stock in trade, thus making the proportion of material goods relatively higher. This happened with Ben, for we know he had retired and sold his livestock in previous years, and was now at the end of his very long, eighty-four year life. He would have had, therefore, a total inventory value far higher than £97 if he had died twenty years earlier, in his sixties.

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house that is important at this point, this debt and that of the other Troutbeck and Applethwaite decedents has been overlooked

[170] L. Weatherill, (1988). Because her inventory samples for both Cumbria and Northwest England by-passed South Westmorland and Lancashire-north-of-the-sands for the poorest sector in the far north and the richest sector south of the Ribble, we have to look at the figures on a national scale, p. 54 and p. 58.

[171] Her sample did not include any inventories from the Prerogative Court of Canterbury or York, she only shows the 'parish gentry', very much in line with where the Brownes stood or at least were trying to stand.

[172] L.R.O./P. W.R.W./K. John Wilson, 1741.

	Total £	Household goods £
Ben Browne Snr.	97	63

Table 1.6, Benjamin Browne inventory totals

	No.	Av. Total £	Av.H.H.	Med. Total £	Med.H.H.£
Troutbeck	42	140	18	110	12

Table 1.7. Troutbeck Analysis 1714-1748

	No.	Av. Total £	Av.H.H. £	Med. Total £	Med.H.H.£
Primary sector	1,303	130	19	78	13
Gentry	122	360	55	154	38
Yeomen	952	165	23	104	17
Husbandmen	122	32	8	30	7

Table 1.8. Weatherill's National Inventory Analysis 1675-1725

This chapter has shown that the Browne family held a significant presence in Troutbeck for at least a hundred years before Ben was born and that his forefathers had already established many of their ways. They kept sheep, cows and grew crops,

as most did.[173] By the sixteenth century they owned a mill and continued to produce malt over several generations. They later purchased further mills, extended Townend and increased their land-holding through the late seventeenth century though on a relatively small scale, this included exchanges of land with neighbours. Ben's father and grandfather held the post of bailiff before him, his father that of High Constable, and they were literate from the early-seventeenth century onwards. The family married both sons and daughters into the Longmire and Birkett families from the sixteenth through to the mid-eighteenth century, with occasional matches into gentry families. From the mid-seventeenth century members of the family visited and lived in London and fathers sought employment for their sons outside the confines of Westmorland. Although some offspring died before maturity, the heirs to Townend were repeatedly blessed with longevity, living into their seventies, eighties and nineties.

Ben lived much as his forefathers had done and showed no radical difference in his attitude or behaviour. Two of his sons looked as though they were set for greater things until their untimely deaths. Christopher achieved the position of mayor in Kendal and his marital connection with the Flemings meant his children were part of a gentry family. Ben Jnr. amassed money and property, and took the title of gentleman before reaching old age. This is one of the most significant changes between the generations, for although his father and grandfather before him had occasionally been given the title, they were far more generally known as yeomen. For Ben, income involved work, sometimes difficult to delegate, involving an element of risk, worry and stress. Family and neighbourly relationships were often strained, children were

[173] For more on the domestic economy see J. D. Marshall, (1973), pp. 190-219.

demanding and death was cruel. That Ben described himself as 'born to trouble' shows he saw no privileged position, but a life that was forever throwing obstacles in his way. Neither did the family behave like the long-established gentry households, for the children did not go to grammar schools and Oxford or Cambridge, and Ben certainly was not without money worries or concerns for the future of his children. They remained resident at Townend, which though described as a 'mansion house', was never a 'power house' and remained meagre in comparison to the gentry homes of Lancashire and beyond. They might have established connections with the Flemings and other gentry families, and they did rise above the majority of other yeomen, but they never really came near to the Flemings' own position in society. The wealth of subsequent generations has made the earlier Brownes look better off than they were in terms of income and how they perceived themselves. However, status and power from office-holding, mill ownership, gentry connections and strategic marriages, did set them apart from an early date.

CHAPTER TWO

LEVELS OF POSSESSION: HOUSE AND FURNITURE

Here architectural, artefactual and documentary evidence is combined to examine the layout of Townend and the possessions within. The development of the house and consequent expansion and changes in function are considered. Through a detailed analysis of the quantity and type of furnishings, we gain a better understanding of which goods were kept and why, how goods were modified and what kind of new goods were added to these.

Illustration 2.1. The Townend house as it stands today.

The contents of the house are important, but the house itself cannot be neglected, it was the biggest and most representative statement the inhabitants could make about their attitudes and financial status. The local abundance of stone and slate meant that even modest houses around Troutbeck were of solid and lasting construction from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries onwards, and Townend was no exception. The present house is shown in **Illustration in 2.1,** and evidence from several documents suggests that the property has changed significantly, in ways that are not immediately apparent. The typical plans of the region's farmhouses were based on a main room or 'firehouse', often termed the 'house' in documents for this region and as it was at Townend, and two smaller rooms leading off: the 'parlour' and the 'buttery'.[1] Above this were loft areas, open to the roof initially, where food stocks, such as meal and apples were kept since they were dry and out of the way. Beds were often on the ground floor, usually in one of the smaller rooms such as the parlour, as well as in the loft areas. In the larger properties additional rooms complemented the basic layout, usually including another main room with a fire. This became a food preparation area, allowing the 'house' to become an area for dining, and perhaps entertaining. Additions, often termed 'rear-projections' or 'outshuts' by architectural historians, were sometimes built on to the main house, or independent buildings were situated close by. As well as barns, 'milns', animal houses, and storage sheds, these included additional service areas for milk preparation and brewing. Whilst these were not part of the main living area of the house their existence freed areas within the house for less functional purposes.

[1]For an in-depth analysis of farm buildings and plans see R. W. Brunskill, *Traditional Farm Buildings of Britain* -second edition, (1992), S. Wade-Martins, *Historic Farm Buildings* (1991). For local studies: R. W. Brunskill, *Vernacular Architecture of the Lake Counties*, (1974) and S. Denyer, *Traditional Life and Buildings in the Lake District* (1991). For regional studies see, S. Pearson, *Rural Houses of the Lancashire Pennines 1560-1760,* RCHM (1985). For details of building specifications, B. Tyson, 'Some Traditional Buildings in the Troutbeck Valley', *T.C.W.A.S.*,2, (1982) pp. 157-176.

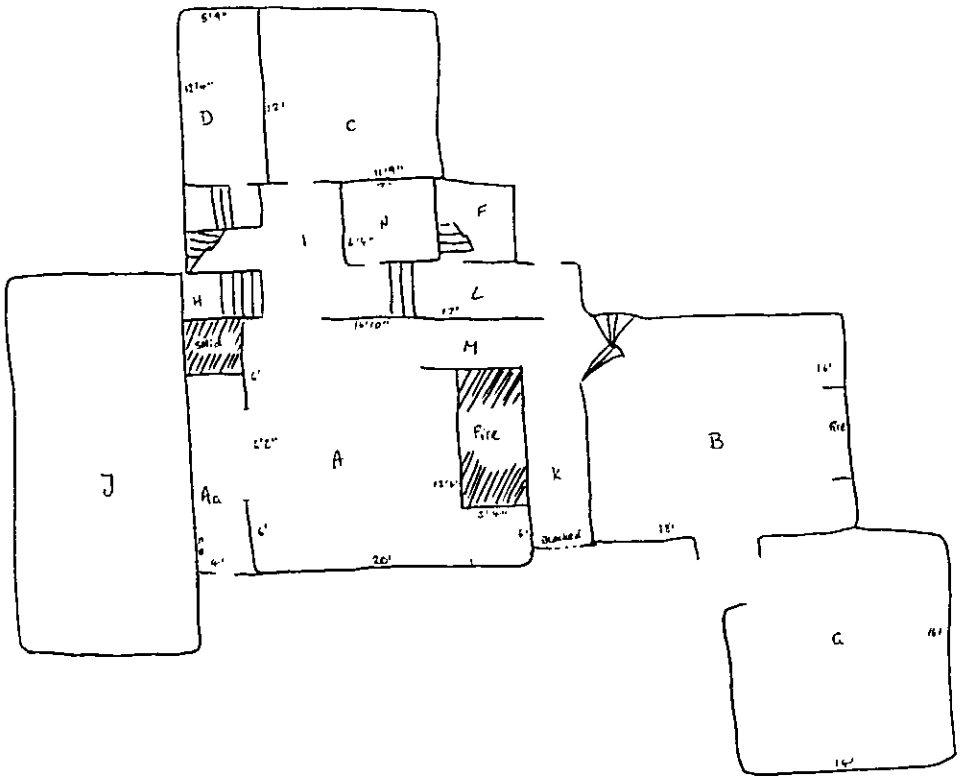

Figure 2.1. Present ground floor plan.

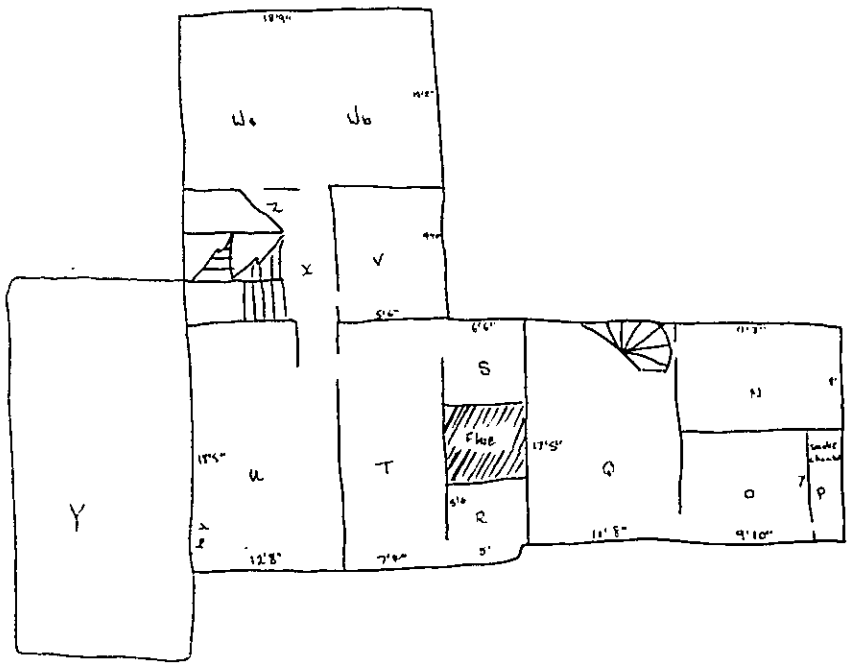

Figure 2.2. The Present First Floor Plan.

In the earliest days, before 1623, the entire dwelling was probably the present central section, the main room of which has consistently been called the 'House' (A). It had loft areas above, (U) and (T), shown in **Figures 2.1 and 2.2**. The property was definitely extended in 1623,[2] and it is most likely that the Brewhouse (B), with its loft rooms (Q, N and O) above and the oak spiral staircase were added at that time.[3] Originally, if Townend conformed to other local plans, then in the House (A) there would have been a hearth at one end of the room, with a screened partition for a parlour and buttery at the other. The position of the hearth is always important, and the House (A), now backs onto the central wall and blocked cross-passage, fitting Brunskill's cross-passage plan.[4] This would mean that a parlour and buttery would be sited at the opposite end of the room, with stairs at either the far corner behind the fire, or at the back of the room in a small projection.[5] This has since been altered, perhaps during the 1690s when three generations lived there, or even as late as 1734, when Ben had major work done to his chimney and hood in the House (A), and on the hearth above in (U).[6] Ben undertook various other building programmes, including the creation of the New Room before 1731 and major work in 1739, when he built 'a new end for a staircase'.[7] The cross-wing that was added, perhaps at that time, did not fit the typical local plan, and was a move away from the vernacular trends of the region. It made Townend stand apart architecturally after this date. For Ben to embark on such expansion after retirement, when his family had grown up, suggests

[2] C.R.O./K. W.D./T.E. Unbound 119.
[3] National Trust Pamphlet, *Townend*, (1986), p. 4.
[4] R.W. Brunskill, (1992), pp. 48-50.
[5] Ibid. pp. 50-51.
[6] In 1734, Ben listed, in his accounts, payments for 11 'man' days of work on the chimney and hood in the house and the hearth in the Great Room. The hearth is directly above the archway to the room, which could mark the position of the original chimney, and the chimney directly above now serving the bedroom hearth, though this is unproven.
[7] C.R.O./K. W.D./T.E. Vol. III, 302a. The accounts show large quantities of slate, stone, flags, timber, glass, sand and lime were used.

that he was improving the house in preparation for his son rather than himself and therefore was thinking in dynastic terms.

Table 2.1. Room Names at Townend between 1692 and 1748.[8]

1692	1705	1731	likely location	1748
Brewhouse	Brewhouse	Kitchen	(B)	Kitchen
House		House	(A)	Mansion house
Buttery	Little Buttery door	Buttery	(D)	
		Scullery	(N)	
		Milkhouse	(G)	
		Cellar	(F)	
Parlour	Parlour door in 'portall'	Parlour	(C)	Parlour
Little Loft				
	Little room closet door	Little Room over parlour	(Wa/b)	lit roomoverparl
Great Loft	Great Room door to stairs,	Great Room	(Wa/b)	Great Room
	Great room door to little room	(great room poss also U/T)		
Study				
	Closet door in 'Our Room'	Closet over entry	(S/R)	Closet
	Our room	My Room over house	(U/T)	Bed Chamber
		New Room	(V?)	New Room
Buttery Loft				
		Loft over Kitchen	(Q)	Loftover Kitch
Fellow's Loft		Low Loft	(N)	
Lads' Loft		Little Room adj low loft	(O)	LittleRoom adj
Lasses' Loft				
	Apple Room door	Little room adjoining called Apple Loft		
Wool Loft	Wool Room door			
	Closet door over Brewhouse			
	Trap door			

In 1692, Townend accommodated Ben and his first wife Anne, with four young children aged six, four, two, and a newborn baby. Ben's parents George and Ellinor continued to live in the house with up to four of their own unmarried offspring, a

daughter aged twenty-five, and sons, aged twenty-two, nineteen, and fifteen and George's stepmother Mary was also still alive.[9] However, by the 1730s, Townend had fewer family members as the children had grown up and left home, and Ben's parents and his second wife had died. Ben utilised the spare rooms by leasing them first to Jonathan Elleray, and later to Ben Jnr. when he returned from London to live at Townend.[10]

In 1692 the rooms above the Brewhouse were originally called the Lads', Lasses', and Fellows' Lofts, (N, Q and O) but later became the Low Loft, Little Room Adjoining, Apple Loft and Loft Over Kitchen, see **Table 2.1,** for lists of room names.[11] The two rooms above the House (U) and (T) were at one stage the Great and Little Lofts, though these names were later duplicated and they probably also referred to the rooms in section (W).[12] The confusion arising from the anomalies and changes in the layout of Townend can best be overcome by taking the present layout, without the cross-wing (J/Y) which came later, and referring to the 1731 room descriptions where possible. This allows the nearest fit, and links to the date when we have the best description of most of the objects within the house, and their location.

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[8] All C.R.O./K. W.D./T.E: Unbound 150a, for 1690 agreement, schedule dated 1692; box 11 for the 1705 key list; Vol. VIII, 125, for the 1731 schedule; Unbound 129 for Ben Browne's probate inventory.

[9] See pedigree in Appendix One.

[10] C.R.O./K. W.D./T.E. Box 11/2 for Jonathan Elleray, Vol. IX, 157, for son Ben Jnr.

[11] Here the furniture and other goods listed in the schedules are grouped into their appropriate room setting, first, for 1692 and second for 1731; items appearing on both lists are shown in italics. The 1692 house was sparse, but this was the 'moiety' passed on to the eldest son whilst Ben's parents were still alive, and we cannot be sure what remained their property. However, when his parents died there were no items listed on their joint inventory and the assumption is that the list did include most things. C.R.O./K. M.F./G.L. 88, for inventory. A problem in the 1731 schedule was that beds were listed simply as 'all the bedsteads and testers both at home and Lane House in number about twelve with a trunnel and settle bed or thereabouts'. As three were at the Lane House this amounted to nine plus the 'trunnel' and settle bed, and there was a chest bed somewhere in the house as one appeared on the sale schedule in 1748, which brings the total to twelve. See W.D./T.E. Vol.VIII, 125, and Vol. II, 50. In 1692, there were ten beds, one a 'truckle', but no mention of the settle or chest beds.

Table 2.2. Position of furnishings in 1692 and 1731.

1692	1731
Ground Floor	**Ground Floor**
House	**House**
Table	*Long table*
Two long buffets	*Two buffet forms*
Two *chairs*	Four *chairs*
Dresser table	Screen or long settle
Brewhouse	**Kitchen**
Table	*Long table*
Forms	*Two forms*
Meal chest	*Meal chest*
	Dishboard
	Still
	Three kettles
	Brass pot
	Iron pots and pans
Parlour	**Parlour**
Bedstead	*Bedstead**
Tester	*Tester**
Table	*Oval table*
Screen	Six oak chairs
	Stand of drawers
	Dressing looking glass
Buttery	**Buttery**
Cupboard	Six oak chairs
Glass cupboard	Two leather chairs
	Leather covered buffet
	Pewter: dishes, plates, salvers, flagons, Quart, candlesticks, brass boxes, snuffers, copper coffee-pot, can
	Scullery
	Cupboard
	Two stone tables
	Milkhouse
	Shelves
	Stone tables
	Cellar
	Stone table
	Beef tub
First Floor	
Great Loft	**Great Loft**
Bedstead	*Bedstead**
Tester	*Tester**
Table	*Oval table*
	Chest of drawers
	Large looking glass over chest

[12] C.R.O./K. W.D./T.E. Box 11/key list. The 1705 key list shows that the Little Room was connected to the Great Room, which had a closet, and the Great Room was connected to the stairs, fitting the current layout of rooms (U) and (T).

Seven rush bottomed chairs (one an elbow)
Two Russia leather chairs

Little Loft
Bedstead
Tester
Table

Study
Table

Little Room over parlour
*Bedstead**
*Tester**
Four leather buffets
Desk
Wainscot chest

New room
Table with drawers

[my] **Room over the House**
Bedstead
Bureau
Clothes press
Chest 'before' it
Round table
Elbow chair (rush bottomed)
Russia Leather chair
Buffet leather covered
Dressing looking glass
Desk (near the bed)

Fellow's Loft
Two bedsteads
Two great chests

Low Loft
*Bedsteads**
Two meal chests
Malt chest

Lasses' Loft
Bedstead
Truckle bed

Little Room adjoining
*Bedstead**
*Truckle**
Little chest with school books inside

Lads' Loft
Bedstead
Livery cupboard

Apple loft adjoining
*Bedstead**
Several shelves
Trenchers
Wood basins
All wooden ware

Buttery Loft
Bedstead

Loft over the Kitchen
*Bedstead**
Four barrels

*Denotes assumed positions based on evidence from 1692, 1731, and 1748

The lists in **Table 2.2,** show what the rooms contained in 1692 and 1731. In the House (A) there was a 'long screen or settle', and though settles were absent from the Troutbeck and Applethwaite inventories this was, nevertheless, a common piece of furniture in Westmorland. Many survive as antiques, and Palmer's survey showed

some were still in houses in the 1940s, and studies of vernacular architecture suggest that they were in many cases part of the fabric of the house, often in a place called the 'heck'.[13] Today, in the inner hall, at the foot of the staircase is a long settle with a panelled screen back, shown in **Illustration 2.2.** As this settle was in the House, (A) and the screen goes to the ground, it is most likely that it stood by the fire, forming a cosy seating area, just as they did in other homes. It is very plain, despite paired ball-turned front legs and some incised reeding to the panel frames. The legs are attached to a base piece, which gives stability, strength and allows the settle to be moved more easily by sliding motion.

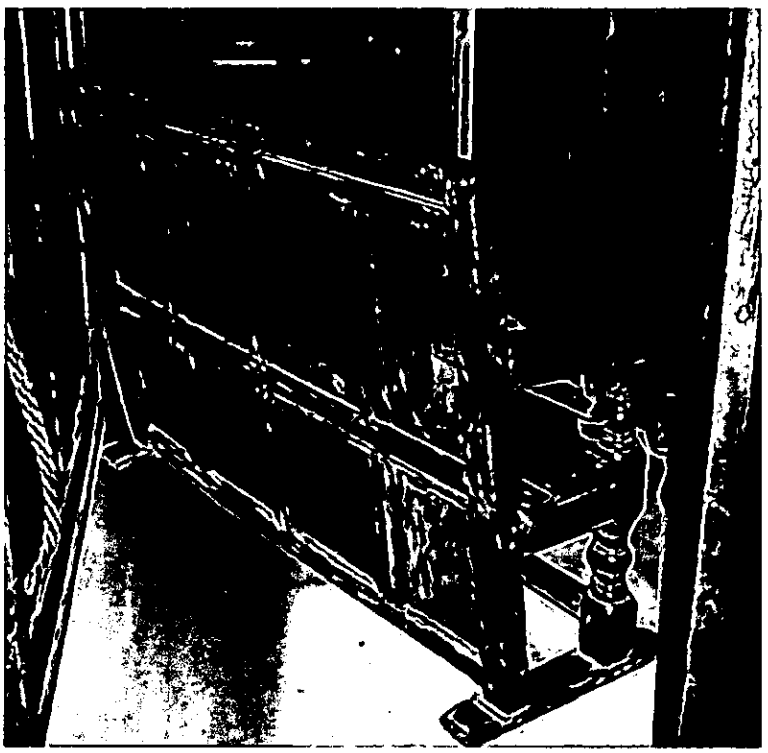
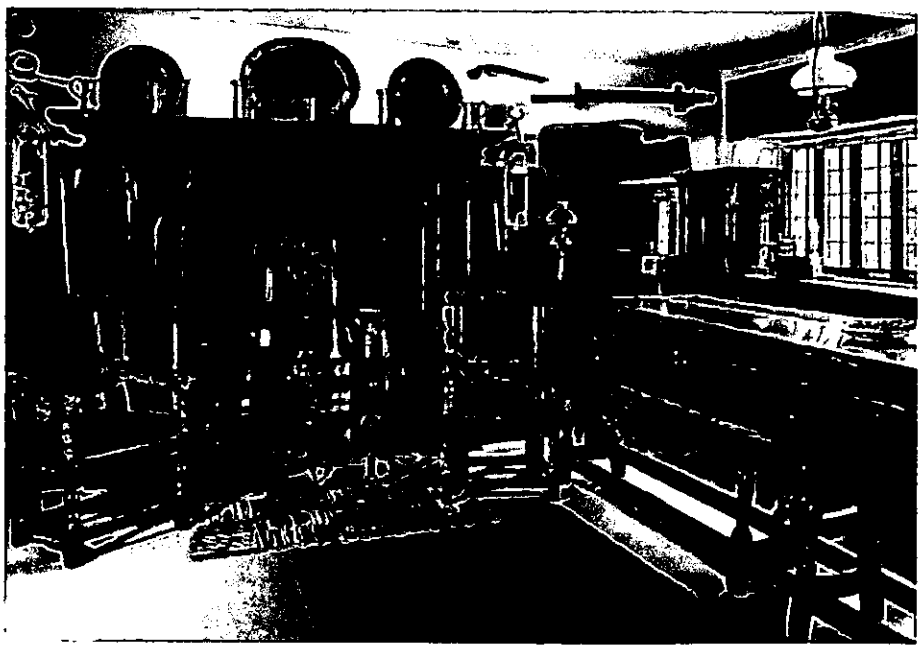


Illustration 2.2. Settle showing screen back.

[13] J. D. Marshall, (1971), p. 39. The heck was a screened partition running between the fireplace and the room entry, and often incorporated a settle for seating by the fire.

The House (A), was also home to the long oak table and buffet forms, which are still in the room, four chairs, and a long bench which is built into the panelling beneath the window, shown in **Illustration 2.3**. At least fourteen people could be comfortably seated around the table, and given the numbers living in the house during the 1690s this was probably a necessity. The Troutbeck and Applethwaite inventory sample gave little descriptive evidence for tables, though they often listed table and forms together.[14] The use of forms suggests that the tables were of rectangular design though not necessarily great in length, for the two at Townend show they varied significantly. Further evidence of the common appearance of these tables is revealed in Palmer's survey of farmhouses.[15] Ten out of fifty-nine, or eighteen percent, of the farms he visited still housed or had recently housed long, joined tables.[16]

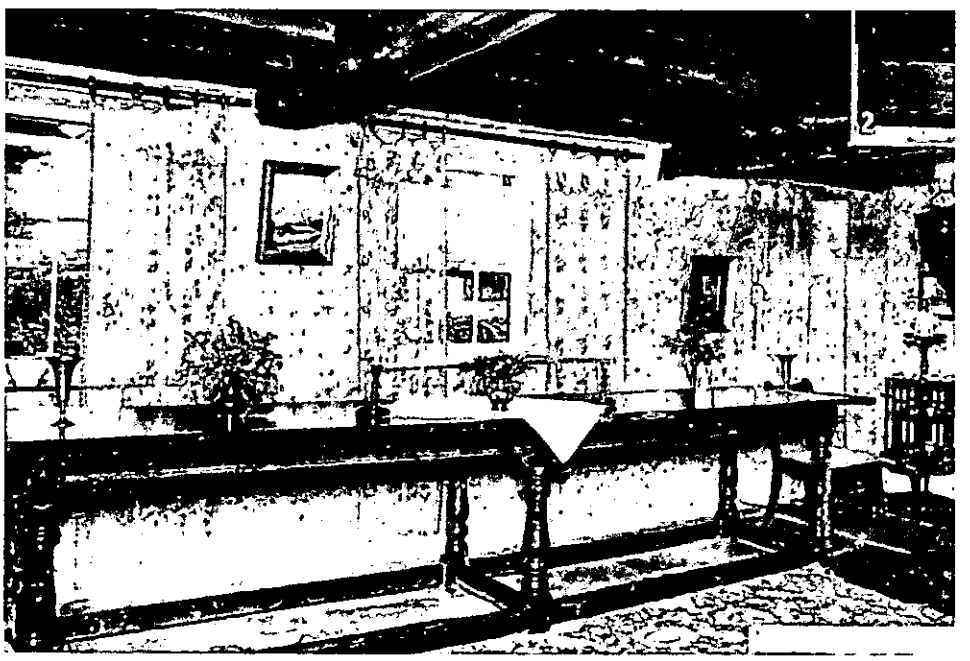


Source: postcard, National Trust, 1994.

Illustration 2.3. Long table and forms in the 'House' at Townend.

[14] See for instance L.R.O./W. R.W, Robert Fisher, of Troutbeck, 1740, or John Dixon of Troutbeck 1742.
[15] J.H. Palmer, *Historic Farmhouses.* (1945). Some tables might not have been mentioned as the survey was on the house, not the furniture.

In 1720 at Lady Otway's sale, two oak table planks, a pair of table frames, and a long table with frame were all sold at the same time.[17] The versatility of such long tables was shown. The table planks and the frames were bought separately, so the parts were interchangeable. The comparatively high price of the frames at 2s 5d, compared to 9d for the planks, indicates that they were in demand by those with the table planks, although we would expect a higher value as a frame took more man-hours to construct. The other long table and frame were sold together and achieved a substantial price of 18s 11d, suggesting that this one was of better quality and probably joiner made, like those in Palmer's survey and in the House at Townend.



Source: J.H. Palmer. *Historic Farmhouses in and around Westmorland.* (1945), p. 97.

Illustration 2.4. Long table at Orrest Farm, Windermere.

[16] Ibid., One of these was Townend, p. 116.
[17] C.R.O./K. W/D./T.E. Vol. VIII, 119.

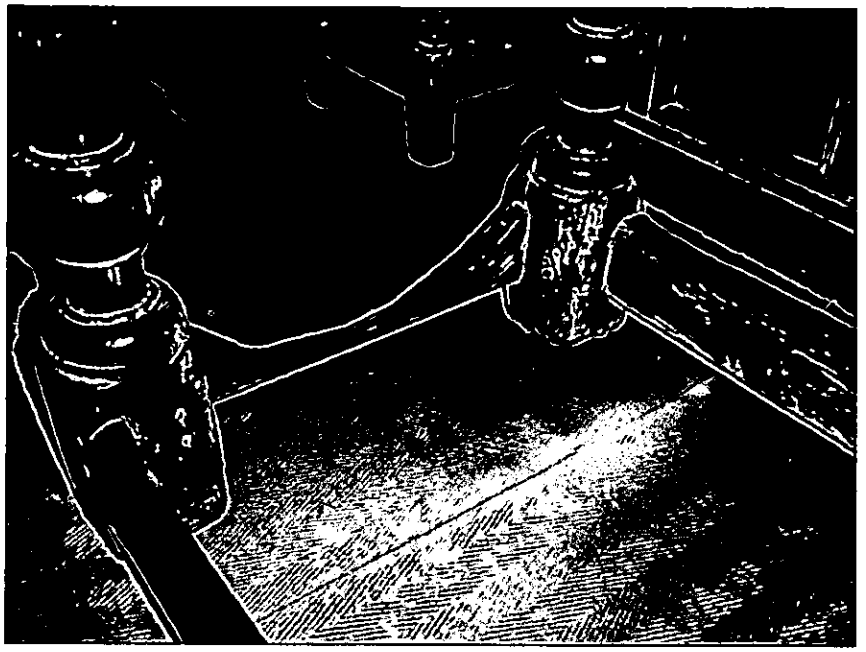


Illustration 2.5. Modified stretcher to the Townend long table.

The table in the House at Townend is twelve feet one inch long and two feet eight inches wide on a fully stretchered base and it lacks the heavy clumsiness of the tables seen at other properties such as Nether Levens and Skelsmergh.[18] At nearby Orrest Head, the home of the Dixon family, the table, shown in **Illustration 2.4,** was thirteen feet in length with similar reeding along the frieze to the Townend table.[19] Whilst not identical, these tables appear similar enough to be from the same source. As the Browne and Dixon families were 'cousins' and neighbours, one could have requested a design similar to the other, raising the question of following vernacular tradition over personalisation. It is more likely, in the absence of any references to design preferences throughout the documentation for any locally produced furniture, that the joiner made the tables according to his own style and tradition. The Townend table was well used and modified when necessary. Thus, the stretcher at the end of the table is reduced to a thin piece of oak as shown in **Illustration 2.5.** Whoever sat at

[18] J.H. Palmer, (1945), p. 92 and p. 110.

that end of the table, probably the male head of the household, had it cut away so that their legs could fit over the stretcher without their knees banging against the frieze. Down the centre of the top is a two-and-a-half inch insert in a much paler oak, and added at each end are one and-a-half-inch lips, cut from the same wood. At some stage, the table was considered too narrow, and the alterations carried out, rather than a replacement being sought. Facing one side and one end of the table, there is a bench built into the panelling in front of the window. On the other side facing into the room, are two forms, referred to as buffets in 1692 and 1731,[20] with the same reeding and leg design as the table.

In 1720, Lady Otway sold Ambleside Hall to Mr. W. Dumer for £1750-0-0, an enormous amount compared to properties like the Lane House in Troutbeck, which cost £90, in 1674.[21] Otway gave Dumer first refusal on any goods that had been in the house during the occupancy of her tenant Mikul Tyson, before they went in the sale, and of all the items, he chose to buy the table.[22] That the long tables remained in these houses, even until the twentieth century, suggest that they were never fully replaced with more fashionable mahogany or less clumsy designs. This vernacular design fitted into the fabric of the house and the way of life within, and continued to do so with approval of 'substantial' families like the Brownes, Dixons and Dumers. Therefore, these tables maintained the value on the second-hand market and provided a safe way of storing wealth. With few alternatives for cash investment, this was an added function of the table.

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[19] Ibid., p. 97.
[20] C.R.O.K. W.D./T.E. Vol. VIII, 125, and Unbound 150a.
[21] C.R.O./K. W.D./T.E. Vol. VII, 218 and 219.
[22] C.R.O./K. W.D./T.E. Vol. VII, 217.

The oak chairs listed in 1731 probably included at least two of the several oak 'elbow' chairs in the house today. Each chair has arms, a solid back, and varying levels of carving and decorative turning, and is typical of the wainscot or panelled chair common throughout the seventeenth and early eighteenth century. The chair, shown in **Illustration 2.6**, lacks the clumsy heavy build of the seventeenth century though still features straight rear legs, suggesting an early-eighteenth century date. Comfort was clearly considered, with the wide seat, room for a cushion and a shaped top rail for the head to rest against. This is possibly the chair that Ben asked William Brownrigg to make in 1739, specifically to 'sit in at fire'.[23] For his own comfort, Ben was happiest with what he knew, from a local craftsman in vernacular style.

Illustration 2.6. Arm chair in the kitchen.

[23] C.R.O./K. W.D./T.E. Box 8/2/3.

Illustration 2.8. Chair dated 1742.

The two chairs in the House (A) are both dated and elaborately carved, shown in **Illustrations 2.7 and 2.8**. The first bears the dates 1742, and initials DB, possibly Dorothy Birkett of Low Wood, Ben Browne's grand daughter.[24] This chair is clearly of seventeenth century design, and the later date remains an enigma. As we know, George [9] added dates and initials, yet these seem authentic. It seems most likely that the chair was given the initials in 1742, perhaps for sentimental reasons, but was made much earlier. The other chair, dated 1702 and initialled BBE, is of seventeenth century origin, but there is barely an original inch of surface left as it is embellished

[24] J. H. Palmer, (1945), p.116.

with later carving, probably the work of George [9]. When Ben owned the chair it was plain, either because he preferred it that way or because he wanted to save money. The former is more likely because he was prepared to indulge in decorative detail on other items. The bureau, in **Illustration 2.15**, was finished with fruitwood cross-banding, a time-consuming and therefore costly extra, yet one he was prepared to pay for.

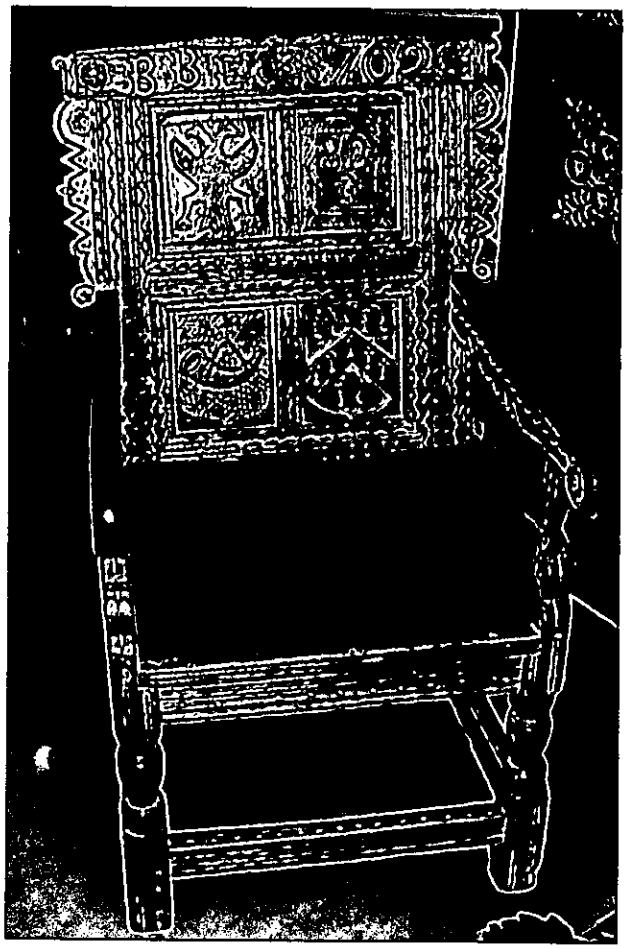

Illustration 2.9. Chair dated 1702, with later carving.

Despite the quality of furnishings and the obvious function as a dining area, some domestic tasks were still done in the House (A) even in 1731. On the 'chimney piece' was 'all my brass and ironware (to wit) three box irons and heaters, one dripping pan,

tongs, fire shovels etc.'.[25] This dripping pan was to catch the fat from the meat roasted over the fire, and so would only be there if meat was still cooked in this room. Ben's inventory showed there was a clock in the House (A) by 1748, and it seems likely it was there earlier as there is no account of it being purchased in the accounts from 1718 to 1748.[26] Twenty-one out of forty-two decedents, or fifty percent, of the Troutbeck and Applethwaite sample owned clocks. Marshall too, found a high percentage of clock ownership in his Hawkshead study, with 33% of his sample listing clocks.[27] Weatherill found such high ownership only amongst the gentry sample, with only nineteen percent of her yeomen sample listing them, far lower than this local sample.[28] This discrepancy might be explained by the lack of access to public clocks, or nearby neighbours to ask, as the houses were sporadic rather than clustered. Time was important, for instance, sales and meetings started at specified times. Marshall pointed to Thompson's theory that clocks were kept for regulating work.[29] The clock might have represented the importance or relevance of a household within the community and thus became a status item as well as inherently functional within the home.

One of the most noticeable absences from Townend today is of an original fitted cupboard. The common presence of these practical large cupboards in the surviving houses proves that they were an important piece of furniture, though not often listed in the inventory sample, probably because they were not a moveable item. They were often fitted in the partition between the main room and the service rooms, fulfilling

[25] C.R.O./K. W.D./T.E. Vol. VIII, 125.
[26] C.R.O./K. W.D./T.E. Unbound 129. The two surviving clocks in the house are of seventeenth century origin though these are not the originals; they were stolen in the 1980s.
[27] J. D., Marshall, (1980), p. 520. The sample was from 1720 to 1750.
[28] L. Weatherill, (1988), p. 184.

the extra function of room divider.[30] In 1936, at Troutbeck alone, nine houses had such large fitted cupboards, and in the wider area of Westmorland, there were two hundred and forty-six.[31] George [9] fitted a cupboard, still in the House (A), and added the carving, suggesting that he recognised such cupboards as an integral part of the local style.[32] Despite previous assertions that these were 'bread cupboards', there was no evidence in all the inventories and other documentation that these cupboards were used for keeping bread, or were known by that name.[33] It has been suggested that up to a year's supply of 'clap' bread was kept in them, which seems unlikely.[34] 'Old Peggy' was paid for twelve days baking at Townend, which suggests that there was a baking day once a month rather than once a year, far more realistic given the damp, vermin and dirt likely to contaminate food, even in such a cupboard.[35] We can also point to the meal chests for storing the oatmeal, a more practical storage system. More than this though, these cupboards were far too large and useful to be filled with bread alone. The small compartments at the top are ideal for bottles and jars and the much larger space underneath could house larger pewter wares and pots.

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[29] E. P. Thompson, 'Time, work, discipline and industrial capitalism', *Past and Present*, 38, (1967), pp. 56-97.

[30] See S. Denyer, (1991), pp. 25-37 and V. Chinnery, (1986), particularly pp. 491-493, for more examples.

[31] *Royal Commission for Historical Monuments, Westmorland*, 1936, pp. 228-229. There were small ones too, but this probably refers to the single 'locker' type now commonly known as 'spice' cupboards.

[32] See drawing of furniture at Townend. C.R.O./K. W.D./T.E. Box 9.

[33] S. H. Scott, (1904), p.37, Scott seems to be the originator of the term 'bread cupboard', though Rollinson and Denyer have continued its usage. W. Rollinson, (1974), p. 40 and S. Denyer, (1991) p. 25. The term is probably based on Victorian romanticism, which has so commonly coloured our view of the past and certainly should be avoided now.

[34] S. Denyer, (1991), p. 25.

[35] C.R.O./K. W.D./T.E. Box 8/1.

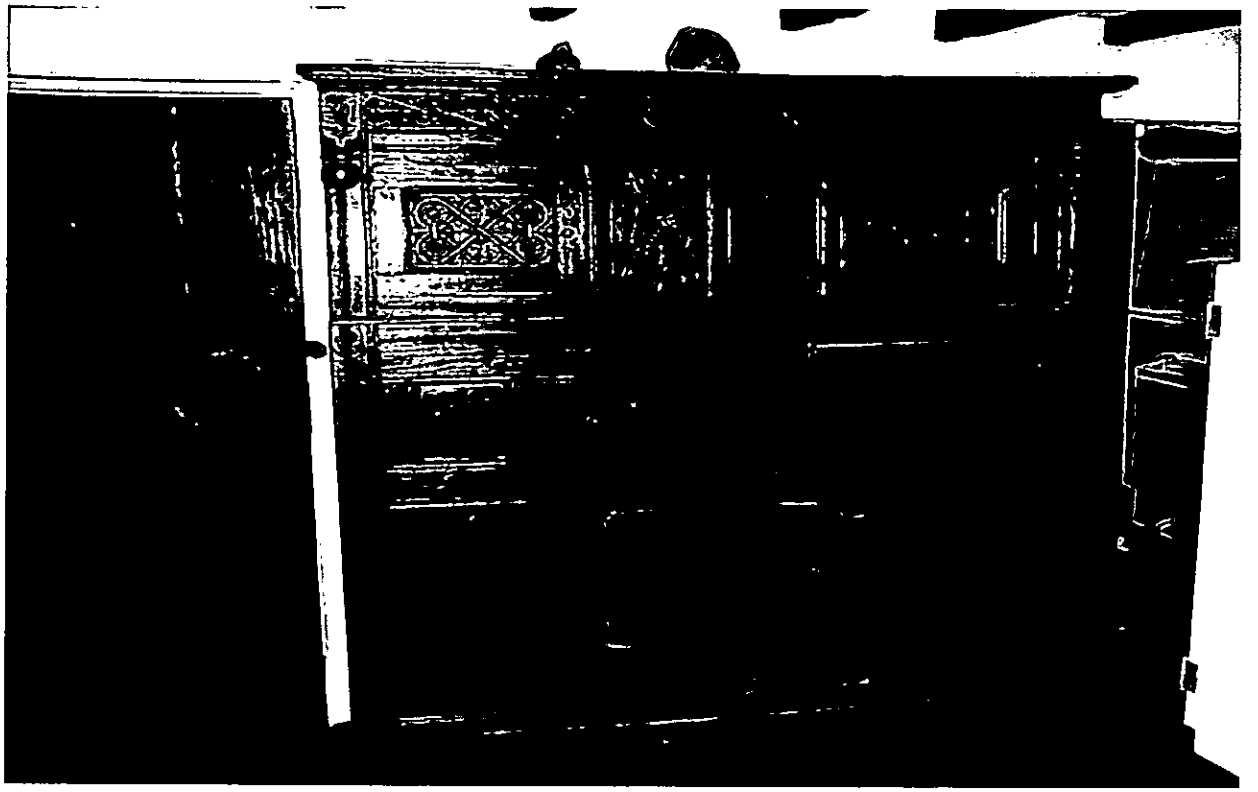

Illustration 2.10. Cupboard at Fusethwaite Yeat.

The dates on the genuine cupboards elsewhere in Troutbeck span the seventeenth century, with the earliest, 1626, at Robin Lane, and the latest, 1692, at Browhead.[36] In Troutbeck and Applethwaite, as in the rest of Westmorland, each cupboard is of essentially similar design, yet unique. Usually the cupboards are built in two or three stages, or levels of openings. Sometimes, where the cupboard faced into the main room or 'house', the lowest stage opened directly into the buttery behind, as we see at Fusethwaite, shown in **Illustration 2.10**.

The cupboard at Fusethwaite Yeat was selected for closer examination as it bears the typical features of the area, with joined construction, each door opening being a framed panel or panels, carved on the upper door panels and the top rails, with the

lower doors left plain.[37] The four upper panels and top rail are decorated with sunken carving and the date 1683, and the initials REE. In 1682, the trustees of William Idle's estate sold the house.[38] By 1692 the house was owned by George Dixon, and rented out to Edward Williamson on a three-year lease.[39] Rowland and Elizabeth Elleray were the only couple in the area, with initials that match the date.[40] As the house was sold in 1682, either the Ellerays bought it then and only kept it for ten years, or George Dixon bought it then and leased it to the Ellerays before the Williamsons. If the latter is true, then the Ellerays were obviously willing to spend money fitting a cupboard into a leased house, but without further evidence no solid conclusions can be drawn. The carved work is highly skilled and intricate, as usual, but most significantly, very similar to the carving found on a cupboard at Common Farm nearby, and the cradle at Townend. This confirms that patterns were very localised, and that the Brownes were content with this.

The Parlour (C), at Townend was a heated room, and in 1731 contained a bedstead which was still present in 1748, a 'stand of drawers', a 'dressing looking glass', six oak chairs and an oval table.[41] The oval table was probably a gate-legged table, and with the stand of drawers and mirror, this room was furnished with relatively recently produced items. This room shows how selected 'new' goods were integrated amongst the more traditional. Mirrors appeared in twenty-one percent of Weatherill's yeoman inventory sample and in sixty-two percent of her gentry sample.[42] In the Troutbeck and Applethwaite sample they are not specified, though again this could be

[36] C.R.O./K. W.D./T.E. Unbound F 160. *R.C.H.M*, (1936), pp. 228-229.
[37] V. Chinnery, (1986), p. 492, for more details on cupboard typology.
[38] C.R.O./K. W.D./T.E. Vol. XIV, 163.
[39] C.R.O./K. W.D./T.E. Vol. XIV, 237.
[40] C.R.O./K. W.P.R./62/3. Elizabeth died in February 1721.
[41] C.R.O./K. W.D./T.E. Box 8/2.

misleading as Ben listed two 'dressing' looking glasses and one 'large' looking glass in 1731, but only one appeared in his probate inventory.[43] The 'large' looking glass was 'over' the chest in the Great Room, so it was most probably hung on the wall.

Illustration 2.11. Walnut mirror.

The walnut mirror, shown in **Illustration 2.11**, was probably one of the two walnut-framed mirrors that Ben bought from London with the aid of his brother.[44] The intricate fretwork and walnut frame give the mirror a character quite different to that of the locally made oak furnishings. In 1702 this was very fashionable, and would have stood out from the other items in the house and in the locality. However, the most interesting element of this mirror is that it was different in design to that which Ben originally requested. Richard told his brother that the black frames that he had wanted could not be made in the damp weather, and that he hoped Ben liked the ones

[42] L. Weatherill, (1988), p. 168.
[43] C.R.O./K. W.D./T.E. Vol. VIII, 125.
[44] C.R.O./K. W.D./T.E. Vol. V, 224.

he had chosen instead. There were two: one large and one 'something less' at a total of £1-17s-6d, this was over a twenty-fifth of his total annual income, showing that mirrors were expensive items. This was because mirror plate was expensive to produce, so the larger the mirror, the greater the cost. Richard told his brother, 'I have been as wary as I could in laying out this money... let me have a line w[ha]t condition you rec'd ... I took all the care I could in packing...'. We have no reply saying if Ben liked the mirrors, but he obviously hung them and therefore accepted his brother's choices.

In 1731, the Great Room, one of the upstairs bed chambers, contained a chest of drawers. The one shown in **Illustration 2.12**, is of late seventeenth century design, and there is every reason to assume that this is the one referred to in the documentation. It conforms closely to the Anglo-Dutch style common to almost all examples from the period with applied geometric veneers and split spindles, and large dovetail joints as shown in **Illustration 2.13**. Sometimes these pieces are embellished with coloured veneers or ivory, but this chest is relatively plain. The original stile feet are plainer than the Dutch ball or bun foot found on grander pieces, and at some stage they have been concealed by a later bracket foot of the type found on the next phase of design in the early to mid-eighteenth century, shown in **Illustration 2.14**. This is an interesting attempt to update the chest of drawers with fashionable feet and shows such detailing was important. The two lower drawers are full width and deep, well suited to linens, while the top drawers are half width and more shallow and therefore not large enough to hold linens. This is probably why Ben only listed linens as being in the two lowest drawers and kept the rest in his fir deal box.[45] The construction is

[45] C.R.O./K. W.D./T.E Vol. X, 66, 67.

primitive with huge dovetails, suggesting an early date, probably around 1670. The overall impression is of a country piece, with all the necessary features, though lacking the possible finer refinements of ivory decoration and bun feet. It was certainly a significant step up from the simple lidded chest and an item that, judging by the design and the date it appears in the documentation, arrived at Townend shortly after 1692.

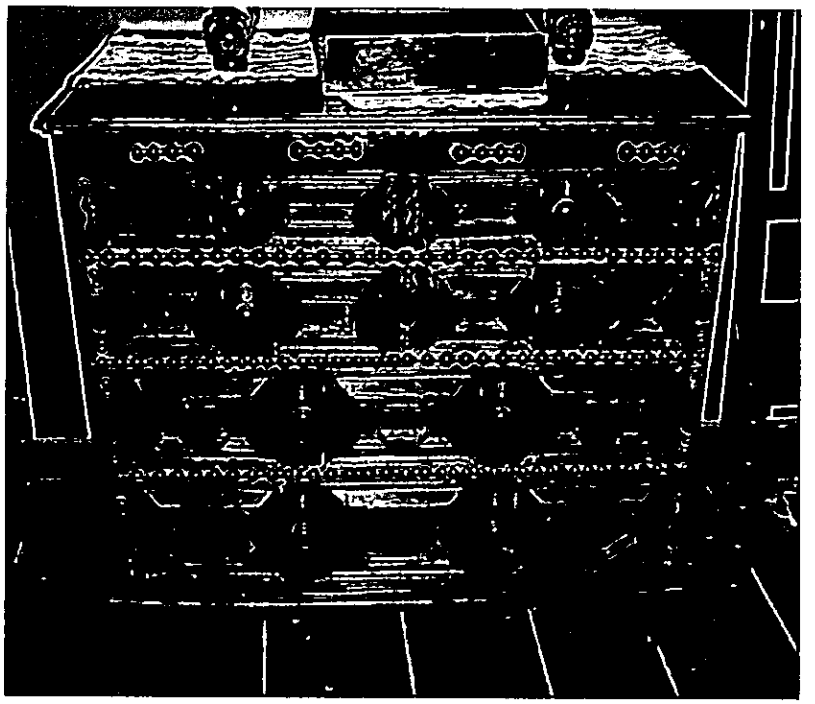

Illustration 2.12. Chest of drawers.

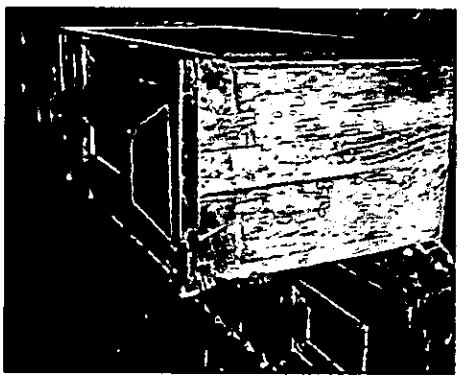

Illustration 2.13. Detail of early dovetail joints and applied veneers.

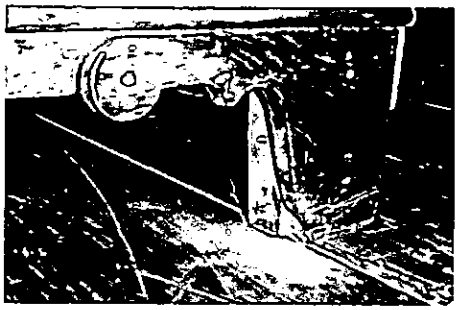

Illustration 2.14. Later bracket foot concealing earlier stile foot.

The Great Room also housed seven rush-seated chairs one of which had arms, two Russia leather chairs and a round or oval table, and presumably, there was a bedstead too. There was a mat, three yards long, which Ben bought especially for the Great room in 1731, though he made no account of it in his schedule.[46] The Little Room (Wb, or V or even T) held a wainscot chest, four leather buffets and a desk, again it is assumed that the bedstead present in 1692, was still there in 1731. These two rooms had a total of thirteen chairs and stools, which suggests that they were not areas used solely for sleeping and that visitors were not restricted to the ground floor. Ben split his set of eight rush-seated chairs by putting an elbow chair into his bedroom and he kept one of the Russia leather chairs in his room too. Despite having need of two chairs, he clearly avoided making a choice based on appearance or type, and presumably went for functionality. The rush-seated elbow chair was perhaps for comfort and the Russia leather chair for good posture and maybe better for sitting at his bureau. Despite being a more modern design than the older buffet forms, none of these was in permanent use as a dining chair in the house or kitchen, where the forms were still in use, reflecting the perceived functional nature of those rooms and satisfaction with the traditional norms.

[46] C.R.O./K. W.D./T.E. Box 8/2/2.

'My Room over the House', was either (U) or (T), or could have referred to both these rooms as one led off from the other. Ben carefully listed the goods in his room, even explaining where some items were positioned.[47] Near the bed was a desk, and because there is no mention of a stand, this was probably a desk-box, like the top section of the old-fashioned sloping school desk. Whether this was still in use for writing is doubtful, because there was a bureau in the room. In terms of status, these items signified an educated user, who needed a dedicated writing space. Out of the whole inventory sample for Troutbeck and Applethwaite only three specifically mentioned desks, though as most items of furniture were listed as 'tables and chairs etc...chest, arks etc.' there could be some hidden from view.[48] The bureau, in terms of utility and design, offered a similar modification on the principle of the chest, but for the purpose of writing and storing documents and associated paraphernalia, combined elements of desk design. The bureau now in the library, shown in **Illustration 2.15,** appears original. Every design feature suggests it was present in 1731, and as it did not feature in the extant accounts, it must have been bought before 1718. There is a lighter, plainer finish than on the older items and the borders of the oak drawers and the drop-down lid are decorated with cross banding in a darker fruitwood, common from the early to mid-eighteenth century. Old screw holes reveal that the escutcheons and handles are later, a common occurrence, and an easy way of updating the appearance of a piece. The plain bracket feet are of early type, becoming more decorative and splayed by the late-eighteenth century. They are not functional in bearing weight as the bureau rests on four castors, and although they could have

[47] The reasons for this assumption are first, if it was over the House it had to be either (U) or (T). Second, because the clothes press with chest before it, is a description which matches the fitted press in room (T) which has a chest upturned and fitted to the side of it, this leads us to room (T). However, as his bed had hangings, it must have been the same, or similar, to the bed still in room (U), which, given the height of the ceiling would not have fitted in room (T).

been added later, they are tiny wooden wheels of the earliest type. The fitted interior is complete with characteristic compartments and tiny drawers. The overall appearance of the bureau is very modern in comparison to much of the other furniture. It would have been very fashionable in the 1720s when many houses, Townend included, were still furnished with the clumsier pieces of the seventeenth century. It shows Ben wanted new items that were useful to him.

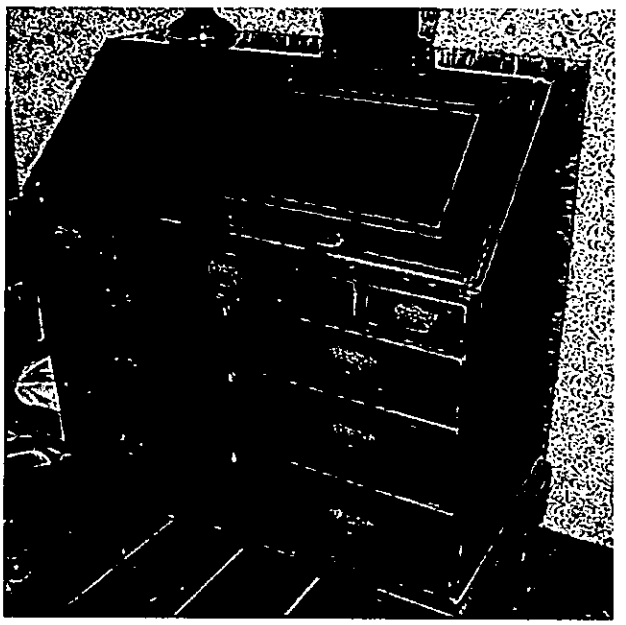

Illustration 2.15. The bureau.

Illustration 2.16. The early castor on the bureau.

[48] Those who did list desks were George Birkett, 1718, C.R.O./K. WD/TE Vol. VIII, 46, John Longmire of Callgarth 1722, Vol. IV, 8, and William Birkett of Townhead 1716, Vol. IV, 25.

The bedstead was a four-posted tester with hangings, shown in **Illustration 2.17**. Ben's accounts show that in 1733 he bought 'a whole piece of stuff for my bed curtains £1 12s Lace for them 7 ½ yds 7s 6d Buccheram 7 yards 6s curtain rings 8 ½ doz 2s 6d curtain poles my iron 3s'. Soon afterwards he added 'a silk rug £1 8s', and added 'My bed the whole charge in all £4 3s 11d,'[49] as much two thirds of his annual salary as bailiff to Lord Lonsdale at that time.[50] Much of the carving is the work of George [9] so originally the bed was much plainer. The Troutbeck and Applethwaite sample invariably listed 'bedsteads and bedding' giving a total for the whole house, and any detail is usually obscured. However, we can see that they were important often taking a significant proportion of the household goods total. For instance, in 1740, Robert Fisher of Troutbeck had £11-1-0 worth of household goods, £3-10-0 was taken by bedsteads and bedding.[51] Similarly in 1741, George Wilson had £7-11-0 worth of goods, and £2-0-0 of this was bedsteads and bedding.[52] Sometimes this was almost half the total of household goods, as in the case of John Story in 1735, when he had total household goods value of £14-6-0 and total bedsteads and bedding of £6-0-0.[53]

[49] C.R.O./K. W.D./T.E. Box 8/2.
[50] C.R.O./K. W.D./T.E. Vol. XIII, 98.
[51] L.R.O. W.R.W. Robert Fisher, 1740.
[52] L.R.O. W.R.W. George Wilson, 1741.
[53] L.R.O. W.R.W. John Story, 1735.

Illustration 2.17. The tester bed.

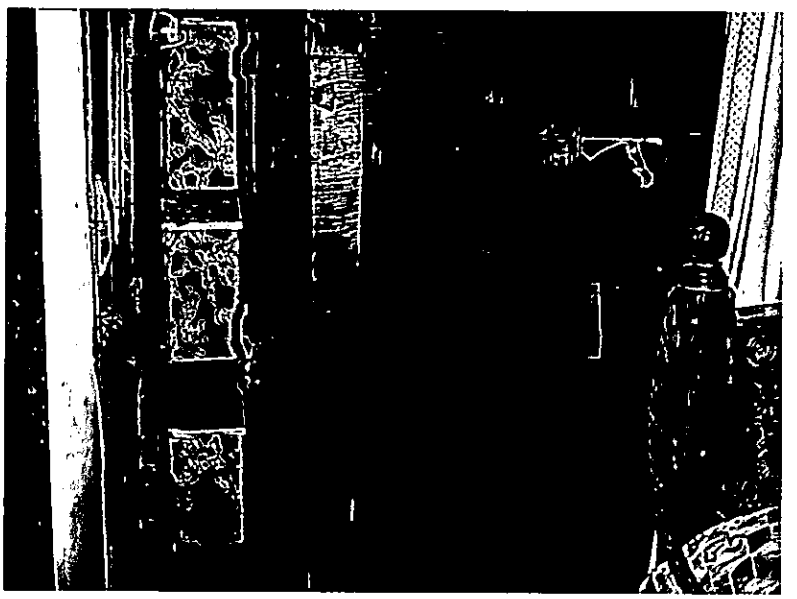

Illustration 2.18, The clothes press, with chest in front.

The clothes press in Ben's room had a chest 'before it' and the present arrangement may explain what Ben meant by this. There is a chest upturned and built in next to the fitted clothes press in room (T), see **Illustration 2.18.** To the front of the room

(T), by the window, there was a closet (R). This was, and still is, lined with oak panelling. Some of the panels are hinged and open into cupboards set into the walls. At the back of the closet, the panels are pulled back to reveal drawers of seventeenth century origin.[54] However, George [9] carved the panelled doors and the style of the date and initials suggest he did these too. This tiny room also contained a table with a cupboard under the leaf. Ben's probate inventory shows he kept his books and some other 'goods' in the closet, out of sight rather than on show.

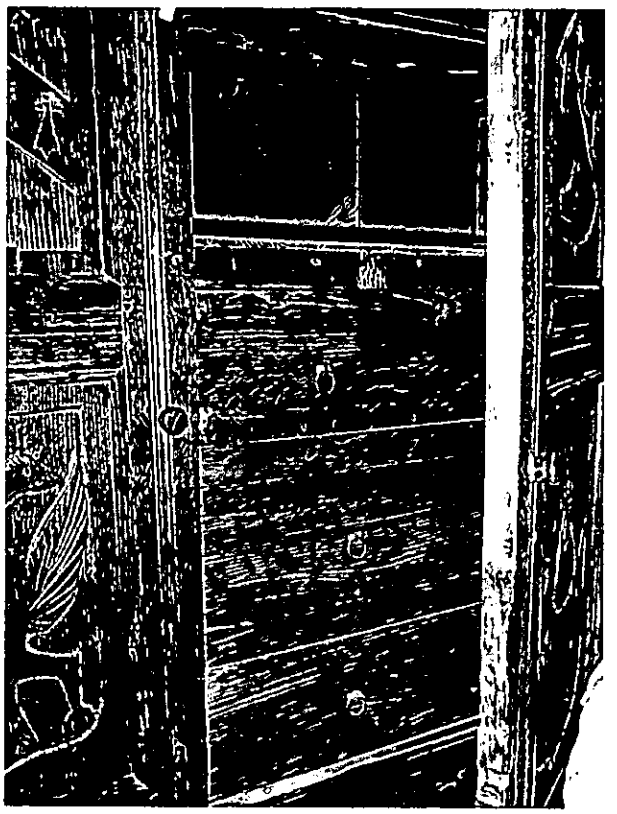

Illustration 2.19. Fitted drawers in the closet.

The New Room, possibly (U), contained only a table with a drawer at each end. It seems to have contained no more than the table, even by 1748, when the probate inventory was taken. Perhaps this New Room was never utilised as Ben thought it

[54] These bear remarkable similarity to an example shown by V. Chinnery, (1986), p. 371, which shows drawers behind opening cupboard doors, with little drop-ring handles, just as in the Browne closet,

would be when he created it. Alternatively, it could have been a room used by a relative, tenant or long staying visitor such as George Longmire, who was staying at the house in 1731 and whose goods Ben would not have listed.[55]

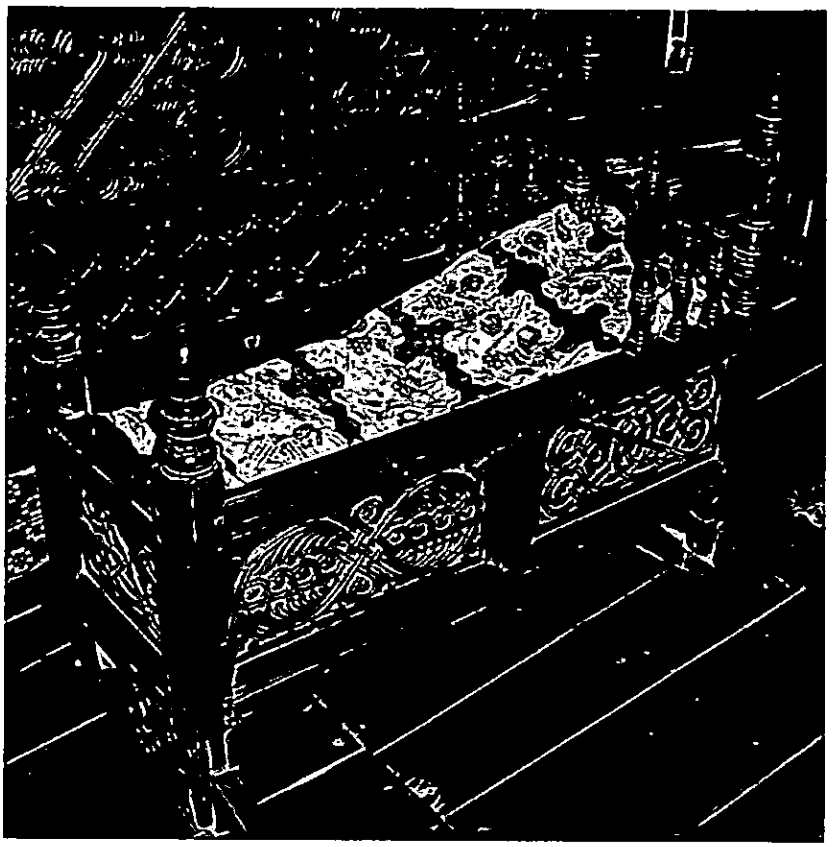

Illustration 2.20. The cradle.

where the panelling of the room opens to reveal the drawers. Chinnery dates his example to 1670, and the date above the fitted drawers in the closet is 1670.

[55] C.R.O./K. W.D./T.E. Vol. X, 67 reverse.

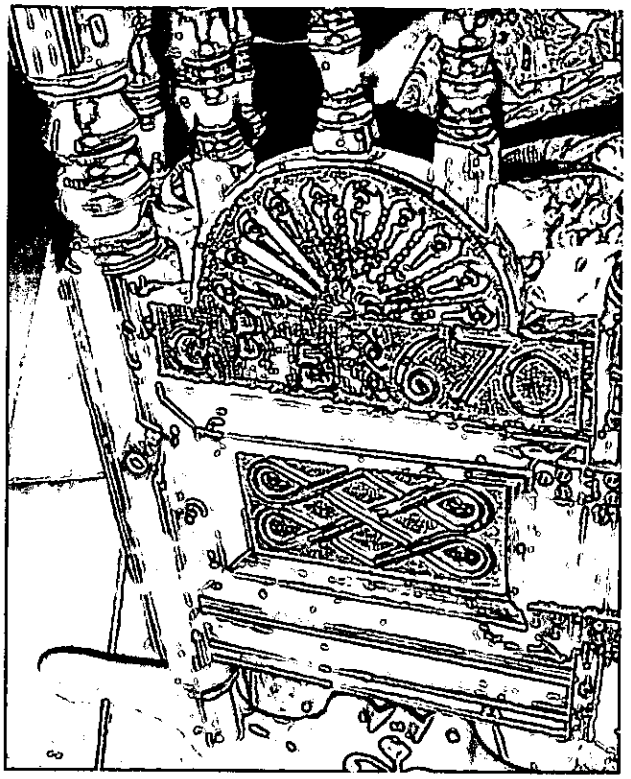

Illustration 2.21. Carved initials on cradle.

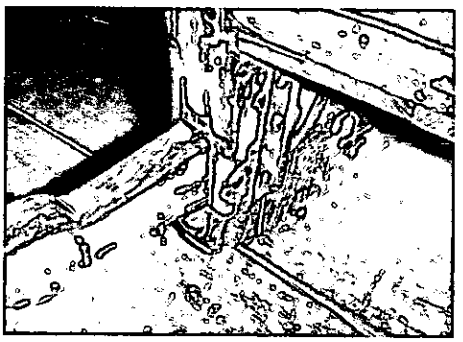

Illustration 2.22. Repair to cradle.

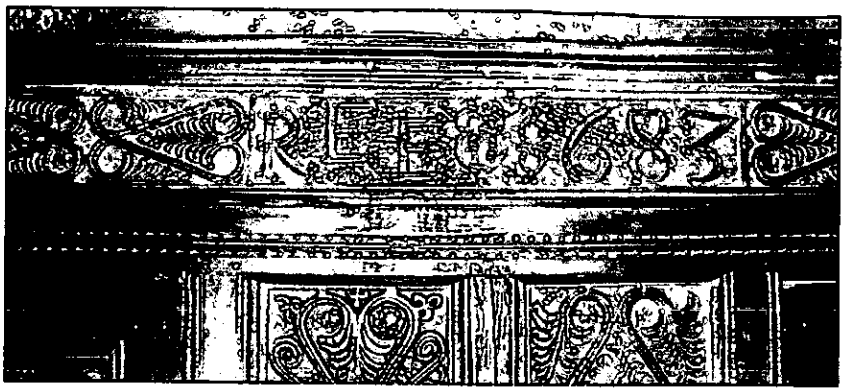

Illustration 2.23. The similar carving on the cupboard at Fusethwaite Yeat.

There is a cradle in the house bearing the initials of George [4] and Ellinor and the date 1670, shown in **Illustration 2.20 and 2.21**. George [4] and Ellinor's sixth child, Richard, was born in 1670. The cradle is oak and joiner made and of far superior quality to the simple boarded cradles. The carving is authentic, when the number six is compared to the number six in the carving at Fusethwaite Yeat, in **Illustration 2.23,** there is a remarkable similarity in style. Just visible, at the bottom of the picture, in **Illustration 2.21**, we can see a little decorative detail added to the centre of the rocker, and this again is seen in the detailing on the carved panels of the Fusethwaite cupboard. Whilst obviously a very functional item, this cradle has embellishments that go beyond utility, and it remains firmly rooted in the local style. The cradle also has a repair that dates to the early-eighteenth century as shown in **Illustration 2.22**, linking it to the one Ben Browne had mended for his grandson in 1741, the only documentary evidence that there was a cradle in the house.[56]

Inventory evidence suggests there were very few cradles and other nursery furniture in the homes of the 'middling sort', they did not feature in the Troutbeck and Applethwaite sample, and Weatherill never mentioned them. Clearly though, the surviving cradles show that they existed and considering the practicality and necessity of laying a baby down to sleep, it seems unthinkable that most families did not have at least a very basic cradle. Obviously some babies slept with their mother, though not necessarily all night and the baby would still need a daytime bed, perhaps a portable one that could be placed by the fire for warmth and easy access. They did not have to be expensive joiner made pieces, the boarded construction of the carpenter was quite adequate even for a rocking cradle. The basket maker, using wicker or reeds could

[56] C.R.O./K. W.D./T.E. Box 8/2/3.

make cheaper versions, and the poorest families probably used whatever was to hand. There may be a further, simple explanation for the lack of cradles listed in probate inventories. Those who lived beyond the childbearing years of their wives had no need to keep a cradle, and many might have sold or passed it on for the use of the next generation in the family. Some cradles might even have been thought to belong to the house, as an heirloom.[57] It is also possible that the cradle was seen as a woman's possession, and as they only listed goods when single, and therefore childless, there would be no need for cradles. This raises the question as to whether some goods were seen as belonging to the woman, despite the generally accepted notion that the husband owned the wife's goods.[58] Ben Browne described three silver spoons that 'were my mother's', and in his will, George Dixon 'allowed' his wife to keep the furniture she had brought into the marital home, though she got little else.[59]

We turn now to the service areas of the house, firstly, the Kitchen (B), a primary room and there since the 1620s, contained functional items like the meal chest and a still, as well as various pots, pans and three kettles. It is likely that the Kitchen was used as the dining area for the servants, farm workers and other labourers, as it also had a long table and two forms.[60] This area was not cheap to furnish, kettles for instance, were expensive items. Ben sold three in his 1731 sale, two fetched over a pound, £1 5s 6d, and £1 4s, and the third went for 3s 2d. The dearest was around the same price as the cheapest cow on sale, and the most expensive item in the sale after livestock.[61] Production was important and other service rooms complemented the Kitchen. The

[57]In 1993, an old rocking cradle in Collinfield Farm, Kendal, was never used by the then occupants, but described as having always been there, and to stay in the house when they moved.
[58]See L. Weatherill, 'A possession of one's own: women and consumer behaviour in England, 1660-1740', *Journal of British Studies,* 25, (1986), pp. 131-56.
[59] C.R.O./K. W.D./T.E. Vol. XIV, 36.

Milkhouse (G), Cellar (F) and Scullery (E), were each fitted with stone tables, a local abundance of slate making them common in houses of the region.[62] These were practical for food and dairy preparations being cold, durable and easy to clean. The Milkhouse was shelved, the Scullery had a cupboard, and the Cellar had a beef tub. There was nothing in these rooms to suggest that they had more than a utilitarian purpose. Presumably after they were added areas such as the Kitchen (B) were freed to provide a base for the more day-to-day domestic cooking and meal preparation, which was different to preserving meats and processing dairy produce.

In the Buttery (D) there were six oak chairs, two chairs upholstered in leather, two leather-covered buffets, and a substantial quantity of pewter and other metal goods. In 1748, Ben's probate inventory listed goods in the buttery as 'all pewter as dishes plates chairs and a table', which confirms continuity, though the addition of the table suggests the room had other functions.[63] The pewter dishes, candlesticks and plates, the brass boxes and the coffee-pot were not cheap items, but valuable goods probably in regular use, and in 1705, Ben had a lock fitted to the Buttery door.[64] This could have been a storage room for dining equipment, including the extra chairs, no longer in use by this time as the family had decreased in numbers so significantly. Given the proximity in time to the sale of goods, this might have been where Ben stored furniture that was out of use and that he intended to sell. In 1731, he sold seventeen chairs, which supports this theory.[65]

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[60] Ben's accounts show that he hired help. C.R.O./K. W.D./T.E. Box 8/2. There is still a long table with forms in this room.
[61] C.R.O./K. W.D./T.E. Vol. VIII, 125.
[62] For example, stone tables survive at Collinfield Farm, Kendal, and Dove Cottage, Grasmere.
[63] C.R.O./K. W.D./T.E. Unbound 129.
[64] C.R.O./K. W.D./T.E. Box 11, he had locks fitted to other doors too.

The lofts above the Kitchen (Q, N and P) were used for sleeping, but they were also for storage as they had meal and malt chests in the rooms. One locked chest contained schoolbooks, an indication that these were children's rooms at one stage.[66] Three large chests remain in these rooms and may be the originals as they contained two great chests in 1692, and one malt chest and two meal chests in 1731.[67] Each chest has been turned up on end and used as a wardrobe, two of the chests, both dated and initialled GBE 1666, are remarkably similar in design to each other and to other examples found in the region, shown in **Illustration 2.24 and 2.25**.[68] Each boarded side is made from three planks of oak, supported and joined by an external, central leg. The third chest dated 1682, shown in **Illustration 2.26**, consists of five panelled frames. The carving, shown in **Illustration 2.27,** was restricted to the top frieze. A space was left for the initials, though these were never added. Perhaps these chests remained here because they were too big to remove, but this is not wholly convincing as they could have been easily dismantled and rebuilt, or the wood re-cycled. The chests probably earned their continued positions through adaptability and functionality. The Apple Loft (perhaps part of Q), was shelved 'both overhead and the side of it' and housed 'trenchers, basons of wood and all other wooden ware'. This was evidently a storeroom for the older wooden goods used only occasionally, and not as the name suggests solely for storing apples.[69] The Loft Over the Kitchen, (N) was used to store four barrels 'hooped with iron', presumably these were for beer. Townend has a further staircase leading to the second floor over the central section

[65] C.R.O./K. W.D./T.E. Vol. VIII, 171-173.
[66] C.R.O./K. W.D./T.E. Vol. VIII, 125.
[67] C.R.O./K. W.D./T.E. Vol. VIII, 125.
[68] See chest at Witherslack Hall Equitation centre. This chest was formerly in the lofts of the seventeenth century farmhouse, but moved to the stables in the late twentieth century.
[69] C.R.O./K. W.D./T.E., Vol. VIII, 125.

above rooms (U) and (T). This is a boarded loft area and although it is not divided into rooms, it could have been used as a storage area.

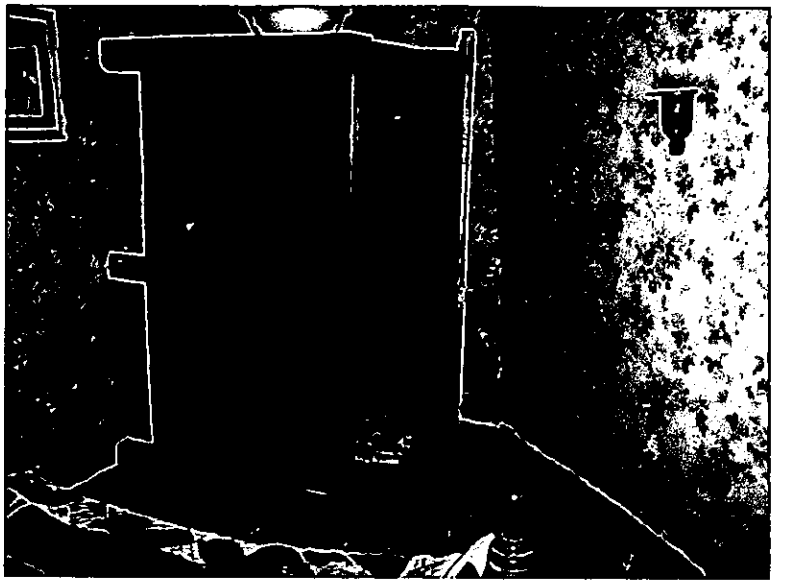

Illustration 2.24. Upturned meal or malt chest.

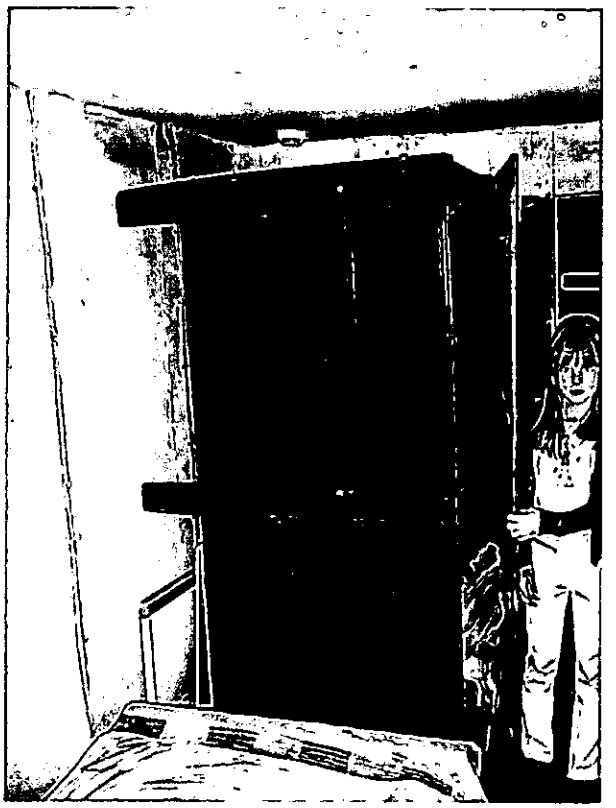

Illustration 2.25. Upturned meal or malt chest.

Illustration 2.26. Upturned chest of joined construction.

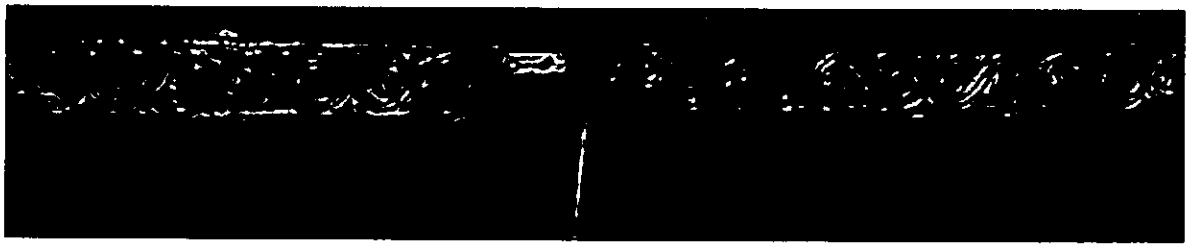

Illustration 2.27. Close view of carving on the chest.

In concluding, the Brownes, their home and the goods inside it, form a picture of a family and house that was firmly grounded in the community and regional picture, yet that was not out of tune with national trends. The house was largely a functional base for the business of husbandry and food production, and, of course, a place to raise the next generation of Brownes. Areas of privacy and freedom from stored produce were found chiefly on the first floor, their own staircase ultimately separated these bed

chambers from the small loft rooms over the Brewhouse where storage of meal and sleeping continued side by side, until at least 1748. The quantity of chairs and tables in the family bed chambers suggest that the rooms were places that visitors might go and that activities other than sleeping took place there. These rooms were comfortable, with rugs on the floor, hearths, mirrors, and hangings round the beds. Some rooms were specialised such as the little Study or Closet, with its shelves of books, providing Ben and his father before him, with a place for writing and storing the many documents away from the cooking and production areas of the ground floor.

At times, the house was full, with thirteen family members from baby to great grandmother, each needing a bed. The nine beds in 1692 must have all been in use, and it is clear that rather than over stock the principal rooms, the family utilised the poorer area over the Brewhouse. The size of the family is important when we look at the volume of furniture. The long table and forms in the House give an impression of grandeur, yet with so many family members to seat it was in reality a necessity. A common notion of the table being so large that all the workers and family could eat together is surely challenged, and the presence of a further long table and forms in the Brewhouse by 1692, bolsters the notion that the family and workers did not eat together.

Many of the goods that remained in the house were the vernacular mainstays. The tables, forms, cupboards, chests and beds fitted, they continued to perform the function they were intended for, they stood up to the wear and tear, and there was no better alternative than oak. Vernacular design originates from the availability of local materials, but also, importantly, from the ergonomic needs of the local culture. Much

of this never changed for the farming families of south Westmorland and the vernacular was still relevant and useful to them, and carried status, even into the twentieth century. However, this does not suggest that the community was 'backward' or that it was not interested in new goods that could be added to these basic items, as the clocks and mirrors confirm.

CHAPTER THREE

LEVELS OF POSSESSION: SMALL THINGS AND BOOKS

Here we look at the quantity and age of smaller possessions in exceptional detail and see again that an appreciation of the old was not a rejection of the new. Ben made further meticulous lists of other items as well as his furnishings, such as silver, linen, books and shirts, and the sale schedules of 1731 and 1748 listed many of the more mundane goods.[1] It is possible, therefore, to deepen the insight into the possessions of this yeoman household to a previously unknown level. This confirms that probate inventories alone, especially in this region, cannot be relied upon to show range or depth of ownership.

Many of the items were for food consumption, and we turn first to dining cutlery. From a combination of sources it is clear that the household had over ninety-four spoons in circulation between 1721 and 1734, the majority of which were recently purchased, though some dated back to the mid-seventeenth century including three of Ben's mothers and one belonging to his first wife.[2] The spoons varied from cheap cast spoons from the tinker at a cost of 1s 6d for three dozen in 1721, to fine silver spoons, twelve of which were specialised 'tea' spoons, bought between 1728 and 1731. There were plenty in the middle range too; he purchased a dozen 'fine' spoons

[1] C.R.O./K. W.D./T.E. Vol. VIII, 126, for plate, VIII, 125, for 'goods', Vol. X, 66-67, for linen, Vol. VIII, 175-183, for 1748 sale, Vol. XIII, 30, for clothes, Vol. VIII, 171-173, for 1731 sale.

[2] C.R.O./K. W.D./T.E. Box 8/2/2. In 1721, three dozen spoons from a tinker for 1s 6d. A further two dozen were bought for 12s in 1734 C.R.O./K. W.D./T.E. Box 8/1/5. He also listed twenty-one silver spoons amongst his items of plate, C.R.O./K. W.D./T.E. Vol. VIII, 126. Three of these Ben described as 'my mothers', marked I.E.F., and presumably inherited from her parents, and one was marked with A.B., his first wife's initials, so they all dated from the seventeenth century, his mother's probably from the first half of the century. Ben had bought some silver spoons himself: six 'new' spoons, and twelve 'tea' spoons, these were marked B.B., so probably post 1728 as Ellinor's initials are not present. In 1731, he sold twenty-eight spoons, possibly those from the tinker as they all went for around 1½d each,

from a Mr. Barons of Wigan, in 1728, at a cost of 9s, presumably these were pewter, Wigan being a well-known centre for pewter production.[3] Knives and forks were in use by at least 1740, when Ben bought a dozen of each for 6s.[4] The move from using fingers and spoons to knives and forks suggests different, more polite behaviour at the table. Weatherill found that only four percent of her total sample owned knives and forks even by 1725, and they were far more likely in the gentry household than that of the yeoman.[5] The Troutbeck and Applethwaite sample did not itemise cutlery, not even in Ben's probate inventory, again highlighting the shortcomings of probate inventories. The sheer quantity of spoons is in itself significant, not just as the mark of different behaviour, but in terms of volume. The minimum figure, of sixty-two, excluding the silver spoons, suggests a level of consumption on a massive scale. As Thirsk has pointed out with the quantities of pins bought, such levels of production before the 'Industrial Revolution' should not be overlooked.[6] The quantities involved suggest that the scale of production and consumption of such goods was significant to the economy with the market being more buoyant than historians have acknowledged.[7]

Ben and his family ate off pewter plates, and were content to continue doing so. In 1731, there were seventeen dishes (later referred to as porringers), thirty-two plates, two 'great' flagons, one quart, and two 'great' pewter candlesticks all kept in the buttery. Some half dozen pewter plates and porringers were sold in 1731, but most were kept. Ben had decided to renew some of his pewter in 1728, exchanging 9lb

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much cheaper than the 'fine' spoons from Wigan. In 1748, there were twelve more sold at a similar price.

[3] C.R.O./K. W.D./T.E. Vol. V, 136, in 1728, a dozen fine spoons from Mr. Barons of Wigan.

[4] C.R.O./K. W.D./T.E., Box 8/2/3.

[5] Weatherill, (1988), p. 172 and p. 153.

[6] J. Thirsk, (1978) pp. 7-8.

14oz of old, for 6lb 11oz of new. He paid the difference of 1s 2d, as the new pewter was more expensive.[8] Pewter, with its high lead content was heavy and a large serving dish would weigh around 2lb for instance, and a half-pint tankard about 10oz, so this was not a large quantity, perhaps a set of six plates or porringers.[9] Even in his sixties Ben was renewing his old pewter for new and though this shows he was not satisfied with simply getting by with what he had, it confirms that he was not discarding pewter for more modern ceramic material. Of course, earthenware was easily damaged, and this made it a costly item, which did not come into widespread use for the table until prices made it acceptable to discard when broken.

Brass and copper sat alongside the pewter in the Buttery, and there were four brass candlesticks, two brass boxes (perhaps for candles), snuffers, a copper coffee-pot and can. There were more brass and copper wares including the brass pan and spoon sold in 1731 and three brass pans, a brass pot and spoon, and a copper pan and a copper saucepan sold in 1748.[10] Brass and pewter were commonly listed together in the Troutbeck and Applethwaite inventories, usually between £1 and £2 worth, and Weatherill found ninety-five percent of yeomen and eighty-nine percent of husbandmen listed pewter.[11] Ben had a total of £6 worth, though this was 'all the goods' in the Buttery, and therefore included several chairs and a table.[12] Nevertheless, it looks as though Ben had significantly more than his neighbours had.

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[7]For instance N. McKendrick, J Brewer and H Plumb, (1982).
[8] C.R.O./K. W.D./T.E. Box 8/1 and 2.
[9] Candlestick listed in 1731 schedule. C.R.O./K. W.D./T.E. Vol. VIII, 125.
[10] C.R.O./K. W.D./T.E. Vol. VIII, 125.
[11] Weatherill, (1986), p. 184, Brass was not included in the figures.
[12] C.R.O./K. W.D./T.E Unbound 129.

Ben also had many items of 'wooden ware' which in 1731, was all in the Apple Loft, one of the rooms above the Kitchen. There were almost ninety trenchers and forty 'piggons', small barrel-shaped, drinking vessels. He sold eighteen trenchers and sixteen piggons in 1731, but kept the remainder until he died in 1748.[13] After pewter, it was clearly wooden ware providing the bulk of utensils for food consumption. This was common in the inventory sample, with most decedents listing wooden vessels or ware. Ben felt it worthwhile to keep, albeit in an upstairs storage room, at least seventy trenchers and twenty-four piggons, until his death. Such amounts leave little doubt that the wooden ware still had a definite use to him and show that he had no outright rejection of such vernacular goods. There were often 'workfolks' at Townend, either employed in the seasonal farming activities such as ploughing and shearing, or doing structural work on walls, the house, barn and miln. The likelihood is that these trenchers and piggons were kept in storage for occasional use in serving food and drink to them and thus, were very useful.[14]

Pewter and wood were hard wearing, and the more fragile ceramic and glass wares remained expensive. However, earthenware was commonly mentioned in the Troutbeck and Applethwaite inventories,[15] and Ben regularly bought items of pottery, including chamber pots, pot plates, bottles and dishes.[16] The quantities were small though, when compared to pewter; it had not yet become the main item of tableware and was mainly for food preparation and storage. Ben had eight items described as

[13] C.R.O./K. W.D./T.E. Vol. VIII, 125.
[14] C.R.O./K. W.D./T.E. Box 8/2. All the account books have sub-headings, 'workfolks' being one of these.
[15] Because some inventories list 'all goods in ...' and others mention 'all earthenware...' a statistical analysis is pointless because any that do not list it separately have probably included it in the room contents value. Weatherill (1988), p. 206, has shown that goods listed as earthenware, often included stoneware and delft.
[16] C.R.O./K. W.D./T.E. Box 8/2.

'pot' in 1731, and six pot plates alongside fourteen other pots including dishes and pitchers in 1748.

Paradoxically whilst Ben, like his neighbours, persisted with the wooden wares he also purchased china, synonymous with the polite practice of drinking hot drinks, particularly tea. He added to his schedule of plate, 'my china ware six cans and six or eight cups milk pot a large cup for water', but again this did not show in his probate inventory.[17] In 1741, Ben bought two china pots for 1s 8d, and then four at 3s 4d, through his son Christopher the apothecary, in Kendal.[18] With his silver teaspoons, china cups and purchases of chocolate, coffee and tea, Ben clearly drank hot beverages. China was not made in England until the 1740s, but was imported from the East, and probate inventories show that it was reaching Kendal from an early date.[19] Elizabeth Fisher, widow of Nicholas Fisher a Kendal alderman and J.P., had 'a dousin of china dishes' worth 6s in 1672.[20] Weatherill found only six per cent of the gentry and one percent of the yeomanry listed china between 1675 and 1725.[21] The Troutbeck and Applethwaite inventories showed only one other decedent as owning any china: John Wilson of The How listed 'one silver watch all the plate, china ware £20 16s' in 1741, the same year that Ben bought his china cups.[22] Such entries prove that china could be grouped with silver and therefore obscured from view, and under-represented. Speculation over how much china was in the area must be replaced with the certainty that it was there, not just inside the Browne household, but in other Troutbeck homes too. The picture of a relatively refined group, aware of

[17] C.R.O./K. W.D./T.E., Vol. VIII, 126.
[18] C.R.O./K. W.D./T.E. Box 8/2/3.
[19] G. Godden, 'China for the West', Chapter in *The History of Porcelain*, (1982) especially pp. 61-64.
[20] C.R.O./K. W.D./Ry. 29.
[21] Weatherill, (1988), p. 184.
[22] L.R.O./P. W.R.W./K. John Wilson, 1741.

modern goods and practices is emerging with china in particular, showing that certain 'new' goods were acceptable.

Ben's account books show that he drank wine, and though he made no note of glasses in 1731 and none appeared at the sale, his accounts show that he bought three crystal glasses for 9d from a Mr. Ashburner in 1745 and eight more were sold in 1748.[23] There is still a collection of mid-eighteenth century glasses in Townend, and the cut crystal glass shown in **Illustration 3.1,** may be one of the glasses bought from Mr. Ashburner. Five other decedents, or twelve percent of the inventory sample, left glasses amongst their goods, suggesting that again Ben was not atypical. Weatherill excluded glasses from her key items, and therefore we cannot measure them on a national scale.

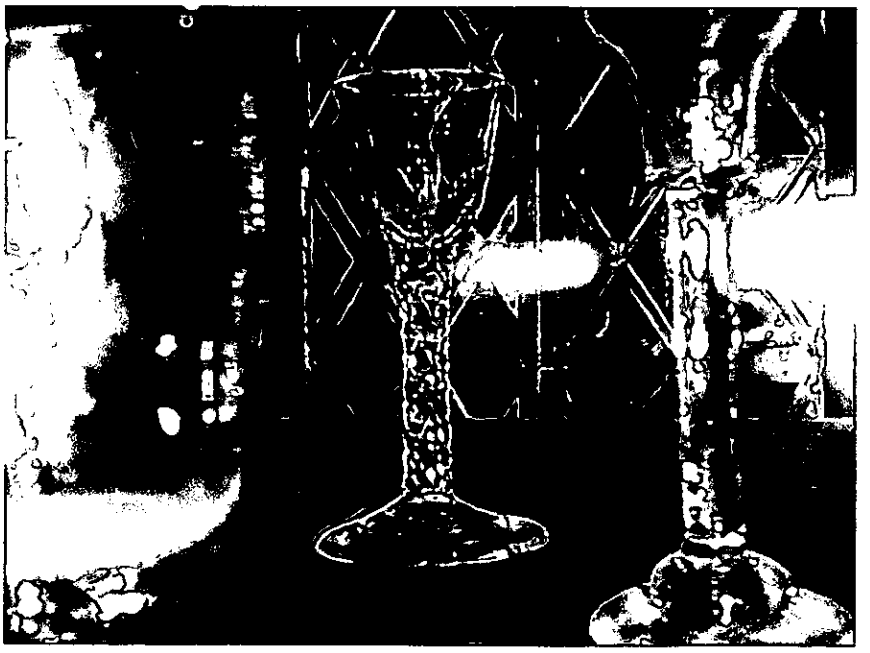

Illustration 3.1. The crystal glass in the Townend collection.

[23] C.R.O./K. W.D./T.E. Box 8/2/3.

Some goods such as silver crossed the boundaries of tradition and innovation. By 1748, silver had been present in the Browne household for at least ninety years and listed amongst six out of forty-two decedents, or fourteen percent, of the inventory sample. This is in line with Weatherill's thirteen percent amongst her national yeoman sample.[24] The value of this plate varied and was sometimes grouped with other goods, but John Wilson of The How had over £20 worth, George Dixon had £8 and Ben Browne had £15, placing him amongst his peers rather than above or below them.[25] Ben had clearly been adding to his silver and was continuing to do so after the schedule was made. He had a pair of tongs, a 'little silver sugar or pepper box' both unmarked, a silver tankard marked B.E.B., a gill marked B.B., and an unmarked tobacco box and stopper.[26] Some of the silver obviously linked to other recent additions; teaspoons and china complemented one another. Ben had a silver pocket watch, as did his son Ben Jnr., Miles Birkett, a Troutbeck tailor, and John Wilson, and it is likely that others were obscured by listing methods, just as Ben's watch was.[27] They were common enough in the area to keep more than one clockmaker in business.[28] Despite the possibility of melting down his old pieces of silver for new, Ben chose to keep at least some of these. Considering that he made a point of mentioning who they had belonged to, he perhaps had a sentimental attachment to the older family pieces.

Turning now to the linen, an important and regularly listed item amongst probate inventories for most regions and periods, and an area where new and old were valued.

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[24] Weatherill (1988), p. 184.
[25] L.R.O./P. W.R.W./K. John Wilson 1741, C.R.O./K. W.D./T.E. Vol. IV, 13, for George Dixon and Unbound 127 for Ben Jnr.
[26] C.R.O./K. W.D./T.E. Vol. VIII, 126.
[27] C.R.O./K. W.D./T.E., Vol. IV, 9, and L.R.O./P. W.R.W./K. John Wilson 1741.
[28] See Susan Stuart, *Clockmakers, North Lancashire and South Westmorland, 1680-1900*, (1996).

The chest of drawers in the 'Great Room' and a 'fir deal box' in the closet, housed Ben's linen, which he listed separately in 'an acc't of my table linen and sheets and pillow covers etc' as well as in the 'part schedule of all my goods'.[29] In the 'lowest drawer but one' and the 'lowest drawer' there were ninety-one items, and a further sixteen in the fir deal box, all meticulously listed together with its mark. The marks consisted of the initials either of Ben's father George, mother Ellinor, first wife Anne, second wife Elizabeth, or Ben himself, so we can calculate the approximate age of the goods, shown in **Table 3.1**. This reveals a lifecycle of the objects, which is, as Fine and Leopold have stressed, of vital importance in understanding consumption patterns.[30] Here, evidence suggests that some of the bedding, towels and table linen had an extremely long life within the household, and this must seriously affect the way in which we view these goods.

Years	75+	39-75	31-45	3-29	0-3	no mark
Sheets (19)	4	0	4	4	6	1
Pillow covers (15)	0	2	5	0	4	4
Towels (7)	1	4	2	0	0	0
Tablecloths (9)	0	1	0	3	0	5 (damask cloth 1739)
Napkins (57)	0	13	6	38	0	0

Table 3.1, The age of Ben Browne's linen.

The linen had been acquired over a period of more than seventy-five years. One of the seven towels and four of the nineteen sheets had belonged to Ben's parents before

[29] C.R.O./K. W.D./T.E. Vol. X, 66-67. This list is dated April 1731, and W.D./T.E. Vol. VIII, 125.
[30] B. Fine and E. Leopold, (1993), p. 22, p. 40, and p. 20.

they had married in 1656, from when they started using both their initials to mark the goods. Surviving from his parent's years of marriage were two pillow covers, four towels, one tablecloth and thirteen napkins. Ben himself had acquired further sheets, pillow covers, towels and napkins after marrying his first wife, Ann, presumably to furnish the increasing number of beds as his family grew. The stock was further increased during his second marriage with the purchase of thirty-eight napkins and three tablecloths. Not all the linen was put away in the drawers or chest as a few items were either in use or in the process of being cleaned. On the reverse side of one schedule a note was added, '7 sheets in the wash 1 on George Longmire's bed'.[31] Another note at the end of the schedule stated 'two towells not laid up'. These were marked B:A:B., and were therefore over thirty years old and still in use. A later hand had used one of the schedules as a checklist and some items were marked as 'wanting', though it is not clear at what date that was.[32] In 1731, only four sheets appeared in the sale, going for between 1s 1d, and 2s 1d, each, the rest was worth keeping.[33]

The linen in the deal box and chest of drawers demonstrates how easily obscured the quantity and quality of goods usually is. The implication is of a renewal of goods in the public sphere of the dining area, being greater than in the private sphere of the bedrooms. George and Ellinor had used linen, flaxen and diaper napkins and a linen tablecloth; likewise, Ben and Ann bought linen and flaxen napkins.[34] All the newest purchases, except one, were described as made from 'hoggaback', a regional term for a type of linen with a raised weft. The exception was a damask tablecloth bought in

[31] C.R.O./K. W.D./T.E. Vol. X, 67 reverse side and 67 for towels.
[32] C.R.O./K. W.D./T.E. Vol. VIII, 125.
[33] C.R.O./K. W.D./T.E. Vol. VIII, 171-173.

1739, and this would have had a figured pattern in the weave. This does not necessarily mean the new items were better than the old, but they were apparently different. Nineteen napkins were described as 'fine', ten were 'fine' on one of the two lists, and 'courser' on the other, and six were described as coarse on both lists.[35] George and Ellinor's linen was at least thirty-nine years old by 1731 and could have been, given the date of their marriage, up to seventy-five years old. In compiling the list Ben described an undated sheet as 'fine old sheet', and some flaxen napkins of his parents were deemed 'old'. However the rest of the sheets, towels and tablecloth, belonging to his parents, did not warrant the description 'old', even after forty years or more. Even the towel with his mother's maiden initials, and therefore over seventy-five years old, was described merely as a 'fine long towell'. Furthermore, situated in significant primary rooms rather than the lofts or storage rooms, this linen was in regular use and looked set to endure further use, as it would surely not be listed at the end of its material life.[36]

In 1742, eleven years after many of the other lists were made, and at the age of seventy-eight, Ben decided to make a 'note' of some of his items of clothing.[37] Thirty-one shirts were listed, each with its identifying mark in the tail and the cost of the cloth per yard for each shirt. One, it was noted, had been stolen by B:L. It is difficult to make a decisive link with these initials. Bridget Longmire, his sister matches, though why she would have it is unclear. Ben also had twelve long neck cloths, five pairs of sleeves, three necks and there were thirty-one handkerchiefs:

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[34] Diaper referred to the diamond shape woven into the fabric. For more on linen see E. Roberts (ed), *A History of Linen in the North West*, (1998).
[35] C.R.O./K. W.D./T.E. Vol. X, 66-67 and Vol. VIII, 125.
[36] C.R.O./K. W.D./T.E., Vol. XIII, 125. As we have seen, some items were listed as in use or in the wash. See Shammas, (1990), p. 11, for more on the value of linen particularly to women.
[37] C.R.O./K. W.D./T.E. Vol. XIII, 30.

twelve grey, one grey cambric, four 'redish', four 'blewish', eight white, one white cambric, and one old cambric. He had thirty-one pairs of stockings, the same quantity as the shirts and handkerchiefs: seven muslin, sixteen cambric and eight coarse pairs. The quantity suggests that he had a change of outfit for every day of the month. Other items of clothing were not listed, but the accounts show that he regularly had breeches and coats made. In 1721 for example, Ben bought and had dyed 10 yards of plush, buttons, mohair, and pockets for making breeches for himself and Richard, his twenty-four year old son, and also had a 'harden' frock coat, and a new hat.[38] On one occasion in 1745, he bought himself a coat for 18s, from Regi Wilson a cloth dealer, 'which was Lord Lonsdales'.[39] The evidence suggests that he dressed in an elegant manner, and had a quality and quantity of clothing that enabled him to make co-ordinated and varied outfits, some of which were in the direct style of the local aristocracy, albeit after they had finished with the goods. This is important as it can be interpreted as emulative behaviour. Ben was dressing in the style of those in higher social groups, and his own social milieu of Troutbeck saw a coat of aristocratic quality, even if they did not actually see the aristocrat. Thus, a 'trickle down' effect of fashion and style could be facilitated.[40] At the same time, he did not reject locally made, home-spun clothing, there was room and need for both.

At some stage after 1707, probably around the time of the other schedules, Ben made a list of his books.[41] He had one hundred and forty-two titles, some of these in multiple volumes, so the number of books on the shelf would be greater. These were kept in a closet, probably the small room (R) off room (T). At the time of his death,

[38] C.R.O./K. W.D./T.E. Box 8/1/5.
[39] C.R.O./K. W.D./T.E. Box 8/2.
[40] N. McKendrick, R. Porter, J. Plumb, (1982), pp. 16-24.

these books were valued at £2 2s. Ben's books are still in the Townend library, which contains two thousand books today, though clearly most of these belonged to subsequent generations, including Ben Jnr., who had £10 worth at the time of his death.[42] Weatherill found that books were consistently listed in her sample with thirty-nine percent of the gentry, and eighteen percent of yeomen owning books between 1675 and 1725.[43] Amongst the Troutbeck and Applethwaite sample, books were present in seventeen out of forty-two inventories or forty percent, more than double Weatherill's figure.

There are two extant book lists from Troutbeck, those of Ben Browne and Christopher Birkett, and another of the Barcroft family from Foulridge near Colne in Lancashire, allows a further comparison.[44] There are similarities in social position between the three men as each served as High Constable in their ward.[45] They had an average of one hundred and thirty-five books.[46] Around 1700, Daniel Fleming M.P. of Rydal near Ambleside also made a list of his much larger library, which amounted to almost two thousand titles. This is a useful tool placing the three High Constables in perspective by contrasting them with one of their social superiors from a similar environment.[47] There is no question here of bulk buying for use as ornaments, or of

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[41] C.R.O./K. W.D./T.E. Box 9/8. It was after 1707 because some of the books on the list were bought in that year.
[42] C.R.O./K. W.D./T.E. Unbound 127.
[43] Weatherill, (1988) p. 184. For more on books see M. Spufford, *Small Books and Pleasant Histories*, (1994).
[44] C.R.O./K. W.D./T.E. Box 9/8. The document is not dated, however it is later than 1707, as it lists some books that Ben bought at a sale that year. The Birkett list is taken from the sale schedule of 1707, C.R.O./K. W.D.T.E., Vol. VIII, 130-131. See H. R. French, 'Accumulation and aspirations among the "Parish Gentry", Economic Strategies and Social Identity in a Pennine family, 1650-1780, *T.H.S.L.C.* 149, (1999), pp. 19-49, for more on the Barcroft family. Barcroft list dated 1713, L.R.O./P. D.D.B./64/17.
[45] C.R.O./K. W.D./T.E. Vol. I, 17 and 90, for Christopher Birkett.
[46] This is a small fraction of the many books available at the time, see A.W. Pollard and G.R. Redgrave, *A Short Title Catalogue of Books Printed in England, Scotland and Ireland And of English Books Printed Abroad 1475-1640,* (1969).
[47] C.R.O./K. W.D./Ry. Box 99.

simple inheritance, so it is possible to observe the varying interests amongst the titles, and through this gain an insight into the mind of the owner.

Cat.	Type	Browne	Birkett	Barcroft
1	History/biography/war/regal	15 (10%)	21(14%)	15(13%)
2	Religious/moral/philosophical	49(34%)	56(37%)	20(18%)
3	Dictionary/gazetteer/arithmetic/educ/Latin	5(4%)	4(3%)	15(13%)
4	Medical/health/culinary	8(6%)	3(2%)	6(5%)
5	Plays/novels/fables/classic/poetry	12(9%)	38(24%)	5(4%)
6	Behaviour/manners/guides	16(11%)	8(6%)	16(14%)
7	Law/official duties	35(25%)	10(7%)	20(18%)
8	Untitled	0(0%)	10(7%)	0(0%)
9	Travel/foreign guides/geography	2(1%)	0(0%)	17(15%)
Total No. books		142	150	114

Table 3.2 Quantities of books belonging to: B Browne, C Birkett and Barcroft.

Dividing the titles into clearly separated categories was obviously difficult because the topics are heavily inter-linked. Guides to behaviour, for instance, were often based on expositions of Christian duty, as in *The Whole Duty of Man*, and poetry was often religious.[48] Nevertheless, as long as the pragmatic nature of the exercise is recognised it is possible to make reasonable divisions, and the breakdown of the categories is shown in **Table 3.2.** Ben Browne's book list is shown in **Appendix Four.**

[48] However, the works do fall into broad divisions, the main theme has been given to the core of the subject, for instance if the verse or poetry was clearly religious it has been put into the religion category rather than that of poetry.

Religion and law dominated Ben's collection, but he also had substantial volumes of history, and a variety of guides to manners, behaviour, gardening and brewing. Volumes such as, *Littleton's Tenures* were directly related to the official roles Ben undertook within the community.[49] *A Compleat Parish Officer* was 'a perfect guide to churchwardens, overseers, constables, headboroughs, tithingmen, sidesmen, borsholders, beadles, and other parish officers...'[50] These titles are indicative of the depth of knowledge required to act as a leading member of the parish and its availability, something not often commented upon by historians. The *Tradesman's Lawyer and Countryman's Friend* was a guide by J. Bever 'directing them in contracts, bargains etc.'.[51] The laws regarding probate, tenancies, and trade were of vital importance in such a litigious age, and men such as Ben had a personal vested interest in understanding them as High Constable, executor, inventory appraiser, bailiff and he may have advised neighbours on an informal basis.[52] Other texts in the collection such as the *Old Help to Discourse* and the *New Help to Discourse* were published in several editions from the mid-seventeenth century.[53] They offered a more light hearted, yet practical text, containing 'more merriment mixed with serious matters...together with the Country-mans councellor... as also the art of cookery, and sundry experiments, and their extractions of oyl, waters, &c.'[54]

The Whole Duty of Man, Young Man's Calling, Gentleman's Calling and *Lady's Calling,* were all in the collection, and suggest that Ben's interests were not restricted to himself. These texts were all attributed to Richard Allestree and were printed in

[49] Sir Thomas Littleton, *Littleton's Tenures,* (1616).
[50] G. J. [probably Giles Jacob] *A Compleat Parish Officer,* (1705).
[51] J. Bever, *Tradesman's Lawyer and Countryman's Friend,* (1703).
[52] Ben worked for Lady Otway, C.R.O./K. W.D./T.E. Vol. VIII, 159-169 and Vol. VII, 1-43.
[53] The British Library OPAC 97, pre-1976. Reference Collections file has nine items linking to such titles printed between 1654 and 1733.

numerous editions from around 1660 onwards.[55] They formed part of a genre of literature offering guidance on behaviour. The text of *The Gentleman's Calling* 'called' on Gentlemen to be active, rather than inactive, because God had given them privileges to do good work, rather than squander their time. These Gentlemen's 'advantages' as they were termed, included education, wealth, time, authority, reputation and esteem. The book started by discussing these qualities, instructing its readers in the necessary attributes for gentrified behaviour.[56] This could also have had political intentions, addressing the function of social groups at a time of such flux after the civil war. Another book offering insights on polite behaviour was *An Elegant and Compendious Way of Writing All Manner of Letters,* certainly in print in England by 1654, and contained 'a collection of many choice epistles, written by the most refined wits of France.'[57] The interest in letter writing was shared with Ben Jnr. who commented in one of his letters to his father, that he was writing in a style that they used at his workplace in London, and over time he adopted different formats and terms in his letters.[58] Paradoxically such titles illustrate both conformity and innovation. Ben was keen to establish polite modes of behaviour yet for him this could mean a departure from traditional ways.

The Birkett sale, the inventory sample and especially the inscriptions of the previous owners in Ben's books show that others in the community had books. Lending out books to others was something that Ben did, as he made a note of it in his diaries, and

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[54] William Basse and E. Philips, *A Help to Discourse,* (1682).
[55] The British Library OPAC 97, pre-1976 listings.
[56] Richard Allestree, *The Gentleman's Calling,* (1682).
[57] Jean Puget de la Serre, *The Secretary in Fashion or, an Elegant...Way of Writing all Manner of Letters,* (1654).
[58] For example in 1731, and on many other occasions he wrote to his father as 'Honr'd Sir', C.R.O/K. W.D./T.E. Vol. V, 125.

so it is plausible that he borrowed from others if he had the need.[59] The other inhabitants of Townend, such as George Longmire and Jonathan Elleray would have had access to these books too, and when Ben Jnr. moved into Townend the library increased five times in value. Thus, Ben's access to printed works was not limited to his own collection, nor were his books limited to himself.

Similarity between the titles in Ben's library and Christopher Birkett's is inevitable given that Ben purchased part of his collection from the Birkett sale. Even allowing for this, the two collections are remarkably similar in both volume and content and therefore clearly reflect similar but not identical tastes and perceived needs. In both lists, religion comes first, but after that, the main category for Ben was law and official duties whereas for Christopher it was plays, verse and classics, despite serving as High Constable in 1673.[60] His desire for entertainment is reflected in twenty-seven 'playbooks' listed without titles, illustrating the recreational importance of reading at this early date, so far from London. Reading was a leisure pursuit for him, he had time and wealth to indulge, and since it also indicates education, he had at least three of the 'advantages' of a gentleman listed in *The Gentleman's Calling.*

The Barcroft list of titles offers a comparison from a very similar family in terms of position and period, but from a different part of the Northwest. In 1712, the Barcrofts had one hundred and fourteen books, housed on three shelves in the parlour, a public room, likely to be observed by visitors. They had the same number of historical and biographical works, and guides to behaviour, manners and writing, as the Browne family. The quantities vary quite significantly in other areas, they had far fewer

[59] In his diary Ben sometimes noted who he had lent books to. C.R.O./K. W.D./T.E. Box 8/3/1-7.
[60] C.R.O./K. W.D./T.E. Vol. I, 17.

religious and moral texts, which shows we should not take its primacy for granted, and very few novels, plays and poetry books, showing lack of religious fervour did not equate with light reading tastes. Twenty books were on law and official parish duties, ten more than Christopher Birkett and ten less than Ben Browne. The Barcroft household had sixteen reference titles in category three, and these were mostly in Latin indicating a classical education and continuing ability to use that language, something Ben did not have.[61] A further seventeen titles related to foreign countries, travel and interpretation. This bolsters the sense that individual areas of interest were pursued, not some standard mix of subjects, or even the automatic dominance of any one.

Many of the books in the Townend library contained inscriptions on the title page or inside cover and by analysing these it is possible to see where the book was purchased, how much it cost and who previous owners were. Ben's list of books included a copy of *The English Rogue,* and we can see from the documentation that he bought this at Christopher Birkett's sale.[62] The copy of this book in the Townend Library is inscribed 'Christopher Birkett' and 'Ben Browne', confirming that they were both previous owners, and there is a further comment 'This book is the fourth that I had of Robt Phillipson esq for money owed.'[63] Christopher Birkett must have had the book from Robert Phillipson in exchange for debts, proof that such goods could act as a currency and that their second-hand value was important. Inside the *Pocket Companion for Gentlemen and Ladies*, the inscription reads 'John Phillipson his book 1704' followed by 'This was the gift of my beloved cousin John Phillipson the 20th

[61] He told his cousin that he could not read something because it was in Latin. C.R.O./K. W.D./T.E. Vol. VI, 78.
[62] Vol. VIII, 130-131 for sale.
[63] R. Head, *The English Rogue,* (1671).

October the day before he went to London, George Browne 1706'.[64] This book was printed in 1703 so recent editions of books were reaching Troutbeck, they were not restricted to old or second-hand copies, and books were given as gifts. *The Great Exemplar of Sanctity and Holy Life*, was inscribed 'This book was exchanged with Roger Barwicke for a Rhenish Testament guide, Christo Birkett' and 'Christopher Birkett's Booke 1689', and later 'Ben Browne'.[65] The book had three previous owners and had been bought, swapped and sold on the second-hand market. Some books had come from Ben's father and possibly grandfather, such as an early edition of *Littleton's Tenures* printed in 1616, which was inscribed 'Geo Browne 12d' and *Judge Jenkins* which was inscribed with 'Geo Browne' and also 'Geor Browne booke 1682' suggesting it had belonged to father and son.[66] From the many inscriptions, we can also see that Christopher Birkett's sale was not an isolated incident, **Illustration 3.2** shows a book bought at Hoggart's sale. *Lectures upon the Foure First Chapters of the Prophecie of Hosea*, was inscribed 'Mr. John Grisdall's sale of books in 1723 prise was fourpence December 27th Day Afterwards bound by Mr. William Langhorn Minister at Troutbeck at prise of six pence for me John Cowperthwaite prise in all 10d'.[67] The purchase price of an item was not always straightforward, the binding was an extra and John Cowperthwaite was prepared to spend more than the price of the text on the binding even on a volume that was over a hundred years old.[68] Many of the books in the Townend library were Ben Jnr.'s., he had £10 worth in his probate inventory almost five percent of his total.[69] Many of these were bought in London, some at expensive prices, such as *An Help and Exhortation to Worthy*

[64] William Ayloffe, *Pocket Companion for Gentlemen and Ladies*, (1703).
[65] Jeremy Taylor, *The Great Exemplar of Sanctity and Holy Life* (1649).
[66] Sir. Thomas Littleton, *Littleton's Tenures* (1616) and David Jenkins, *Judge Jenkins*, (1648).
[67] John Downame, *Lectures upon the Foure First Chapters of the Prophecie of Hosea*, (1608).
[68] It is not clear who John Cowperthwaite was or how the book came to be in the Townend collection.
[69] C.R.O./K. W.D./T.E. Unbound 127.

Communicating, which cost 15s, not much less than the price of a long oak table at Lady Otway's sale.[70] Even in London it was not always possible to get the titles he wanted: 'cannot get the Statute Law Common placed by Jacob if I would give 1 guinea for it one bookseller told me he has wanted two or three for Gentlemen and wd give any price for them'.[71]

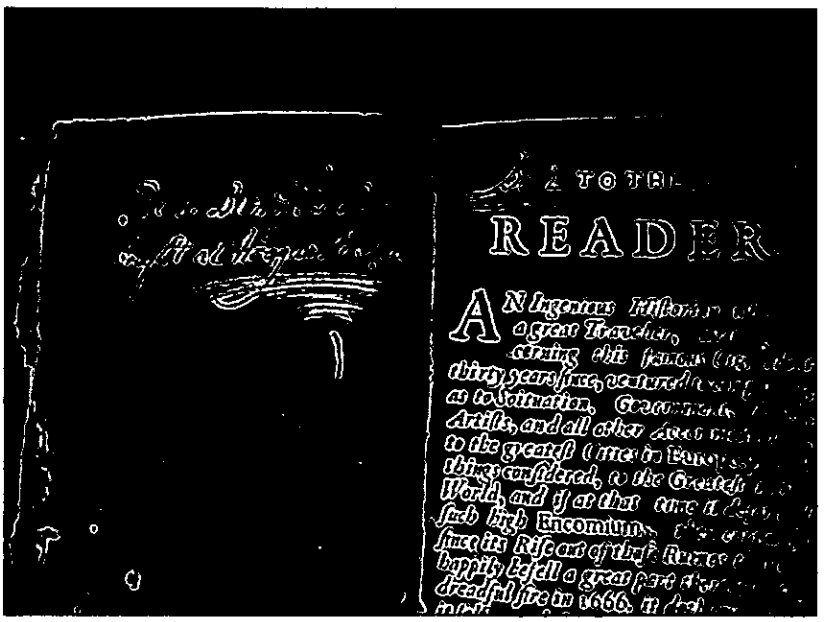

Illustration 3.2. Inscription inside one of Ben's books

Through the analysis of the many goods in the home, and in some cases the age and quality of these, we are able to consider the long-term utility and value of objects and gain a clearer notion of what consumption meant in this period. For instance, the long life expectancy of the household linen and the continued use of the same goods over

[70] C.R.O./K. Vol. VIII, 170. John Kettlewell, *'An Help and Exhortation to Worthy Communicating'* (1686).
[71] C.R.O./K. W.D./T.E. Vol. V, 114.

many years have been largely overlooked by studies of consumer behaviour. The lack of such detailed documentation has prevented other studies from establishing the age, quality and quantity of such ordinary though important goods amongst the middling sort, which were to form the first true consumption goods of proto-industrialisation and the industrial revolution. What we see is a household that expected a very long life from its goods, and that whilst new items were added the old were not discarded. This ties in across many of the objects, not simply the linen. The books, silver and furniture can all be seen to go back to the 1650s, but retain enough value to be kept and listed. At the same time though, Ben Browne was adding to these stocks, and in some cases indulging in relatively novel acquisitions and he was usually not alone in this.

The picture in Troutbeck then, is not of a 'backward' community without access to comfort and novelties. It is a community with effective access to furniture and other household items at its higher levels, well able to make individual choices about what went into their houses, and reach markets of new goods if they wished. It would be tempting at this stage to call these 'luxury' items as others have. However, this might not be how the Troutbeck community looked upon their clocks, books and silver. All had a practical function even silver, which was a way of holding capital in a society without banks or a wide range of safe investments. The three libraries of books analysed included some leisurely texts, but were dominated by more informative and instructional works. This is not to say that there was no status in ownership of books, clocks, silver, clothing, linen and items such as knives and forks. Establishing a collection of books, and publicising their presence was, in addition to being important for taking on parish responsibilities, probably a clear signifier of education, general

knowledge, wisdom, manners and morality. Perhaps the knives and forks Ben bought in 1740 were the first at Townend, or even Troutbeck. Their purchase though, marked a significant point for Ben and his neighbours, as new standards at the table entered the social milieu of Troutbeck yeomen. The other accoutrements of polite dining, china, glasses, and silver spoons were already amongst the belongings of some of the Troutbeck and Applethwaite decedents. What we can see in this locality is that consumption operated on several levels. The old commodities such as pewter, brass, wooden ware, and linen were always present, and replaced or added to, there was divergence into functional items including books, clocks, and silver, and indulgence in novelties like china and glasses beginning to appear. Most of the new goods were integrated into existing ranges and the common appearance of particular items strongly suggests a common understanding of function and status.

CHAPTER FOUR

SYSTEMS OF ACQUISITION

For many years, issues surrounding production were the focus of historical debate, with the Industrial Revolution and development of factory production over-shadowing interest in consumption as a driving force for change. It is now well established that by the seventeenth century there were craftsmen and retailers throughout the country producing and selling non-essential goods to consumers.[1] Specialised centres of production for goods utilising local materials had developed throughout England, and London was a vast melting pot of producers and retailers from home and abroad. The process of acquiring goods from these producers and retailers is less explored, and little is known about consumers, especially those in rural areas. Ben Browne's material goods came from a plethora of sources. This chapter addresses three main areas: the purchase of new goods from local and distant sources, the purchase and sales of second-hand goods, and the ownership or use of goods through other means such as inheritance and lease agreements.

The importance of the second-hand market is an area virtually ignored by most early-modern historians, despite its obvious importance in relation to consumption and particularly in its spread down the social scale.[2] This has masked a whole area of

[1] H. C. Mui and L. H. Mui, (1989). Mui and Mui's study of shopkeeping showed that the system of retail shops was well established by the early eighteenth century, with traders accessing distant markets to bring goods in from areas of production p. 10. They also showed the north lagged behind the south in shops per capita, p. 41. See also T. S. Willan, *Abraham Dent of Kirkby Stephen, An Eighteenth Century Shopkeeper*, (1970) and J.D. Marshall (ed) *The Autobiography of William Stout of Lancaster*, (1967).

[2] Exceptions are: B. Lemire, (1988), S. Nenadic, (1994), D. Woodward, (1985) and S. Pennell, 'All but the Kitchen Sink: Household Sales and the Market for Used Goods in Early Modern England' Paper given at Cambridge Social and Economic History Society, (7th March 1996). The term 'second-hand'

significance, perhaps especially in regions where consumers have been termed 'backward' because they were slow to purchase the new goods that were in demand in other areas. The several sales schedules that survive for south Westmorland reveal the fundamental importance of the second-hand trade in goods of all kinds, and diaries, account books and probate records, within the spatial focus of this study, show that such sales were common events. The detailed nature of the sources allows the consumers and their purchases to be examined in detail. The numbers attending, status and gender of consumers show how the sales were used by a cross-section of society and certainly not restricted to the poorest.

If furniture and other household items were readily available by these means, as this research suggests, then it would have an affect on the purchase of new goods and we must re-think the theories of consumption in areas where novel goods were slow to appear in probate inventories. Here the second-hand sale is proven important in the community, both as a means to realise the value of assets, and as a method of acquisition for the middling sort, not just the poorest ranks. These strong cultural practices shaped consumption patterns in the area in conjunction with and opposition to the spread of novelty. The events that gave rise to sales, the organisation, numbers attending, distances travelled, gender and status are discussed in order to understand how and why the sale took place and who bought the goods. The items for sale are analysed, and type, price and availability considered.

Title deeds, including leases, conveyances, agreements and wills show that goods passed from one generation to the next before death as well as after, were purchased

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was used by the Brownes see for instance letter from Ben Jnr. to his father, C.R.O./K. W.D./T.E. Vol. V, 104.

with property, and were available to rent. Title deeds from solicitors' and family collections are used alongside the Browne family records to show that this was not something unique to them or to Troutbeck. Rented and sold goods are dealt with separately as essentially they are two very different areas. Renting household furnishings was not truly acquisition in terms of consumption. However, it was a method of acquiring the *use* of goods, where outright ownership was not possible or desired.

Ben's accounts show that he organised his expenditure under a number of different categories. 'Housekeeping' referred to purchases of food, such as, raisins, sugar, herrings, bread, wine and rum and non-durable goods such as candles, dishes, glass bottles and chamber pots, but also included durable goods made from pewter and iron. 'Cloths' covered a wide selection of items including fabric, yarn, buttons, wigs, hair, hats and shoes, and the cost of having cloth woven and dyed. 'Workfolks' included almost anyone Ben paid to do a job for him, including the labourers who ploughed the fields, the wallers, his servants and craftsmen. Therefore, understanding the true cost of goods can be difficult because the labour is separated from the cost of the raw material. The 'Expenses' sections were consistently the longest and fullest section of the accounts, and showed his spending on food and drink whilst out on business or visiting people. This was money spent from his pocket rather than on credit unlike many items in the previous section. That Ben differentiated his expenses this way suggests that he felt the money spent on purchasing material goods and on entertainment, travel and business had different meaning.

Turning first to goods bought locally, retail shops in Ambleside played a regular part in the supply of non-durable and semi-durable items such as stamped paper, scissors, chamber pots, shoetrees, wire, candles, soap, and almanacs.[3] These goods had become the necessities of everyday life, and produced in such volume, and used by so many, that they were obviously bought by traders who held stocks for retail sales. In general, an absence of the retailer's name and no mention of carriage fees in the accounts, suggests that these goods were bought from a regular supplier.[4] Vendors were sometimes listed, as in 1725: 'I owe Cous. Cumpston for cloth... oats... soap a dozen given me...' and other items coming to £1-7-3.[5] Occasionally purchases by Ben, from George Kelsick an Ambleside mercer, are recorded in his trading account book, which survives, but such entries over the course of several years were rare, which suggests this was not his regular supplier and Ben could choose who to buy goods from.[6] George Kelsick had clients from around the area, covering a radius of at least five miles, including Rydal, Langdale, Troutbeck, Grasmere and Skelwith Bridge, though the majority were from Ambleside. His customers came from all walks of life including yeomen such as Ben, and Christopher Birkett of Troutbeck, shoemakers who bought hemp, a milkmaid from Rydal and his own manservant. He held stocks of soap, sugar, starch, almanacs, thread, candles, hemp, nails, curtain rings, paper, scissors, vinegar, hops, wax and other goods.[7] His wife and children were involved in running the business on a practical level. Similarly, William Stout a

[3] C.R.O./K. W.D./T.E. Box 8/1 and 2. See J. Thirsk, *Economic Policies and Projects* (1978), pp. 6-7, Thirsk described the enormity and importance of manufacturing for domestic consumables.
[4] C.R.O./K. W.D./T.E. Box 8/1 and 2.
[5] C.R.O./K. W.D./T.E. Box 8/3/3.
[6] C.R.O./K. W.D./T.E. Box 11/16, see entry for Ben Browne, Troutbeck. See also P. Glennie and I.D. Whyte, 'Towns in Agrarian Economy 1540-1700' in P. Clark (ed.), *The Cambridge Urban History of Britain, Vol. II, 1540-1840.* (2000), pp. 190-1.
[7] C.R.O./K. W.D./T.E. Box 11/16, he is described as a 'mercer' on a scrap of an agreement stored loose inside the account book.

Lancaster retailer, was helped by his sister.[8] It is striking how retail purchases are linked to female names in the available sources. In 1730, Ben paid Agnes Blythe £1 7s and Elizabeth Sharp 7s 1d, for the 'shop goods' used at George Dixon's sales of household goods.[9] In his diary, George Hilton of Beetham recorded in 1704 that he 'went to Bettyes of the shoppe'; fitting the accepted notions that wholesale purchase of goods meant that shops were difficult to run alone and women were integral to the business.[10]

It was convenient to buy non-durables locally, but for the more semi-durable and durable goods, Ben often used Kendal. He had reason to visit the town several times a month and his expenses as High Constable covered the cost of these trips.[11] Others supplying or obtaining raw materials for the manufacture of goods, or selling produce would visit the town in the course of their business. Ben purchased many goods there, for instance a looking glass and 'papers', pots, pans, and the crystal glasses from Mr. Asburner.[12] Sometimes the goods were clearly imported into Kendal from distant sources, as in 1741, when Ben bought some china cups from Christopher.[13] He often purchased non-durables from Christopher including tobacco, animal cures, white wine and almanacs.[14] Occasionally, Ben's wife Elizabeth accompanied him and he gave her money for 'things', which were not listed.[15]

[8] J.D. Marshall (ed), (1967), p. 24.
[9] C.R.O./K. W.D./T.E Vol. VIII, 139 and Vol. VIII, 146.
[10] A. Hillman, *The Rake's Diary, The Journal of George Hilton*, (1994), p. 57.
[11] C.R.O./K. W.D./T.E Box 8/1and /2, see also the High Constable accounts Box 9/1.
[12] M. Eddershaw, (1989), p. 4. This was probably Thomas Ashburner who ran a printing business and owned the playhouse in Kendal.
[13] C.R.O./K. W.D./T.E. Box 8/2/3.
[14] C.R.O./K. W.D./T.E. Vol. VI, 320, a list of items bought 1729, account book entry Box 8/2/1. Box 8/2/1, 1724 for bread bought at Kendal and other entries throughout the accounts.
[15] C.R.O./K. W.D./T.E. Box 8/2/1.

The majority of household and husbandry goods in the accounts were made by a regular band of 'workfolks', including joiners, tailors, pewterers and smiths, sometimes relatives or 'cousins', or else bore familiar names from Troutbeck and Applethwaite. He used these craftsmen for his shoes, clothing, husbandry gear, furniture and hardware. In 1705, Ben put locks on twelve doors in the house and noted 'a perticular of ye locks which I bought of Couzen Willm Browne'.[16] William was one of the Townhead Browne families, and therefore a second or third cousin.[17] In 1721, Ben paid James Mackereth for two days work for a chest, and William Fisher for making two chairs, presumably in the vernacular tradition.[18] In all the documentation, there are no instructions or diagrams for items of furniture or clothing, implying that he was generally content to have what the local craftsman made. Where he did not want local designs, he used distant sources, as we see below, rather than trying to get a craftsman to make something unfamiliar for him.

Sometimes this process of commissioning goods was complex and involved combining a readymade item with a commission. Thus, in 1728 Ben bought 'two salts pewter 1s' and in the next entry listed 'two glass salts silvered 6d', presumably to look like silver at a lower cost.[19] The customer also could provide raw materials and just employ the craftsman for his labour as in 1739, when Ben commissioned William Brownrigg to make him some chairs and noted that he had supplied his own wood.[20] This was probably from Ben's own trees, though some items of seventeenth

[16] C.R.O./K. W.D./T.E. Box 11/1.
[17] C.R.O./K. W.D./T.E. Vol. VIII, 52.
[18] C.R.O./K. W.D./T.E. Box 8/2/1.
[19] C.R.O./K. W.D./T.E. Box 8/2/1.
[20] C.R.O./K. W.D./T.E. Box 8/2/3. Ben had several pieces of woodland: Vol. XIV, 188 for Oakathorpin, Vol. II, 219 for Newclose, Vol. XIV, 188 for Cockshot, Vol. XIV, 187 for Benslip.

century furniture were made from recycled pieces of wood.[21] Another area where Ben supplied the raw materials was for the production of cloth and clothing. In 1725, getting 'blanketting and horse cloths' involved having his own wool spun by Old Peggy, and in 1720 Wm. Harrison, a weaver, turned three stone of Ben's own wool into cloth and then dyed some of it.[22] In the same year he paid 'James Mackereth and John Braithwat 3 days for Christo[pher]'s coat 1s.' The real price of a coat was complicated then, with everything from the cost of rearing the sheep to the cost of the tailor to be considered.[23]

He definitely bought goods from further afield as well. Penrith was accessible on horseback via the Kirkstone Pass, and in 1720, he bought thirty-two yards of linen for £1 5s 6d,[24] and in 1739, bought a hat there, from Cousin Ann Charnley for 12s 6d.[25] Ben stayed overnight in Penrith when he went to Lowther on business with Lord Lonsdale, so buying goods there was relatively straightforward.[26] Other purchases from more distant sources required the help of a third party, carriers and perhaps personal contacts. In 1728, Ben bought spoons from Mr. Barons of Wigan, for which the carriage was an extra 4d.[27] Clearly then; Ben did not go to Wigan himself for the spoons, but did know exactly who they were from out of the many pewter producers in that area. In 1747, at the age of eighty-three and only a year before he died, Ben bought a silver tobacco box from Thomas Harrison of Newcastle.[28] On this occasion,

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[21] S. Pryke, 'A study of the Edinburgh Furnishing trade taken from contemporary press notices, 1708-1790', *Regional Furniture,* 111, (1989), pp. 52-67. For evidence of this, view the insides and backs of old furniture, which sometimes shows the carvings and markings of earlier pieces. D. Woodward, (1985).
[22] C.R.O./K. W.D./T.E. Box 8/1/4.
[23] C.R.O./K. W.D./T.E. Box 8/1/5.
[24] C.R.O./K. W.D./T.E. Box 8/1/4.
[25] C.R.O./K. W.D./T.E. Box 8/2/3.
[26] C.R.O./K. W.D./T.E. Box 8/2/3, for example in 1739 Ben visited Penrith for three days.
[27] C.R.O./K. W.D/T.E. Box 8/2/2.
[28] C.R.O./K. W.D./T.E. Box 8/1/6.

no carrier is mentioned in the accounts, but someone must have brought it to Troutbeck for the old man. Others tapped into distant suppliers too; for example in 1753, William Birkett bought four stone of feathers, which were 'carried from Cumberland' at a total cost of £2-01-08.[29] As early as 1655, Daniel Fleming of Rydal, MP, enlisted the help of a relative to purchase a new bed in London, and have it boxed and carried to Rydal. Although he was an MP, and therefore not a typical example, it confirms that given the right contacts and budget, this was possible.[30]

London was the most significant distant source of goods in the accounts and letters. It utterly dominated the country in terms of population, economic activity, new goods and fashions. Ben and his wife, his father, brothers and sons all visited London and as we have seen they were not unique in Troutbeck: Cousin Braithwaite, Cousin Philipson, Robert Fisher, Bridget Atkinson, the Rowlandsons, Rev. Bisse, James Longmire had all made the journey too.[31] After a visit home in 1734, Ben Jnr. wrote to his father describing the journey back to London.[32] He travelled on horseback reaching London in just five days. The journey could be made by sea, but this was a more unusual route as the nature of coastal shipping was erratic, being dependent on the weather, making sea journeys less reliable and more dangerous. Ben Jnr. commented to his father that Robert Fisher 'comes by water to Newcastle so could not be certain when he could reach Troutbeck'.[33]

[29] C.R.O./K. W.D./T.E. Box 20/4.
[30] C.R.O./K. M.S.S./H.M.C. 289.
[31] C.R.O./K. W.D./T.E. Vol. VI, 76, for Longmire and Philipson, Vol. V, 92, for Fisher, Vol. V, 108, for Atkinson and Rowlandson, Box 8/1, for Braithwaite, and Vol. V, 261, for Bisse.
[32] C.R.O./K. W.D./T.E. Vol. V, 136.
[33] C.R.O./K. W.D./T.E. Vol. V, 92.

The travellers would return or write, with stories and personal accounts of what London life was like and what was available in the shops and markets, just as Ben Jnr. did in his letters to his father. Significantly, the passage of goods between father and son, Troutbeck and London, was not just a one way process. The first evidence of goods arriving at Townend from London was in 1702, when Richard bought goods for his brother Ben.[34] He wanted two black-framed mirrors, but Richard sent walnut instead, as this was all that was available. The package included a pound of coffee beans and two 'brass cocks'.[35] Richard noted the cost for packaging was 2s 6d, but the carriage was only 4d, relatively cheap in comparison.

If the mirrors were the first goods requested from London, they were the first of many, as Ben continued to use his connections to buy from the capital. However, when Ben Jnr. arrived in London, he requested many goods from the north and the flow south continued over several years. As soon as he arrived, he wrote to his father explaining that his clothing did not reflect his position in London and that he felt embarrassed and disadvantaged by this. 'My cloathes which [I] have now are but mean in comparison to what they wear here so yt they make no account of me but think master takes me for charity'.[36] The 'meanness' of the clothes is not explained, but Ben Jnr. did not go and buy the goods in London, where they would be easily available. Buying in the north and sending goods to the south was the most economical way for both father and son, and importantly, it was enough to address the 'meanness' in young Ben Jnr.'s appearance, as far as he was concerned.

[34] C.R.O./K. W.D./T.E. Vol. V, 224.
[35] C.R.O./K. W.D./T.E. Vol. V, 224.
[36] C.R.O./K. W.D./T.E. Vol. V, 100.

One of the first items Ben Jnr. wanted when he arrived in London was a new wig.[37] He asked his father for 'a pretty good one viz not too dark hair nor too much hair in it...you may get ...at Kendal much better for under 20s than I can get here for 2 guinneas ...put it in the box with my violin and send it up by Mr. Greenhow'. In the same letter, he asked his father to include 'two or three pairs of stockings more such as you got me last at Kendal'. In reply his father wrote 'sone Rich'd has bought a head hair for you, but it is dear it is but 3 ounces and a half scarce, a h[ea]d it is 7s you may have it ye first opportunity you think fit when Mr Rowlandson or some other Kendall man comes up'.[38] For the same year Ben's accounts show he paid for a 'naturall wigg 7s 6d', though it does not say where it was bought.[39] The comment from Ben Jnr., that Kendal could supply a better wig for a fraction of the price, again suggests that there was nothing intrinsically 'backward' in the design of the Kendal wig. His father thought the one he sent at 7s, was dear for what it was. Perhaps Ben Jnr. trusted that his father would spend more and buy a better one, given that he mentioned a figure of 20s in his letter.

Further requests show Ben wanted 'bretches 1 pair some stuff to line my n[igh]t gown sleeves they being worn out that cannot put it on. Shoes and pair cravatts, and buttons to sett on my waistcoats,' and Ben stated a preference for the more expensive 'buck bretches for cloth ones soon rub in holes'.[40] In 1725, after being in London for six years, by this time in his thirties and with experience of London styles, Ben sent measurements to his father so he could get him a frock coat made. 'I have got my taylor to take measure of me and will send the same down this week ... in order for

[37] C.R.O./K. W.D./T.E. Vol. V, 85.
[38] C.R.O./K. W.D./T.E. Vol.V, 260.
[39] C.R.O./K. W.D./T.E. Box 8/1/4, 1719/20.
[40] C.R.O./K. W.D./T.E. Vol. V, 90.

the frock you promised to send me. I hope you pardon my freedom...'[41] He was not overly pleased with the product though and wrote: 'my humble thanks the taylor has made the sleeves too straight ...but the stuff is very good and mighty liked'.[42]

During this period the relationship changed and Ben Jnr. gradually lessened his requests, and in turn, his father started asking for items to be sent north to Troutbeck. These were for various friends and acquaintances of the Brownes, not just himself. In November 1725, Ben Jnr. sent a variety of goods north with a letter and an account for settling.[43] Ben Jnr. described the account as 'the goods got for you and Mr. [Parson] Sawrey'. Parson Sawrey's part of the order consisted of a child's cap and two necklaces, together worth 8s 3d. His father received an array of goods including 'Y[ou]r linen, two comb cases, single and double, 6 key bands [key rings], one aggit [agate] knife and fork, flesh brush and 46 gun flints, y[ou]r wigg box with wigg inclosed...' and 'y[ou]r sealing wax, a silver ½ pint mugg and 2 copy books...'. Ben Jnr.'s wife, Mary, sent a 'Knott' for Bridget Atkinson 'according to her promise at The Red Lion, Charing Cross' and an apron for her mother-in-law, who also received gifts from Billy Rowlandson and Robert Fisher's wife.[44] There was also a 'great bundle' of linen for a gown for Mrs. Birkett from her brother and Billy Rowlandson sent a silver thimble for Bridget Atkinson, a book for Lady Fleming and a toy for her daughter. Considering the time of year, these may have been Christmas gifts, packaged with the other goods to save money. London was accessed by a number of people, some with their own contact, but in this case all sharing the carrier north.

[41] C.R.O./K. W.D./T.E. Vol. V, 108.
[42] C.R.O./K. W.D./T.E. Vol. V, 110.
[43] C.R.O./K. W.D./T.E. Vol. V, 108.
[44] Although he referred to her as mother this was actually his step-mother.

The large parcel in 1725 was not unique, for earlier that year Ben Jnr. told his father 'I have got you a Woods Institute of the Common Law and a Littleton's Dict[ionar]y 2d hand [second-hand] but really could not get any that were tolerable under 12 or 13s. Yet I thought that which have sent you is as good as any new one for a school boy...'[45] The two books amounted to £1-11-0. In 1723, he sent his father four snuffboxes,[46] and in 1735, two pairs of stays at a total cost of £1-12-0; clearly these goods from London were not cheap items. In 1734, when Ben Jnr. travelled back to London following a visit to Troutbeck he described the journey and added a note that 'Mr. Barnes will send you two doz spoons at 6s pr doz in a fortnight's time without fail.'[47] It is not clear if Mr. Barnes was in London, or at one of the towns along the route. As he travelled down through the country, Ben Jnr. could purchase goods along the way at specialised centres of production, not just the capital.

In 1731, Ben Jnr. wrote a letter that suggested his father had asked him to look for a watch on his behalf, but that the price had upset him. He replied to his father: 'Honr'd Sir: am surprised you think of 6 ½ G's extravagant for a watch but there is plain silver watches to be had from £4-10s to £16 price and if had run the hazard of one about £5 would not have been any real service'.[48] The next letter revealed this was Ben Jnr.'s own watch that he had used for four or five years, and he added, that it was really worth nine guineas.[49] Ben Jnr. emphasised the importance of quality to his father, and said 'one may be cheated without half a years tryall'. It appears that Ben Jnr. was using his father as an opportunity to rid himself of the watch and make some money for himself. It is understandable that Ben balked at the price of six-and-a-half

[45] C.R.O./K. W.D./T.E. Vol. V, 104.
[46] C.R.O./K. W.D./T.E. Vol. V, 100.
[47] C.R.O./K. W.D./T.E. Vol. V, 136.
[48] C.R.O./K. W.D./T.E. Vol. V, 125.

guineas, as this was equivalent to selling two cows and was double the rental income from the mill. It was also much dearer than the watch left by Miles Birkett in 1722, which along with 'other things' was worth £3-0-0.[50] Ben Jnr.'s 'surprise' at his father's reaction suggests that he was clearly better off than he was during the period of the earlier letters, when he was concerned at the price of the second-hand books he purchased. His reaction also suggests that he was arrogant and perhaps even willing to mislead and manipulate his father by making him feel mean. What emerges is the need for trust in such a system of acquisition. The person purchasing on behalf of someone else needed to be sure of payment, and in turn, the person requesting the goods had to trust their representative was getting them good value and not profiteering themselves.

Some of the goods sent from London by Ben Jnr. were homemade gifts, such as the apron and knot from Mary, and some were mundane such as the sealing wax, but others were novel. The agate-handled knife and fork, comb cases, necklaces, toy and silver mug were possibly hard to find in Westmorland. The fact that Troutbeck families sought to purchase such goods confirms that they were quite keen to get a taste of metropolitan fashion. Small items were favoured in general with the walnut mirrors being the largest recorded goods coming from London into the Browne household. This is perhaps to be expected, as small things were bound to be easier and cheaper to move. However, if it had been important to Ben to have London furniture he could have arranged it, just as Daniel Fleming had done.

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[49] C.R.O/K. W.D./T.E. Unbound 123/F24.
[50] C.R.O./K. W.D./T.E. For price of stock see Vol. IV, 80. For mill leases see Vol. VIII, 7 to 10 for payments from 1697 to 1727 at £3-0-0 per annum. Vol. IV, 9, for Miles Birkett.

The purchases analysed thus far were mostly new goods, with a few exceptions such as the silver watch and books. On some occasions Ben specified whether an item was new or not as in 1725, when he listed 'a new sythe 2s 4d', but often the records were ambiguous, and whether for instance, a whip that he bought from Jonathan Elleray was new or second-hand is unclear.[51] Private second-hand exchanges did occur, for instance in 1713 Ben sold his iron oven to George Birkett, of the Fold, for 14s noting: 'he must pay at Michaelmas next for it'.[52] The most common way of buying used goods was at a public sale and we turn now to an analysis of sales held within a few miles radius of Troutbeck, between 1689 and 1748.[53]

Second-hand sales were definitely held throughout the area both during and at the end of the lifecycle. In a society that relied heavily upon credit, debt inevitably accumulated, as so many of the inventories and documentation reveal. Further mortgages and loans were one way of dealing with this and sometimes goods were the security for such loans; when these went unpaid the goods were taken in lieu of cash. Following various parliamentary Acts such as the 1709 Landlord and Tenant Act, and the 1737 Distress for Rent Act, goods could be seized and sold for other unpaid debts. In 1718, Joseph Gardhouse was in arrears with his rent for Lady Otway, and Ben seized livestock from him on Otway's behalf.[54] On another occasion, in 1705, Otway wrote to Ben: 'If you should be forced to take his goods which I hope you will secure

[51] C.R.O./K. W.D./T.E. Box 8/2/2.
[52] C.R.O./K. W.D./T.E. Box 8/1/1a.
[53] H. S. Cowper, 'A Grasmere Farmer's Sale Schedule in 1710' *T.C.W.A.A.S.* (1894), pp. 253-268. C.R.O./K. W.D./T.E. Vol. VIII, 130-131 for 1707, Vol. VIII, 171-173 for 1731, Vol. VIII, 175-183 for 1748, F Unbound 192, for 1715, Vol. VIII, 170, for 1720, Vol. VIII, 121, for 1730. L.R.O./P. D.D.A.r., 324 for 1689,
[54] C.R.O./K., W.D./T.E. Vol. VIII, 119.

in just time let a sale be made of everything'.[55] Elizabeth Browne seized goods for rent arrears owing to her in 1767.[56]

Changes in personal circumstance could also trigger a sale. In 1731, Ben was sixty-seven, retired, his family had grown up and his second wife Elizabeth, had died.[57] This new stage in his lifecycle gave rise to a surplus of goods and Ben held a two-day sale. Similarly, another change in circumstances, moving house, was the catalyst for a sale in Beetham near Milnthorpe, when George Hilton noted in his diary, in 1700, that he 'sealed the lease of Beathome Hall with Mr. Brabin...' and a few days later went to two sales there presumably to clear it of furnishings before George moved in.[58] Mr. Brabin held a further sale in 1704, before he 'went away this day', meaning that he moved out of the area, but sold his goods first.[59] When James Cookson and Christopher Birkett Jnr. held a sale in 1707, [60] the goods that they were selling had been passed into their ownership by deed of trust in 1694, in return for the accumulated debts of Christopher Birkett Snr.[61] They agreed that they would 'immediately after the death of the said Christopher Birkett the elder, sell all the goods and chattells... and with the price therof... pay unto such persons... sums of money as... is oweing and indebted to them'. Thus, the sales marked major changes in personal and family circumstances, of which death was a prime, but not sole example.

[55] C.R.O./K. W.D./T.E. Vol. VII, 3.
[56] C.R.O./K. W.D./T.E. Vol. VI, 182.
[57] C.R.O./K., W.D./T.E. Vol. VIII, 125.
[58] A. Hillman, (1994), pp. 18 - 19.
[59] Ibid., (1994), p. 53.
[60] C.R.O./K., W.D./T.E. Vol. III, 130-131.
[61] C.R.O./K. W.D./T.E. Vol. VI, 286.

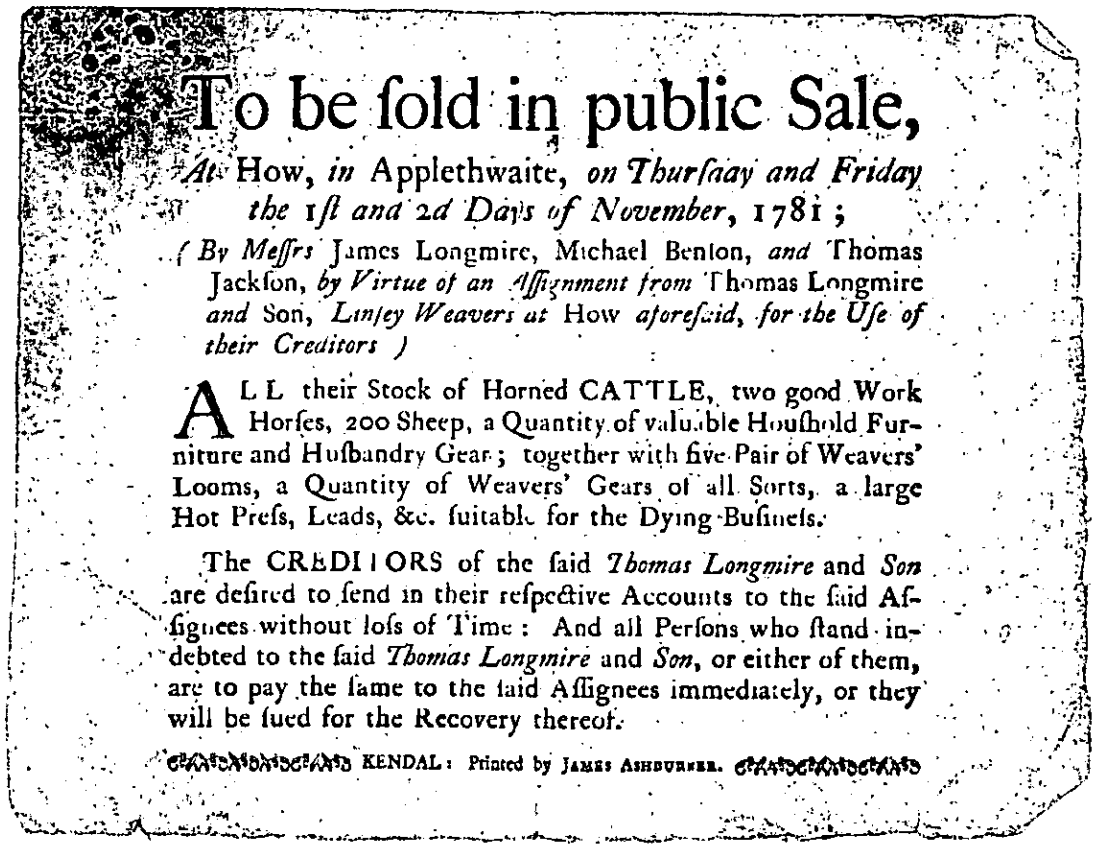
Several wills showed that the testators wanted to realise their resources, or at least knew it was inevitable. George Dixon of Orresthead requested his goods be sold, and Pennell, in her study of Westmorland, London, Norwich and Thames Valley wills, found several further examples of decedents who requested goods and chattels be sold to pay debts and legacies.[62] The Troutbeck and Applethwaite inventory sample suggested that the goods were viewed as a store of value, which could be liquidated in a post-mortem sale. The format varied from one appraiser to another, but it was usual for the goods to be listed, the debts owing to the decedent, and the debts owed by him. At the end of numerous Troutbeck inventories with a shortfall of credit, a note next to the sum total was added, for instance, in 1722, John Longmire of Applethwaite left 'debts more than the goods will pay £199 3s'.[63] In 1718, George Birkett of Troutbeck had £4 5s 5d of 'goods short'.[64] The appraisers for this inventory included one John Mackereth from Ambleside, possibly the same John Mackereth who acted as the sale crier at William Hawkrigg's sale at Grasmere.[65] If so, he would be well aware of current second-hand values for a variety of goods.

Further inventories reveal that some of the goods had already been sold before the appraisers arrived. William Browne had husbandry gear, a brass pot, sheep, cattle, a horse and wool with 'sold' written in before the value was given.[66] Rowland Cookson had 'money oweing upon sale bills £100' amongst his goods, suggesting the sale had already taken place.[67] Nenadic found similar entries in her Glasgow and

[62] S. Pennell, (1996).
[63] C.R.O./K. W.D./T.E. Vol. IV, 8.
[64] C.R.O./K. W.D./T.E. Vol. VIII, 46.
[65] H. S. Cowper, (1894), pp. 253-268.
[66] C.R.O./K., W.D./T.E. Vol. VIII, 52, William Browne of Townhead Troutbeck, 1724.
[67] C.R.O./K., W.D./T.E. Vol.VIII, 45, Rowland Cookson of Troutbeck Bridge, 1714.

Edinburgh sample.[68] Not all the inventories revealed debts, but the same approach was employed in describing the total. Thus, in 1729 George Dixon had 'clear goods £326 9s 10d', and in 1722 Miles Birkett had 'clear goods £119 6s 7d'.[69] His inventory also carried the comment 'the goods above were sold above ye prizement £3 10s 7d'. This must have been added after the sale had taken place. The £20 12s 7d worth of goods had been valued at only £17 2s, a significant shortfall. This raises further questions about accurate values and market fluctuations. The very purpose of making the inventory, with values included, was probably to establish the saleable worth of the goods. Cox and Cox compared the values of probate inventories to sale prices, and Pennell showed that Meriton's contemporary comments in his legal guide, specified that values were linked to sale prices.[70]

[68] S. Nenadic, (1994), p. 132.
[69] C.R.O./K. W.D./T.E. Vol. IV, 13, George Dixon of Orrest Head, Applethwaite 1729, and Vol. IV, 9, Miles Birkett, Taylor, Longmire Yeat, Troutbeck.
[70] N. and J. Cox, 'Valuations in Probate Inventories Part 1' *Local Historian*, (1985) and 'Part 2' *Local Historian* (1986). S. Pennell, (1996).



To be ſold in public Sale,

At How, *in* Applethwaite, *on Thurſday and Friday the 1ſt and 2d Days of November*, 1781;

(By Meſſrs James Longmire, Michael Benton, *and* Thomas Jackſon, *by Virtue of an Aſſignment from* Thomas Longmire *and* Son, *Linſey Weavers at* How *aforeſaid, for the Uſe of their Creditors)*

ALL their Stock of Horned CATTLE, two good Work Horſes, 200 Sheep, a Quantity of valuable Houſhold Furniture and Huſbandry Gear; together with five Pair of Weavers' Looms, a Quantity of Weavers' Gears of all Sorts, a large Hot Preſs, Leads, &c. ſuitable for the Dying Buſineſs.

The CREDITORS of the ſaid *Thomas Longmire* and *Son* are deſired to ſend in their reſpective Accounts to the ſaid Aſſignees without loſs of Time: And all Perſons who ſtand indebted to the ſaid *Thomas Longmire* and *Son*, or either of them, are to pay the ſame to the ſaid Aſſignees immediately, or they will be ſued for the Recovery thereof.

KENDAL: Printed by JAMES ASHBURNER.

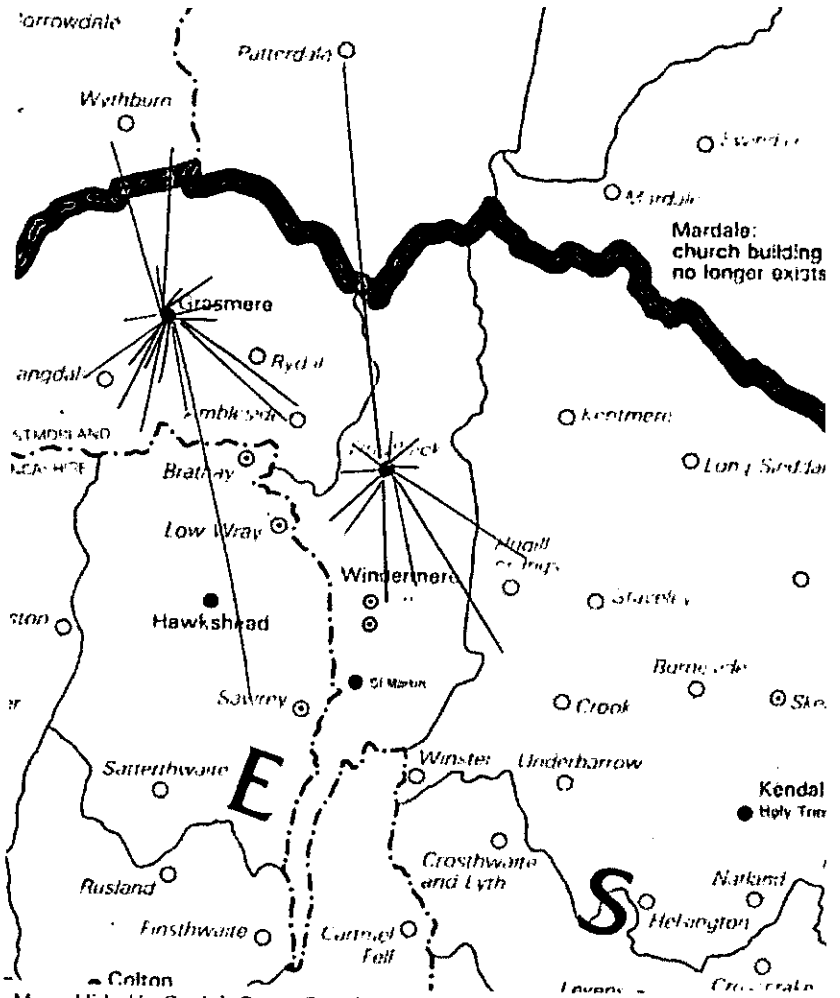
Figure 4.1. Poster advertisement.

For a sale to be successful, the organisers needed to spread news of the event as widely as possible. Word of mouth probably carried such news, but there is evidence of advertising on an organised basis giving the exact time and location through public announcements and posters or 'sale notes'. In 1690, George Browne [4] and William Birkett, as executors, organised two sales of the goods of Leonard Airey and though the schedule is missing the expenses reveal that 1s 10d was spent 'publishing ye 2d sale tickett at ye chappels and 2 times through Kendall'.[71] Similarly in 1674, the expenses for Thomas Braithwaite's estate show 2s 10d spent on getting the 'sale noats published'.[72] The two earliest extant sale notes for this area are from 1777 and 1781.[73] The 1777 sale was livestock, 'near thirty head of very good horned cattle,

[71] C.R.O./K. W.D./T.E. Vol. VIII, 147.
[72] C.R.O./K. W.D./T.E. Vol. VIII, 32.
[73] C.R.O./K. W.D./T.E. Box 27/4.

belonging to Mr Browne' which was sold at Townend, at one o'clock on Thursday 9th of October. The poster for the 1781 sale, shown in **Figure 4.1,** suggests the sale proceeds were to satisfy Thomas Longmire's creditors. As well as cattle, horses, and sheep, it included 'a quantity of valuable household furniture and husbandry gear; together with five pairs of Weaver's Looms...' and other goods. These posters were both printed in Kendal, by different printers. Exactly how far and wide they were distributed must remain uncertain, but Leonard Airey's sale notes were clearly put up or read out in chapels and publicly announced twice through Kendal, presumably by a town crier.

Access in a region where most routes went across mountain paths and around lakes would have been very difficult at certain times of year. Heavy snow, fog, relentless rain, gales and storms, all regular features of the local weather, must have influenced potential customers on a most basic level as to whether or not they were able to attend a sale. The number of references to sales throughout the area suggests that they were regular events and perhaps there was no need to travel far. Generally, locations were not specified, but in 1710 and 1731 the home location of those from slightly further afield was noted. The majority were, presumably, very local as no address was listed, but as we can see in **Figure 4.2,** which shows the location of those listing addresses, people were drawn from several miles away in all directions. In 1731, Thomas Thompson from Patterdale travelled at least ten miles over the hostile Kirkstone Pass, and purchased two lots of sheets and two basins, which were easily transported. Nobody came from Kendal to any of these sales despite the relatively easy journey, suggesting they were provided for within the town. Those from Troutbeck dipped into the resources of Kendal, but those in Kendal did not need to go outside the town.



Map published by Cumbria County Council, Archive Service. (1988)

Figure 4.2. Map showing approximate distances travelled to the sales in 1710 and 1731. Source, Cumbria County council Archive Services, (1988). The markings are added for the purposes of this research only.

Grasmere, home location of attendant at William Hawkrigg's 1710 sale.

Troutbeck, home location of attendant at Ben Browne's 1731 sale.

Executors' accounts show that refreshments were bought for the sales making them a social event. In February 1701/2, George Hilton of Beetham, entered in his diary 'went to George Hoggart buriall after to Jos Greggs sale with Mr Beaumont and Dr Gandy at Dawsons after at Thos Halls with French and Rowland liq'd late 6d.'[74] Eleven days later George Hilton went to 'Hoggard sale at night at Myle Bouskells

[74] A. Hillman, (1994), p. 32.

with Geo Wilson and the wife etc. 1s.'[75] In the October of the same year he went to one afternoon sale and afterwards met up with his friends, and he went with a friend to a morning one.[76] He never mentioned any purchases and it seems the sales were part of his active social life. The executor accounts for George Dixon show brandy, bread and 'shop goods' were bought for his sales.[77] George [4] listed groceries amongst his expenses for Leonard Airey's sale.[78] Ben's 1731 accounts show he bought 'veal ...2s 8d, bread for both my sales 1s, beef for my sale 8d.'[79] If available to the public, refreshments were probably charged for as, after going to Jo Longmire's sale, Ben recorded that he spent 2d without listing any goods purchased.[80] He listed this under expenses rather than housekeeping, suggesting he spent it on food and drink, just as George Hilton did.

It is difficult to calculate precisely how many people attended the sales because of the number of shared names and inconsistent spellings. Recognising this problem themselves, the sale officials tended to differentiate between those who shared a name by inclusion of further information such as the occupation, location name or the suffix of younger or elder. **Table 4.1**, shows the number of people purchasing goods at the sales and the number of transactions. In the 1707 sale, the bidders were each given a number, which suggests that such events could be carefully structured.[81] In 1707 the numbers of those who made a purchase ranged from zero to thirty-four, and five bidders had no number, bringing the total to thirty-nine. Those who never intended

[75] Ibid., p. 32.
[76] Ibid., p. 49.
[77] C.R.O./K. W.D/T.E. Vol. VIII, 136-146.
[78] C.R.O./K. W.D./T.E. Vol. VIII, 147-150.
[79] C.R.O./K. W.D./T.E. Vol. VIII, 121.
[80] C.R.O./K. W.D./T.E. Box 8/2.
[81] C.R.O./K. W.D./T.E. Vol. VIII, 130-131. The process of registration at the commencement of an auction is common practice today. The bidders' number is recorded at the time of a successful bid,

purchasing anything might not have registered. Out of the thirty-nine, twenty-three individuals bought the one-hundred-and-five lots. They represented approximately sixty per cent of the attendance, so if this sale was typical then the other sales most probably had greater numbers of people in attendance than the figures in **Table 4.1**, can reveal. The 1748 sale, held after Ben's death, had an exceptionally large number of goods on offer, and lasted for five days. This might account for the high attendance, as the separate sales allowed for more flexibility, but the high turn out suggests that people knew there was plenty to go round either from personal experience or good advertising.

Date	Transactions	Purchasers
1689	147	67
1707	105	23
1710	286	78
1715	35	23
1720	32	16
1730	36	13
1731	251	64
1748	583	113

Table 4.1. The number of transactions and purchasers in the sample of sales.

The sale offered a chance to view the goods so the buyers knew what they were getting, unlike purchases through contacts and carriers. Generally, credit was given

enables the accounts to be processed more efficiently, and ensures that confusion, false bids or bad debts are less likely to occur.

for purchases and some of the sale schedules outlined the terms of agreement. In 1748, at the sales in October, payment was due by New Year's Day, though they did have to 'put in good security before they depart the sale'.[82] The sales were attended by a cross-section of the community and Ben purchased many goods at sales, for instance, a dial and post, table planks and a millstone in 1720, a chair and books in 1715, and a chaffing dish at the parsonage sale in 1721.[83] Many of the attendants were the 'yeoman' of the area, but this description was never added to the sale schedules. It is implied through the appearances of known local yeomen including Ben, the Birketts of Low Wood, the Dixons of Orresthead, the Longmires of Limefitt and others. However, other more specific occupations were sometimes listed, perhaps to differentiate those with the same names. Over the several sales we see the titles of smith, tailor, tanner, slater, weaver, butcher, waller, shoemaker, fiddler, mercer, carpenter and innholder. The titles of Mr. and Dr. appeared with fourteen different surnames between 1689 and 1748. Many of the names were from well-known gentry families, including Fleming, Knott, Philipson, and Sandys. The sixty-two purchases they made between them were often worth only a few pence and generally mundane. For instance, Dr. Miles Atkinson bought a milking pail, Mr. Cumpstone a shovel, Mr. Langhorn a basin, Mr. Thompson some bottles, and Mr. Sam Sandys a tin plate. Mr. Barton was an exception, buying seven chairs in 1748, at Ben's post-mortem sale. All walks of life were present, with the exception of the very richest and possibly the poorest. Nenadic has also shown that middle-ranking consumers bought goods at the urban sales in her study, and argued that the items held their value too well for the poor to purchase them.[84]

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[82] C.R.O./K. W.D./T.E. Vol. VIII, 175.
[83] C.R.O./K. W.D./T.E. Box 8/1/5 for parsonage sale, Vol. VIII, 170 for 1720 and F Unbound 192 for 1715.
[84] S. Nenadic, (1994), p. 131.

Date	Total purchasers	Male	Female	% women's purchases
1689	67	42	25	26%
1707	23	21	2	4%
1710	78	65	13	12%
1715	23	23	0	0%
1720	16	16	0	0%
1730	36	34	2	17%
1731	64	50	14	18%
1748	113	97	16	23%

Table 4.2. The purchases made by men and women at the sales.

Women regularly attended sales, and made a significant number of the purchases on some occasions. At the 1710 sale the married women were listed by the husband's name, they were also frequently listed without any title, such as Agnes Tyson in 1731, and Ellinor Foster, Ben's nurse maid, in 1748, whilst others were labelled as widows. Throughout the sales in this analysis the use of the term 'Mrs.' was restricted to the widows of Ben Browne Jnr. and George Dixon, and both these women were at the sales of their own father-in-law and husband respectively. It is clear that married, widowed and single women all purchased goods at the sales. Nenadic, in her Scottish study, found women attended in almost equal numbers.[85]

The figures in **Table 4.2** suggest that the women were seeking particular types of goods. Category three was the largest and so bound to be significant amongst the purchases for both male and female customers, and the majority of goods bought by

women were for the dairy, kitchen and hearth, reflecting the traditionally accepted role of the woman in the domestic sphere. However, husbandry gear, the second largest category of goods for sale, was also popular with both groups, and women accounted for over 10% of purchases, including rakes, ropes, cart hames, sleds, horse tack, sickles and ploughs. The bedding and linen attracted female purchasers, who accounted for almost a quarter of the transactions, but it remains that three-quarters of the bedding and linen was bought by men. Furniture went mostly to male bidders with the women buying only seven out of ninety-nine items. Similarly, women purchased only three of the eighty-nine books. It is clear though, that women bought enough at the sales to emerge as serious customers, not simply observers. As well as being wives and housekeepers, women tended shops, did baking, agricultural labouring and ran businesses.[86] Elizabeth Browne, for instance, continued the business interests of her late husband, including the Sun Inn in Lancaster and the farm in Troutbeck.[87] These women needed to furnish themselves with tools and equipment, just as the men did, and the sales were open to them. Analysis of women's purchases suggests that fewer goods for sale meant proportionally fewer female purchasers. Where goods were limited, men dominated the market.

From **Table 4.3,** we can see how the general breakdown of goods falls across the categories. There were sixty-four lots of livestock, or ninety-nine lots of furniture, for instance, but it does not mean these were the only livestock or furnishings for sale at these sales because some of the schedules are missing. These might have shown that the livestock or furniture was sold on a different day and was in fact in greater proportion. For instance, Ben Browne's 1731 sale did not include livestock because

[85]Ibid., p. 131.
[86] C.R.O/K. W.D./T.E. Box 8/2. See entries under 'workfolks' for women employed in various roles.

this was sold at a separate sale in 1729.[88] Similarly, George Dixon's sales took several days, but only one schedule is extant, and there could have been large amounts of furniture or books, for instance, on these other days, as his total value of household goods in his probate inventory was £44 12s.[89]

Category	Item Type	Women	Men	Total Items
1	Furniture	7	92	99
2	Bedding/Linen	23	72	95
3	Dairy/Kitchen/			
	Hearth/Brass/	159	369	528
	Iron/Pewter			
4	Cushions/Rugs/Mats	7	50	57
5	Clothes	4	15	19
6	Husbandry Gear	49	400	449
7	Spinning Wheel	0	3	3
8	Wool	1	5	6
9	Livestock	1	63	64
10	Item missing	0	5	5
11	Crops	2	56	58
12	Clocks/Misc	0	3	3
13	Books	3	86	89

Table 4.3. The number of items sold in each category.

[87] C.R.O./K. W.D./T.E. Vol. II, 12.
[88] C.R.O./K. W.D./T.E. Vol. IV, 80.
[89] C.R.O./K. W.D./T.E. Vol. VIII, 121, for his sale and Vol. IV, 13 for his inventory.

Only 7.5% of the total number of items were items of furniture and amongst this were forty-eight chairs, making them the most common in this category. At the 1707 sale, one chair was described as 'wainscott', meaning a chair from panelled and joined construction, and at the 1710 sale the chairs were described as 'thrown', meaning they were of turned construction.[90] In terms of acquisition, we can see that chairs were available in significant numbers and across a range of prices to suit almost every pocket. Other items of furniture, whilst very common in probate inventories were seen in lesser quantities in this sample of sale schedules. Of chests for instance, only eleven appeared, and six of these were in Ben's 1748 sale. The prices ranged from 1s to 12s 6d, with the average cost being 4s 2d, though none were actually this price. The only descriptions given of the eleven chests one was termed a 'bed' chest, one 'old malt' and another an 'old miln' chest. The old malt chest sold in 1720 was the dearest, at 12s 6d. This highlights the need to consider the quantity of raw materials in the item for sale, perhaps the volume of wood in the chest made it more valuable. It is also possible that the chest was an item people chose to keep, simply because it was so functional.

Kitchen and hearth utensils were available in great quantities in the sales, but these are difficult to assess in terms of consistency of value because there are so few clues to the design and quality of an item. For instance, in 1731 Ben sold two chaffing dishes, one for 6½d and the other for 1s 7d, and in 1748, one priced 9d and the other 1s. Ben bought a chaffing dish at the parsonage sale in 1721, for 9d.[91] It is impossible to say if the two dishes priced 9d were the same or not, and of the rest we cannot be sure of size or condition. Similarly, two iron pots sold in 1748 must have

[90] H.S. Cowper, (1894), pp. 253-268.
[91] C.R.O./K. W.D./T.E. Box 8/1/5.

differed greatly as one went for 7s 6d and the other for 1s. The seventeen candlesticks found in these sale schedules ranged from 2d to 1s 7d, reflecting the variation in different materials, and again providing something for a wide range of budgets.

The sales had become an integral part of the local economic structure allowing assets to be realised, but they were also affecting taste and consumer preference. As it was acceptable for upper ranks of the middling sort to purchase second-hand goods, as the evidence clearly suggests, then the status and monetary value of goods could be maintained, and the system could continue. This was in the community's interest, if goods plummeted in value then debtors and creditors were vulnerable. The importance of the second-hand sales as a system of acquisition in such communities helps to explain why the consumer appeared 'backward'. If yeomen and gentry households were perpetuating the use of traditional 'norms', a specific consumer behaviour pattern emerges where the vernacular can remain not just acceptable but even preferable. There was also a greater depth to the market, especially with items such as books for instance, as ownership could be achieved through purchasing old and dated copies. Nenadic suggested that the sales were for goods of high-use, but limited status value 'reflecting the importance of functional consumption'.[92] This view overlooks the continued status that items can carry if the higher-ranking members of the community are still seeking ownership of them.

We turn now to goods that were acquired by other means, for not all the material possessions that people had, were bought or even owned by them. Inheritance was

[92] Nenadic, (1994), p. 132.

important and many goods were transferred between generations. Dividing real estate and other goods for inheritance was a complex process and not restricted to a clear-cut formula, though there were common formats.[93] The earliest wills of the Browne family dating to the mid-sixteenth century show that their wills, like others, were mainly concerned with real estate rather than moveable goods.[94] In George Browne's [1] will of 1558, there was no mention of goods or chattels,[95] though his inventory proves he had many items in his house including bedsteads, pots, pans, pewter, wooden vessels, chairs, a form, and other items.[96] In 1587, his son-in-law, Christopher Bateman specified in his will that two great arks should 'be prised', and go to his son, after the widowhood of his wife, and the rest of his goods to the executors to be used for clearing debts.[97] The need to value the arks suggests they were given for their monetary worth. Perhaps there was little room for sentiment about the goods if they were going to be sold to pay outstanding debts. George [1] and Agnes' eldest son, Thomas, also died in 1587 and his will made no mention of moveable goods, despite his lengthy inventory.[98] George [2] died in 1638 and his son, George [3], refused to pay the younger brothers their inheritance and they successfully took him to court.[99] There was no mention of any household goods in the hearing, any value of the goods was presumably accounted for in the total personal estate of their father, suggesting

[93] Amy Louise Erickson, *Women and Property in Early Modern England*, (1993).
C. Howell, 'Peasant inheritance customs in the Midlands, 1280-1700' in J. Goody, J. Thirsk & E.P. Thompson (eds), *Family and Inheritance in Rural Society in western Europe, 1200-1800,* (1976), N. Goose & N. Evans, 'Wills as an Historical Source' in T. Arkell, N. Evans & N. Goose (eds), *When Death Do Us Part*, (2000).
[94] C.R.O./K. W.D./T.E Unbound 118 and M.F./G.L. 79.
[95] C.R.O./K. W.D./T.E. Unbound 118.
[96] C.R.O./K. M.F. G.L. 79.
[97] C.R.O./K. M.F. G.L. 79.
[98] C.R.O./K. M.F. G.L. 79. Thomas mentioned his four youngest children who still needed nine years of care, so presumably his wife maintained the use of the household goods, and they were left without being listed.
[99] C.R.O./K. W.D./T.E. Vol. XV, 84-97.

that the goods were in no way important in themselves and seen only in terms of value, as the wills suggested.

Due to their longevity, the next two generations of Brownes at Townend did not leave wills, but dealt with their property by transferring it whilst still alive. The earlier of these two agreements, which dealt with the passing of half the livestock, household goods and husbandry gear from the father to the eldest son, happened almost thirty years before the property of Townend itself was transferred.[100] The goods were not given freely though; George [4] paid his father the sum of £40-0-0 for them. In reality George [4] must have had the use of these anyway as there is nothing to suggest that the son had his own house, but that he continued living at Townend with his parents. It is most likely that the marriage of George [4] to Ellinor Fearon in 1656 prompted the transfer. Townend passed to Ben in 1685, and the contents of the house and the husbandry gear became his in 1692, when just as his father had done, he paid £40-0-0 for them.[101] Ben did not follow the same route as his father and grandfather. He leased Townend to his second son, Ben Jnr., rather than transferring it to his eldest son, George [5].[102] He sold Ben Jnr. his livestock for £40-0-0 and gave him the use of the household goods, and in return, Ben stayed in the house as a paying lodger.[103] Eleven years later, in his will Ben wanted 'justice done me about the household goods and husbandry gear that I lent son Benjamin.'[104] The goods were clearly not intended as a gift.

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[100] C.R.O./K. W.D./T.E. Unbound 150b for goods.
[101] C.R.O./K. W.D./T.E. Unbound 146 and unbound 150a. C.R.O./K. W.D./T.E. Unbound 155. Townend passed to Ben in 1685 and this document clearly states the reason of the transfer is for the prospective marriage. In effect, his father George [4] owned Townend for only a brief time, due to the longevity of his father and the early marriage of his son.
[102] C.R.O./K. W.D./T.E. Vol. IX, 157.
[103] C.R.O./K. W.D./T.E. Vol. IX, 157.
[104] C.R.O./K. W.D./T.E. Unbound 120. After his son had died his widow Elizabeth fell out with Ben and problems over the goods and lodging agreement ensued. After Ben died Elizabeth took the case to

Other families showed similar patterns to the Brownes and passed property and goods to the next generation before they died. In 1752, Edward Cumming of Poolbank, Witherslack, drew up a schedule of all the goods and payments he had given to his son-in-law Thomas Pearson from 1740, the time of his marriage, onwards.[105] It was often cash, as much as £20-0-0 one year, but also wheat, meat, oats and 'other things'. At the end of the schedule, he added 'besides all the household goods a fourowne of which I took no account [the final total] £211-10-0'. He added 'any things above charg'd [valued] were less than their value and none above to my knowledge all which goods and money being a gift is not hereafter to be accountable for to any person.' It is likely that Cummings did this as part of the marriage settlement. Although all the cash, crops, meat and livestock were listed, the household goods were not. They were passed on, but took a less significant place than other items. Rowland Browne at Townfoot, Troutbeck, gave the moiety of his goods to his son George in 1677, and he gave them 'freely' without charge.[106] In 1761, a labourer, of Nether Staveley, gave his 'cottage house' and 'also all goods, household stuff, implements and furniture' to his son in return for 'love and affection'.[107] Perhaps being from a labouring family, the son could not afford to pay his father in hard currency. Passing goods from one generation to the next did not generally appear to be based on preference or emotion. The transfer of goods in the Browne family between father and son in 1656 and 1692 show that these things were important. The evidence suggests that material goods were like livestock and husbandry gear, part

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Chancery, and tried to sue George for some allegedly unpaid bills. Presumably he had regained ownership of the disputed goods because he sold huge quantities of his father's household goods in the sales nor was it mentioned in the Chancery papers, see Vol. III, 294.

[105] C.R.O./K. W.D.X. 513.

[106] C.R.O./K. W.D./T.E. F Unbound 45.

[107] C.R.O./K. W.D.X, 608, T2.

and parcel of the business.[108] The house needed the goods to support the workers and process the produce.

There was certainly no guaranteed rights to inherit a parent's or husband's property. In 1727, George Dixon's will allowed his wife some items which were hers before the marriage: 'one bed of clothes ... my chest of drawers she brought with her, her looking glass she brought with her, a little table which stands in one room which she brought with her and also my warming pan.'[109] The rest of his goods were sold in a series of sales, despite the fact that his wife still had young children to bring up and she went to the sales herself to buy items back.[110] George Dixon was keen to make sure everyone received particular sums of money and this meant selling three properties and his goods. He was not poor, Ben was one of the trustees and his accounts show Dixon's estate was worth in excess of a £1000.[111] His will demonstrates how inheritance could block acquisition for some and that it was in no way a forgone conclusion that family members, including widows, would get the household goods.

Another method of acquiring goods occurred when property was sold with a degree of furnishings. A very lengthy list of fittings and fixtures was made when William Bradshaw left Old Morton Hall near Appleby, in 1744.[112] This 'inventory of heirlooms,' a frequent though not universal term, included numerous beds, tables and benches as well as fitted shelves and wainscot panelling. In 1674, a yeoman, Thomas Fawcett sold a messuage and tenement at Fellgarth, Grayrigg, to Henry Pearson,

[108] C.R.O./K. W.D./T.E Unbound 150b.
[109] C.R.O./K. W.D./T.E. Vol. XIV, 36.
[110] C.R.O./K. W.D./T.E. Vol. VIII, 121.
[111] C.R.O./K. W.D./T.E. Vol. VIII, 136-146.

yeoman for £98-5-0.[113] This included 'one cupboard betwixt chamber and buttery, all joist boards and scaffoldings and loose wood in fold and all manure now got or to be got to 15 May next.' In 1644, a house on Highgate, Kendal, was sold for £35-0-0 from George Geldert, mercer, to Thomas Mitchell, yeoman.[114] The deeds included 'all glass and wainscott in said house, all goods, utensils and necessaries of household stuff namely a liverie double cupboard, glasse cupboard, water seat, table and frame under it with under planks and seats, large table, large buffet forme, large presser, tester bed, foot stool, two shelves and boards at bed foot, with a skreenge in kitchen.' By 1699, when the house was sold again to Edmund Gibson, a grocer, a 'double cupboard, table with wainscott about it, 2 bufet forms, wainscot bed, large presser and glass cupboard' were included in the sale.[115] Various items were free standing, such as the table and frame with a plank under it, presumably as a shelf, the stool and the buffet forms.[116] Another house in Stainton, near Kendal, was sold in 1701 for £250-0-0, a much greater sum, and had a lengthy schedule of goods attached to the deed.[117] The vendor leased the property to John Sharp, who was set to continue with his tenancy, so presumably he, not the purchaser, would continue to benefit from the four beds, long table, little table, joined benches, shelf, cupboard, two chests and other loose wood, scaffoldings and ladders. This relates directly to the inclusion of goods within the lease for the tenants' use; the house was bought partly furnished specifically for the use of renting to a tenant.

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[112] C.R.O./K W.D.X./28/1.
[113] C.R.O./K. W.D./A.G. Acc. 1519.
[114] C.R.O./K. W.D./G.K.G. T1.
[115] C.R.O./K. W.D./G.K.G. T4. The goods included in the 1646 deed, but not in 1699, such as the glass and wainscot were probably accepted as part of the fabric of the house in 1699, just as they were in probate inventories by that time.
[116] V. Chinnery, (1984) pp. 38-39. In 1699, the table was described as having 'wainscot about it', which suggests it was in the corner of a room, probably with fitted forms, as we see at Townend and as was common in other homes. The 'water seat' is not a familiar item in deeds or inventories, but the most obvious explanation is that it was some sort of earth closet.
[117] C.R.O./K. W.D.X. 183/1/1.

In 1673, George Browne [4] bought the Lane tenement from George Birkett; it is not clear what he did with it until 1699, when he was definitely renting it to a tenant.[118] Ben continued to lease the house to a string of tenants after he inherited it, and many leases are extant.[119] As Ben's schedule of goods at Townend in 1731 included 'all the bedsteads and testers both at home and Lane House... a meal chest and dishboard a chair and form at Lane House' we know that by this date the property was partly furnished by the Brownes.[120] A schedule, dating from 1748 to 1753 confirms this,[121] and from then, an annexed schedule of goods became the norm.[122] The first schedule is given here to show the extent of furnishings provided within the rented accommodation.

'A schedule of the household goods at the Lane House in Troutbeck in the within contracted agreement mentioned, as follows-

In the firehouse

A table with a frame and bench fixed on the back and two forms, an elbow chair, a cupboard, a dresser with two shelves fixed and a loose board at the bottom frame, five laths nailed over the table, a shelf over the fire window, a buck horn head fixed.

In the chamber

Two pair of bedstocks, with boarded bottoms, one of them with a tester fixed, a shelf over the window.

In the milkhouse

A dishboard with two shelves, a form and three more shelves, sticks put up for a little hanging shelf.

In the chamber loft

A pair of bedstocks with corded bottom and a tester fixed.

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[118] C.R.O./K. W.D./T.E. Unbound 151a and Vol. XIV, 138.
[119] C.R.O./K.. W.D./T.E. Box 11/1, for James Atkinson , Vol. III, 92, for John Forrest and Vol. VIII, 5, for Agnes Tyson.
[120] C.R.O./K. W.D./T.E. Vol. VIII, 125.
[121] C.R.O./K. W.D./T.E. Vol. II, 50. As this lease is between George Browne and Thomas Haton it is between 1748 and 1753, after which Haton was no longer a tenant.
[122] C.R.O./K. W.D./T.E Vol. IV, 149a for 1753 lease, Vol. II, 50, Vol. II, 316, for the schedules, and then 1757 Vol. IV, 150, 1760 Vol. II, 334. 1763 Vol. IV, 150.

As witness our hands the day and year first written [circa 1748-53]

George Browne

Thomas Haton

Witness Jonathan Elleray.'

Items like the fixed buck head and the shelf over the fire window had probably been there when the Birkett family sold the property to the Brownes in 1674. It seems unlikely that Ben bought anything for the Lane, as the sale he held in 1731 suggests a surplus of goods from which to choose.[123] The first mention of the goods that Ben owned at the Lane house was at exactly the time when Ben replaced many of his old things for new, held his sale, made improvements and added an extension to the house.[124] Ben probably furnished the property with things from Townend that he either no longer needed or had replaced.

Other examples show that others rented out properties wholly or partly furnished. In 1759, Phillis Baxter, a widow, leased a 'messuage and dwelling house' to Dorothy Atkinson for seven and-a-half years at £10-0-0 per annum.[125] The lease was endorsed with an inventory of goods. '7 grattes and one ash grate, the hanging crook and crain, but not crooks to the crain, the window rods in the kitchen, all the shelves below stairs, and the jack board, all that is fast in the buttrey, only ye dresser behind the buttrey door, shutts in the parler, gantreys in the cellar and I have one board belonging Mrs. Atkinson which is cut in two. Signed Phillis Baxter, Dorothy Atkinson'. This list does not represent a fully furnished interior, but it does represent an assortment of

[123] C.R.O./K. W.D./T.E. Vol. VIII, 171-173.
[124] C.R.O./K. W.D./T.E. Vol. III, 300, for money spent on building works.
[125] C.R.O./K. W.D.X. 342. Built in 1729, it stood on the west corner of Branthwaite Brow in Kendal, and though it was called the Scotch Arms it could not be used as a public house or alehouse, but only as a private dwelling. Presumably, it had previously been a public house and for whatever reason the owner no longer wanted this to continue.

basic goods that almost any householder would need, and would seek to purchase one way or another.

Stainbank Green, Kendal, home to the Fisher family in the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, became a tenanted farm from the mid-eighteenth century and the title deeds suggest some of the seventeenth century furniture remained in the house.[126] Leases of 1798, 1816 and 1819, refer to 'one large dining table in the house, two tables in the back kitching, an old oak chair, all the shelves in the house' and stated that the tenants could use the goods, but must surrender them at the end of the lease. By this time, these few items were in no way representative of furnished accommodation, but they do bolster the view that some things became part of the house and stayed through various tenancies for the use of the tenant.

There must have been an incentive for furnishing rented homes when such goods had a value on the second-hand market. It was possibly to encourage tenants, as property was hard to let at that time. Ben sent a letter to Lady Otway in 1704, explaining why some of her property was unoccupied.[127] 'Truly madam farmers are so rare to come by yt Geo: Mackereth has a great part of his lands in his own hand and I believe he is a considerable looser as the times are for he never buys any goods [livestock] but they lease both money and all grass.' He underlined the words to accentuate his point. The situation was no better in 1708, when he wrote to tell her that nobody wanted to live in the house at Borrans, despite the fact that he had sent 'tickets' to Keswick, Hawkshead and Ambleside, and he added, 'no one has the heart for farming'.[128] From

[126] C.R.O./K. W.D./A.G. 216/247.
[127] C.R.O./K. W.D./T.E. Vol. VII, 122. The term 'farmer' probably meant tenant to Ben as in 'farming out' or sub-letting. Ben underlined this section of his letter as if to accentuate the meaning.
[128] C.R.O./K. W.D./T.E. Vol. VII, 41 and 121.

this aspect, renting out a furnished property might make good business sense in attracting tenants when they were hard to find.

The inclusion of goods was not limited to dwelling houses as some commercial leases included goods needed to run the business. The many leases show that the paper and corn mills at Troutbeck Bridge were rented with 'utensils',[129] and the corn mill included 'the goods and chattels as are mentioned in one schedule annexed'.[130] On another occasion, in 1731, Ben listed 'in the miln loft two great arks, one chest, a malt miln and ark under it.'[131] He was no longer working the mill by this time, so these items were not for his use.[132] The deeds to the purchase and consequent leasing of the Sun Inn at Lancaster in 1736 show that Ben Jnr. bought the furnishings with the inn and let it furnished.[133] His probate inventory confirms that the goods stayed there: 'goods belonging to the deceased at the sign of the Sun Inn Lancaster £20-0-0.'[134] In 1764, there were 'thirty-one pair of old bedstocks, fourteen tables and all the grates in the house and premises except four viz one in the barn and in the brew house and in the blew parlour and in the sherriffs chamber and all the rest of the goods in an old indenture of 4th April 1740. Except two chests, a boiler and some things of little value as witness our hand.'[135] By 1777, the beds and some other goods were in the garrets: 'twelve pair of bedstocks most of them without cords, one grate, a parcel of broken table frames and bedstocks of little value, two broken chests.'[136] In 1783, there was 'little alteration from Mr. Turner to Mr. Addison.'[137] The furniture at the Sun Inn

[129] C.R.O./K. W.D./T.E. Unbound 84.
[130] C.R.O./K. W.D./T.E. Vol. XIV, 207. The schedule is missing.
[131] C.R.O./K. W.D./T.E. Vol. VIII, 125.
[132] C.R.O./K. W.D./T.E. Box 11/2. This is shown in the malt accounts, which stop at 1728.
[133] C.R.O./K. W.D./T.E. Vol. II, 9, and Vol. II, 153.
[134] C.R.O./K. W.D./T.E. Unbound 127.
[135] C.R.O./K. W.D./T.E. Vol. VI, 111.
[136] C.R.O./K. W.D./T.E. Vol. II, 12.
[137] C.R.O./K. W.D./T.E. Vol. II, 256.

stayed there until it literally fell apart. The inclusion of the furniture in the lease has implications beyond the consumption and acquisition of goods. We see that the tenant of such a business might expect a certain level of provision from the landlord. Twenty pounds worth of furniture was a significant capital investment for any tenant to consider when taking on a lease. Clearly, these goods were for a different purpose to those within the house, yet they confirm that the owner provided equipment for the tenants' use, whether household or other. As such, this was a system of acquiring the use of goods, if not the ownership, an important factor overlooked by previous studies.

This chapter has shown everyday non-durable and semi-durable goods were the easiest items to obtain with a system of shop retailing in place, at least by the late seventeenth century and probably considerably earlier, even in small towns like Ambleside. Other goods were less straightforward and involved contacts, carriers, craftsmen, opportunities to buy second-hand and the provision from parents or landlords. Several factors emerge as being fundamental to these processes. The geographical location and availability of goods did not prevent the acquisition of novelties and items from distant sources, but it did present an obstacle. The process involved friends and relatives, and needed third parties to carry the goods between the two locations. Local craftsmen made a wide range of goods, from spoons to chairs, but even this process was not always straightforward. Raw materials could be provided by the consumer or by the craftsman, and the item might involve several stages of manufacturing to complete, as we saw with the pewter salts, which were silvered and the cloth, which was spun, woven and dyed, before being tailored into clothing.

The attitude of parents and the position of the child in the family influenced whether an individual inherited goods. Some parents gave all their belongings to their children for 'love and affection' whilst others, like the Brownes, made a charge to the eldest son. In other families, goods were sold to raise money to cover debts or make payments to several children and little would be left for them to furnish their own homes, we can even see offspring at the sales buying back some goods. It is the combination of these systems, which creates a complicated picture of consumerism. Assessing patterns of consumption based on when goods appeared in probate inventories has over-simplified the processes needed to become an active consumer, and the other routes to ownership or use of goods. The complex nature of equipping the household and the different methods for obtaining goods was important and had an obvious impact on the items listed in probate inventories. The massive probate inventory studies of the past failed to consider the process by which people acquired their goods, and the influence on this of local custom and preferences.

CHAPTER FIVE

CONCLUSION

Historians have gained a partial understanding of the 'middling sort' and their importance in society, wielding financial power and effecting surges in economic activity that ultimately led to the Industrial Revolution. However, once we moved beyond generalisations, it was evident that little is known about the actual operation of the early-modern concepts of status and rank and historians have looked to possessions in order to find a definition. Debates surrounding consumer behaviour and material culture have focused upon finding the first recorded appearance of certain new items across regions of the country, in probate inventories. This has been instructive in opening up a new area for research, but the studies have left gaps and overlooked problems of inventory methodology and regional variation. This study has highlighted these problems and sought to address them by taking a different approach to the idea of material consumption. With such a focused and detailed view, the research has thrown light on both the activities of the 'middling sort' and patterns of consumption and concludes that understanding the consumer is indeed far more complicated than counting the goods left behind after death. Motivation, acquisition strategies and the nature of a vernacular material culture within the local economy are fundamental to patterns of consumption; it is not only about the purchase of new goods. The lack of such detailed documentation has prevented other studies from establishing the detail of such ordinary goods amongst the 'middling sort', which were to form the first true consumer goods of proto-industrialisation and the industrial revolution.

By examining the history of the Browne family from the sixteenth to the eighteenth century, it is evident that they were well established in Troutbeck, and amongst the leading members of the parish, taking significant roles. They were millers from an early date, benefiting from the additional income. Ben Browne worked for the landed gentry and aristocracy rather than entering their society. He remained rooted within the Troutbeck community of yeoman farmers, edging towards gentility, and blurring the division, but never really joining the gentry. He was respected and trusted by those with more money and power, and through his work for them exercised influence within the community. Thus, he stood towards the top of the social scale amongst his neighbours, yet never stepped beyond this. The Brownes, their home and the goods inside it, were firmly grounded in the community and regional picture, though not simply one of 'stark and simple' homes as historians have labelled it in the past.

Through the analysis of material possessions, we see a household that expected a very long life from its goods, in which new items were added to an existing stock of goods, rather than supplanting them. Such durable goods had a series of owners and took many years to become obsolete, thus having a lifecycle of their own, sometimes modified or updated through alteration. There was a particular long-term tendency in the region to keep many of the traditional pieces of furniture. Fitted cupboards and long tables with forms were not unique to the area, though the evidence suggests that they were particularly prevalent as they appeared in so many households and remained in so many Westmorland homes until the twentieth century. Most designs were inherently functional and needed to be, these houses were centres of business as well as dwellings and had to cope with workers and large families. There was an obvious practicality and comfort in some items so there was little incentive to change

the basic design. A finer table might be an addition for the parlour, but it could not replace the utility and sturdiness offered by the long oak table and forms. Where neighbours felt the same, and it seems they did, major items of oak furniture could retain their status and value. Thus, a system shaped by local 'norms' emerged.

This did not mean an outright rejection of 'new' or different goods. The walnut mirrors, clocks, bureau, the new tablecloths, knives and forks, teaspoons, china and crystal glasses, were all a break with traditional norms. The Brownes were certainly not alone in much of this, although the inventories yielded little detail they did show that others had some of these goods and they may well have had far more. Clearly, knowledge of new goods, possibly metropolitan indicators of fashion or 'taste', was only just reaching Ben himself. Such purchases marked a significant point for Ben and his neighbours, as new standards entered the homes of Troutbeck yeomen. If the Brownes were the first, for instance to use knives and forks, then we witness the very point at which new standards entered that valley and Ben's social milieu. The second-hand high status items, such as the expensive London pocket watch and aristocrat's coat, would be worn on his daily business around Troutbeck, Kendal and Ambleside. Some might then have sought to purchase these themselves, but even if they did not, they had experienced London goods. Importantly, these goods were purchased and displayed in addition to existing goods and markers of status. They did not replace a set of goods, but were fitted into an existing 'vernacular' culture of consumption rather than transforming it. Not all of the new goods that Ben bought were novelties; some were traditional items that he replaced with newer versions. New pewter, tablecloths and napkins were a continuation of existing patterns of consumption, showing that purchases of new goods could be dictated by function as well as novelty. Certainly,

with the napkins and tablecloths there was enough differentiation between old and new to make the new worthwhile, an important consideration, particularly for large-scale studies of probate inventories where such distinctions between old and new goods are almost impossible.

Practicality and status cannot be isolated from the significance of storing wealth as a function of goods. Cash carried problems; it was vulnerable to theft and devaluation and without banks and building societies money had to be 'invested' in other ways. Lending money was one common option, but spending it was another, and one that could have beneficial side effects of additional utility, comfort and status, making the money work. If there was a surplus of money in the yeoman's pocket, then spending it on goods that could be sold if necessary was a way of investing the money; not an investment in terms of growth, but in terms of having more use and less risk. As such, a library of books was almost a currency, which was proven when four books were accepted in repayment for a debt. The probate inventories too confirmed that goods were used for covering debts, and this made good sense. Why endure less comfort in life when material goods could be enjoyed and then used to clear debts after death; an attitude which encouraged a taste for goods which were appreciated within the community.

Consumption was a highly varied process and a variety of strategies were employed to access goods. There was a choice of retailers relatively close to home for the non-durable and semi-durable goods, which had become everyday necessities. Kendal could provide much more and Ben regularly shopped there for a range of goods from almanacs to china and crystal glass. Local craftsmen, sometimes relatives, were

commissioned to make all sorts, from husbandry gear to locks, shoes, clothing and furniture. They played a vital role in supplying traditional items and these purchases confirmed that Ben did not rule out vernacular goods made from home-spun wool and home-grown wood, confirming that there was an active and simultaneous interest in the new and the known, the polite and the vernacular.

It was generally the more unusual goods that were bought from distant sources, but not exclusively so. The Brownes and others were able to access distant markets for many things through friends, relatives and carriers, and this worked both ways as goods travelled to London as well. Ben was at an advantage in having his son in London, but others were sending goods to their families and Ben Jnr. obliged his father's friends and acquaintances too. Some goods that Ben sought to purchase could not be found locally or even on the London market, such as the black-framed mirrors, and he had to settle for what was available. London prices were expensive and transport costs added significantly to the expense, particularly for large items. Ben was not always aware of how much the requested items would cost; one book was the price of a long oak table, and a silver pocket watch cost his annual bailiff's salary. There had to be an air of caution over such purchases, and items that retained their value, such as silver and books, were safer because of their resale value.

These constraints helped ensure that second-hand goods remained important, and the inscriptions in the books confirmed that they could change hands several times and could be acquired in a variety of ways, both at sales and from individuals. Public sales were vital to the operation of the local second-hand market. There was a huge array of goods available and the sales provided an easy way to acquire goods without

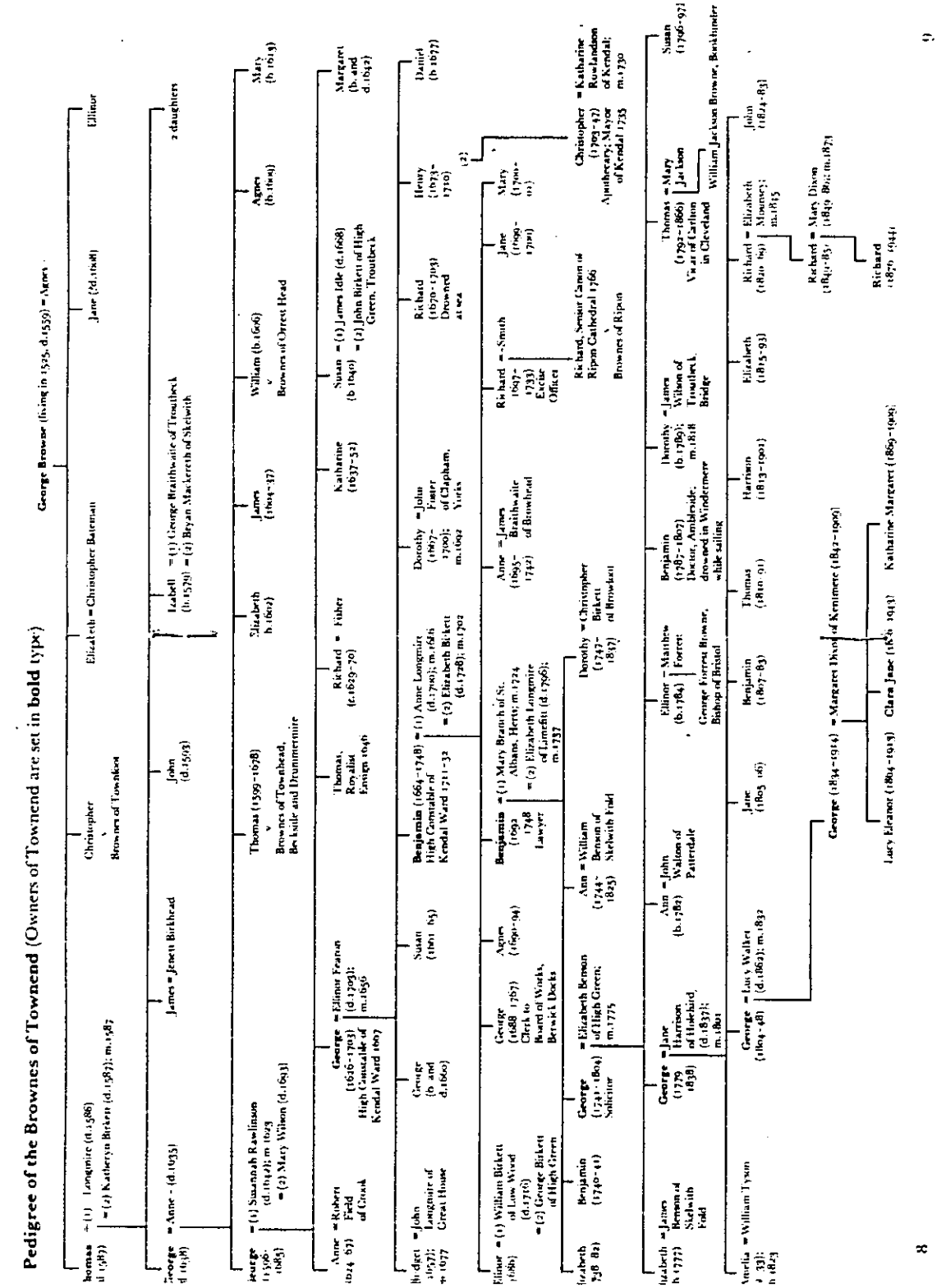
lengthy or expensive trips into towns, the quality of the goods was clear and credit generally available. Apart from perhaps the very poor and the very rich, the sales attracted a cross-section of society with gentry, yeoman, craftsmen and women attending. The ability to sell as well as buy on the second-hand market was fundamental, where goods maintained a value they could be used as security and sold to pay debts if needed although the aristocrat's coat shows debt was no prerequisite to wanting some return on your expenditure.

Whilst consumption did involve purchasing material goods there were other means of acquiring things. Inheritance, conveyances and leases were all methods of equipping the household with a varying range of items. The rental arrangements in particular have shown that we cannot trust a probate inventory where, for instance, no beds are listed, because this does not prove that there was no *use* of a bed. Not only did this give better levels of comfort than the inventory can show, it allowed money to be freed up for different purchases. Such findings highlight the need to revise our understanding of the concept of material consumption and the link between probate inventories and consumer behaviour.

This thesis has shown that 'consumption' does not imply purchase of new goods alone which is significant when thinking about consumption and industrial demand. Clearly, there was not a direct one-to-one relationship between household consumption and industrial output, because many goods were not bought new, or not acquired by direct money transfer. Consumption was the result of an assembly of strategies: new, second-hand, vernacular, metropolitan, investment, inheritance, ownership and use-rights. These strategies were affected by externally defined

influences with a distinct regional flavour, including budget, opportunity, market-location, life-cycle, inheritance customs and tenancy. The Brownes and others in south Westmorland were rooted in a regional, vernacular culture of consumption. They existed within a locality and a social milieu that possessed a distinct set of consumption preferences. However, they were also receptive to, and strongly aware of metropolitan conventions and styles, and integrated these within the existing culture rather than choosing one over the other. It is clear, that buying new was not a rejection of old though it was recognition that new had something more to offer. Nor was the purchase of new goods dependent on a cultural shift in indicators of status, the Brownes show how they were integrated within existing ranges of goods as well as novelties. They were intelligent and flexible consumers, who recognised the benefits of particular items, new or old. There was not an outright rejection of all that was unfamiliar, nor an unwillingness to change and adapt. However, there was a consensus of opinion on what was bought, and certainly there was no carte blanche on metropolitan or 'new' goods. This consensus was based on the levels of function or use value that they could get from a product, the best offered a practical function, maintained status in the community, and had a redeemable value on the second-hand market. In this sense, consumption was shaped by community norms of function, taste and status. It was not, then, about the single purchases of individual people, but about social context.

Appendix One: The Browne Family Pedigree



Source: National Trust pamphlet, *Townend*, (1986), pp. 8-9. Originally from S. H. Scott, (1904). There are some inaccuracies, most importantly, Townend did not descend to Benjamin (1692-1748) as shown, but to George (1688-1767).

Appendix Two: The Descent of Townend

George [1], d.1559.

Thomas, d.1587, son.

George [2], d.1638, son.

George [3], 1596-1685, son.

George [4], 1626-1703, son.

Benjamin, 1664-1748, son.

George [5], 1688-1767, son.

George [6], 1741-1804, nephew.

George [7], 1779-1838, son.

George [8], 1804-48, son.

George [9], 1834-1914, son.

Clara, 1866-1943, daughter, died without issue.

Appendix Three: A Chronology of Significant Events

1390	Thomas Browne in Applethwaite.
1559	George Browne [1] dies in Troutbeck, leaving one Troutbeck tenement and one mill to Thomas. Further tenement to Christopher [possibly became Brownes of Townfoot].
1574	Rentals confirm Thomas had both mill and tenement, and Christopher a tenement.
1587	Mill sold. Thomas and his wife die, probably from typhus. The will describes a stone house with lofts and chambers, plus a barn and cow house. George [2], Thomas's son inherits Townend. He has seven children.
1588	Mill bought back.
1623	George [3] marries Susan Rawlinson of Grizedale Hall. There is an agreement to build a 'new house' on the tenement.
1638	George [2] dies, George [3] has already inherited Townend. Chancery case between the brothers over unpaid bequests of £20 each.
1639	George [3] on the governing body of the new school in Troutbeck.
1649	George [3] buys moiety of mills at Troutbeck Bridge.
1656	George [3] passes half of the business over to his eldest son George [4]. George [4] marries Ellinor Fearon. Husbandry accounts show George [3] and [4] worked together.
1664	Benjamin Browne born.
1665	George [4] visits London.

1666	George [4] serves as High Constable of the Kendal Ward.
1674	George [4] buys the Lane property.
	George [4] working as bailiff to Lord Lonsdale.
1685	George [3] dies aged 90.
1686	George [4] in partnership with son Ben for malt production and husbandry.
	Ben marries Anne Longmire and they have eight children.
1699	George's [4] son Richard travels to London, Spain and Newfoundland.
	George [4] and Ben sell the corn mill to James Longmire of Limefitt.
1700	Anne, Ben's wife dies after her eighth child is born.
1702	Ben marries Elizabeth Birkett. They have one child, Christopher.
1703	Both Ben's parents die within one week. George [4] was 76.
	Ben starts working for Lady Otway.
1705	Ben tells his brother Richard he is 'born to trouble'.
1707	Ben erects a new pew in the chapel and it is ripped out by Longmire and others.
1711	Ben becomes High Constable of the Kendal Ward.
1715	George [5] has moved away and rarely writes.
	As High Constable Ben heavily involved in dealing with the Jacobite Rebellion.
1719	Ben Jnr., age 27, goes to serve an apprenticeship in London and writes to his father regularly.
1724	Ben Jnr. secretly marries Mary Branch. She miscarries and later dies.
1728	Ben's wife Elizabeth dies, aged 68.
1729	Ben sells his livestock.

1731 Ben makes a schedule and holds a sale of his goods.

Ben leases part of Townend to Jonathan Elleray.

Ben builds a new barn at The Lane.

1735 Christopher, an apothecary, becomes mayor of Kendal.

1736 Ben Jnr. buys the Sun Inn Lancaster.

1737 Ben Jnr. marries Elizabeth Longmire.

Ben Jnr. and Elizabeth rent Townend and Ben lodges with them.

1747 Christopher dies aged 45.

1748 Ben Jnr. dies aged 56.

Ben becomes ill and dies in the October, aged 84.

George [5] inherits Townend.

1749 Elizabeth, Ben Jnr.'s widow takes George [5] to court over allegedly unpaid bills. He says she was unkind to his father and was upset about her son not inheriting Townend. She loses and has to pay George's expenses.

1767 George [5] leaves Townend to his nephew George [6].

Appendix Four: Benjamin Browne's Book List

[Ben's spelling]

Britain's Remembrances	Geo: Wither
Fidelia	Geo: Wither
Wither's Abuses Whipt and Shipt	
A Geographical Deception of ye World	G: Meriton, Gent.
History of England by Geo.	Meriton, Gent.
A Compendium of Geography of all ye World	Lawrence Echard
Gazeteer or Newsman's Interpreter	L: Echard
A Military Dictionary by Officers who served Several Years at Sea and Land	
Cocker's Arithmatick	
Another Arithmatick Book	by Countess
Youngman's Companion	
Problems of Aristotle and the other Philosophers	
Cynthia a novel	
Penitent Hermit	
Observation of ye Ancient State of London	
The Amours of Messalina Late Queen of Albion	
The Compleat Royal Jester	
Man's Treachery to Woman or Differences Between Courtship and Wedlock	
The Young Man's Calling	
A New Art of Brewing	Tho: Tryon
The Whole Duty of a Woman	
Yorkshire Spars	

The Life and Death of Queen Elizabeth

New Help to Discourse

Moral Considerations James Simpson

A Token for Mourners

Judge Jenkins

Old Help to Discourse

The Life of General Monck

Argulus and Parthinia in verse

Argulus and Parthinia in prose

Justin in English

Virgil Ogilby

The Life and Death of Jesus Christ and the Apostles etc.

Infant's Advocate

Culpepper For Scurvy Dropsy etc

Culpeppers School of Phisick

Blagraves Astrological Practice of Phisick

Doctor Lowes and Several otherReceipts

A Method of Curing Almost All Disseases Tho. Sydenham

Poems by Michael Drayton of Baron Warrs etc.

Edward Boughen Catacheism

English Dictionary by E: Coles

English Rogue

By Edw. Stillingflest D:D:

Reformed Presbiterian

Jos. Hall D.D Contemplations

Divine Poems on Ten Commandments — G: Wither

Vaticinumm Votivum or Palaemons Prophetic Prayer

Maronides or Virgils Travestie

Esop Naturalization Five Fables

Whither's Abuses Whipt and Shipt

Divine Poems of Jonah, Esther, Job — Fra: Quales and Simpson

Randolph's Poems

Psalms of David Imitateing New Testament — J Watts D:D:

Emblems Divine and Moral fifty Delightful Poems — K: Charles 1st.

The Temple Seceret Poems — Mr. Geo: Herbert

The Scourge of Folly

Sion in Distress

A Pockett Companion of all ye Kings from Egbert to Queen Anne

The Doctrine of ye Bible

By the European Dyet, Parliament or Estates

Constable's and Church Warden's Guide

Queen Elizabeth's Annals

Meditations on ye Sacrement — R: Boulton B:B

The Tryalls of Regicide Murtherers of K:C: 1st

An Elegant and Compendious Way of Writing all Maner of Letters

Coucils Civil and Moral of Francis Lord Verulam Viscount of Albion

The Whole duty of Man

The Causes of ye Decay of Xtian Piety

The Government of Tongue

Art of Contentment

A Gentleman's Calling

Lady's Calling

Lively Oracles on Xtian Birthright and Duty

Reformation of Manners

Holy Living and Dying

Liberty and Dominion of Conscience

Non Conformist Champion — R. Hooks Vicar of Halifax

The Works of the Great and Glorious Martyr K:C 1st

Dr. Hammonds Practicall Catacheizm

Want of Charity Justly Charged on All Such Romanists as Dare yt Protestancie

Destroyeth salvation by Docter Potter.

A Paraphrase Upon Divine Poems — George Sandys

Master Key to Popery 1 vol.

Master Key to Popery 2 vol.

Master Key to Popery 3 vol.

Psalms of David with Collects to Every Psalme

Rationale on ye Common Prayer — Dr. Sparrons

Prayers and Revokans and Weeks Preparation for ye Holy Sacrement

Emblems of Several Texts in the Holy Scripture — F:F: quarters

Nuptial Dialogues and Debates 1 vol.

Nuptial Dialogues and Debates 2 vol

Church Catachiezm Explained — Dr Beverige

Boughens's Catachiezm

An Explanation of ye Liturgy — J: Clatterbuck, a Gent.

The Doctrine of Practicall Praying by John Bridean

Golden Grove J: Taylor D:D:

Eikoon Bassilike

The Life of Willm 3rd

Thos of Kempis

Religios Medici

The Hours of Prayer by D: Cousins

A Thankfull Remembrance of Gods Mercy quartro Dr Carleton

An Exposition of Festivall Epistles and Gospells

History of Great Britain quarto

Epicopacie of Divine Right Jos: Hall quarto

Theophania of Severall modern Historys by Way of Romance quarto

Syons Prospect in its First View Presented quarto

The Life of and Death of our Saviour Holy Jesus quarto

Charles Dreling Court on Death quarto

A Exposition of ye Church Catachizm Composed for the Dioces of Bath and Wells

Mr Jacobs Le Constitution or Gentleman's Law

President of President Wm Sheppard

Statute Law Common Placed by Mr Jacob

Tradesman Lawyer and Countryman's Friend

Terms of Law

Office of Coroner and the Sherife

A Comentary upon ye Courts of Justice in Ireland Wm Lambord esq

The Compleat Attorny

Judge Jenkins

Statutes Relating to Excise of Ale etc

A Young Clarkes Guide

The Young Clarkes Magazine

The Courtkeepers Guide

Noys Maxims Wm Noy esq

A Compleat Parish Officer

A Help to Magistrates and Ministers of Justice

1st Part of Justices Companion

2nd Part of Justices Companion Sam Blackerby of Grays Inn Esq

3rd Part of Justices Companion

Geo: Meriton on Wills and Testaments

Littleton's Tenures

Littleton's Tenures

Swinburn on Wills and Testaments

Wingate Abridgemnt of Statutes

Forrest Laws

Markhams Masterpiece

Garden of Health

Another Ditto

German Diet of Bull: of Europe

Hooker Eccliesiasticall Politics

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The house and contents at Townend, Troutbeck, Cumbria.

The cupboard at Fusethwaite Yeat, Applethwaite, Cumbria.

Cumbria Record Office, Kendal.

Family Estate and Personal:

W.D./T.E. Browne of Townend: Unbound Boxes 8 to 31.
Bound Volumes 1 to 16.

W.D./Ry. Fleming of Rydal.

Solicitor's Deposits:

W.D./A.G. Arnold Greenwood.

W.D./M.M. Milne Moser.

W.D./G.K.G. Greenwood, Kyle and Goad.

Business Records:

W.D.B/63. Dent of Kirkby Stephen.

Micro Film:

M.F./G.L. Wills and inventories to 1728.

Parish Records:

W.P.R./62. Troutbeck Parish Records.

Miscellaneous:

W.D.X./1-1301,

Lancashire Record Office, Preston

Probate Records:

W.R.W./K. Act Book 22.

Family Estate and Personal:

D.D./B Barcroft Family.

D.D./Ar. Archibald of Rusland.

Troutbeck and Applethwaite Inventory Sample.

C.R.O./K. W.D./T.E. Vol. IV, 5, Christopher Borwicke, Troutbeck Bridge, 1714.

C.R.O./K. W.D./T.E. Vol. VIII, 45. Rowland Cookson, Applethwaite, 1714.

C.R.O./K. W.D./T.E. Vol. IV, 6, William Birkett, Low Wood, Troutbeck, 1716.

C.R.O./K. W.D./T.E. Vol. IV, 25, William Birkett, Townhead, Troutbeck, 1716.

C.R.O./K. W.D./T.E. Vol. VIII, 46,George Birkett, Troutbeck, 1718.

C.R.O./K. W.D./T.E. Vol. VIII, 49, William Birkett, Troutbeck, 1722.

C.R.O./K. W.D./T.E. Vol. IV, 8, John Longmire, Applethwaite, 1722.

C.R.O./K. W.D./T.E. Vol. IV, 9, Miles Birkett, Lonmire Yeat, Troutbeck, 1722.

C.R.O./K. W.D./T.E. Vol. VIII, 50, George Birkett, Troutbeck, 1723.

C.R.O./K. W.D./T.E. Vol. VIII, 51, William Browne, Beckside, Troutbeck, 1724.

C.R.O./K. W.D./T.E. Vol. VIII, 52, William Browne, Jnr., Troutbeck, 1724.

L.R.O./P. W.R.W./K. Richard Robinson, Low Wood, Troutbeck, 1727.

L.R.O./P. W.R.W./K. Joseph Sharp, Troutbeck, 1729.

L.R.O./P. W.R.W./K. Stephen Grisedale, Townhead, Troutbeck, 1729.

L.R.O./P. W.R.W/K. John Birkett, Troutbeck, 1729.

L.R.O./P. W.R.W./K. Joshua Dixon, Highgreen, Troutbeck, 1729.

L.R.O./P. W.R.W./K. William Birkhead, Troutbeck, 1729.

C.R.O./K. W.D./T.E. Vol. IV, 13, George Dixon, Applethwaite, 1729.

L.R.O./P. W.R.W./K. George Hoggart, Troutbeck, 1731.

L.R.O./P. W.R.W./K. Richard Braithwaite, Applethwaite, 1732.

L.R.O./P. W.R.W./K. Thomas Wilson, Troutbeck, 1732.

L.R.O./P. W.R.W./K. George Birkett, Troutbeck, 1733.

L.R.O./P. W.R.W./K. Rowland Cookson, Troutbeck, 1734.

L.R.O./P. W.R.W./K. George Elleray, Howe, Applethwaite, 1734.

L.R.O./P. W.R.W./K. John Story, Applethwaite, 1735.

L.R.O./P. W.R.W./K. Johosophat Birkett, Troutbeck, 1735.

L.R.O./P. W.R.W./K. William Mackereth, Troutbeck, 1736.

L.R.O./P. W.R.W./K. Miles Atkinson, Troutbeck Bridge, Applethwaite, 1736.

L.R.O./P. W.R.W./K. Miles Swainson, Grove, Applethwaite, 1737.

L.R.O./P. W.R.W./K. Robert Fisher, Troutbeck, 1740.

L.R.O./P. W.R.W./K. George Wilson, Highgreen, 1741.

L.R.O./P. W.R.W./K. John Wilson, Browhead, Applethwaite, 1741

L.R.O./P. W.R.W./K. Edward Fawcett, Townhead, Troutbeck, 1741

L.R.O./P. W.R.W./K. John Wilson, How, Applethwaite, 1741

L.R.O./P. W.R.W./K. Robert Cookson, Troutbeck, 1742.

L.R.O./P. W.R.W./K. John Dixon, Highgreen, Troutbeck, 1742.

L.R.O./P. W.R.W./K. Christopher Birkett, Lowfold, Troutbeck, 1742.

L.R.O./P. W.R.W./K. Thomas Watson, Highfold, Troutbeck, 1743.

L.R.O./P. W.R.W./K. John Longmire, Longmire, Applethwaite, 1744.

L.R.O./P. W.R.W./K. James Birkett, Ecclerigg, Troutbeck, 1747.

L.R.O./P. W.R.W./K. Benjamin Browne Jnr., Townend, Troutbeck, 1748.

L.R.O./P. W.R.W./K. Benjamin Browne Snr., Townend, Troutbeck, 1748.

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