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The Impact of Parliamentary Enclosure on a Cumbrian Community: Watermillock, c. 1780-1840

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Abstract

The article examines the distinctive impact of parliamentary enclosure in North West England resulting from environmental and socio-economic conditions which were markedly different from those of Midland England, the area for which the conventional model of the effects of enclosure has been developed. Enclosure impact is studied through the example of the township of Watermillock on Ullswater. Enclosure in Watermillock was delayed until the 1830s due, among other things, to a dispute over the boundary between the manors of Watermillock and Matterdale. When enclosure was eventually accomplished, however, it appears to have benefited the customary tenants, who owned most of the land, as a group by adding substantial areas of good-quality land to existing holdings. The dominance of the larger customary tenants in local society was enhanced and confirmed.

Key words:

Parliamentary enclosure, Lake District, Cumbria, Watermillock.

Introduction

Parliamentary enclosure in England and Wales during the later eighteenth and nineteenth centuries has been viewed as a form of oppression of smaller landowners by larger ones, with smallholders and owner occupiers being forced to sell out due to its high costs. The common rights of cottagers and smallholders were removed and replaced, if they were replaced at all, by small, sometimes distant allotments. Loss of common rights and the sale of their plots forced them to work as full-time labourers for the larger farmers. This caused increasing social polarisation and growing poverty at the lowest levels of rural society, with a consequent outflow of population to towns and industrial areas (Johnson 1909; Hammond 1912; Chambers & Mingay 1966, Neeson 1993, Mingay 1997, Shaw-Taylor 2001). In the Midlands a rise in poor relief was associated with loss of employment resulting from the conversion of arable land to grass following enclosure (Williamson 2000). Larger landowners tended to be the principal beneficiaries of enclosure, which has been seen as deliberate social engineering and a key influence in the decline of the small farmer (Snell 1985).

While efforts have been made to identify differences in the experience of rural society regarding parliamentary enclosure, such as between arable and grass districts (Turner 1975), research on its social impacts has been heavily focused on lowland England. However, some 2.3 million acres of the land enclosed under parliamentary act was common

pasture rather than arable common fields and a good deal of this lay in the uplands of North West England (Overton 1996, Williams 1970, Chapman 1992). Here the structure of rural society and the context within which parliamentary enclosure occurred was different (Searle 1983). The aim of this paper is to examine the background to and social impact of parliamentary enclosure in Cumbria in order to highlight differences from the conventional model due to the distinctive nature of Cumbrian society and landscape. In order to explore these themes in depth a detailed case study of a particular Lake District township, Watermillock, is used as meaningful generalisations regarding social and economic change require solid foundations of specific examples.

Cumbrian society on the eve of enclosure

Cumbria has been seen as the 'odd corner' of England, a region where elements of feudalism lingered into the later eighteenth century and beyond, 150 years later than the rest of the country, including distinctive customary tenures (Searle 1983). These were derived from old Border tenant right under which farmers received security of possession, effectively equivalent to freehold, in return for military service against the Scots (Searle 1983, Beckett 1982, Winchester 1998). Customary tenants paid annual rents which were either fixed or at least failed to keep pace with inflation but they were also liable for heriots (payment of the best beast on the death of a tenant) and periodic fines on

the change of a tenant or landlord (Winchester 1998, Searle 1986, Jones 1962). The amount of land held under customary tenure was estimated at the end of the eighteenth century to be two thirds of Cumberland (Bailey & Culley 1797). Modern research has confirmed this proportion for a large number of manors in Cumberland and Westmorland (Searle 1986). Cumbrian rural society was characterised by owner-occupied farms, many worked by family members alone, a society with relatively few labourers and cottagers though many living-in servants (Winchester 1998). There were fewer resident magnates and larger gentry than in most parts of England (Winchester 1998 & 2005, Marshall 1991, Beckett 1982). Their lifestyle was given a Romantic gloss by Wordsworth who wrote of a *'pure commonwealth of shepherds and agriculturalists'* inhabiting the Lakeland dales (Bicknell 1992). Other writers viewed them in less rosy terms: in 1766 one observer commented that they *...work like slaves: they cannot afford to keep a man servant but husband, wife, sons and daughters turn out to work in the fields...they very seldom taste meat or wheaten bread...notwithstanding this miserable way of life they save nothing...*¹

While their holdings were mostly small, customary tenants often enjoyed access to the resources of extensive commons (Beckett 1982). These provided a range of resources, especially grazing and peat and turf for fuel (turbary) but also bracken, heather, firewood and stone. Cattle were more important economically than sheep in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries (Marshall 1973, 1980). In the early eighteenth century profits from the droving trade, and by-employments in domestic industry, especially textiles, generated modest prosperity for many customary tenants, with the added advantages of low land tax assessments as well as low rents (Marshall 1980, Beckett 1982). This social group has been portrayed as conservative, backward, and relatively homogeneous but it is clear that by the later eighteenth century, if not earlier, there were growing contrasts between wealthier customary tenants and their poorer neighbours (Winchester 1998 & 2005).

High food prices during the Napoleonic wars brought temporary prosperity to Cumbrian farmers but in the post-1815 slump some customary tenants, particularly those who had borrowed money during the war years to finance enclosure and improvement, were forced to sell out.² Another negative influence on their position was the decline of domestic textile production which had almost disappeared by the end of the 1830s (Jones 1962, Beckett 1982). While Beckett and Jones have argued for a substantial decline in the number of small proprietors during the first half of the nineteenth century, Walton (1986) has suggested

that this was more apparent than real and was linked to a drop in the popularity of the term 'yeoman' in contemporary sources like directories (Walton 1986). The second half of the nineteenth century brought better access to markets with the spread of the railway network generating profits and stabilising rural society so that the Lake District remained a region of small farms, though now more commercialised (Shepherd 1999).

Despite important research on aspects of the society and economy of Cumbrian communities during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries many important questions remain unanswered (Jones 1962 Marshall 1973, 1980, Walton 1986, Winchester 1998, Utterley 2008, Healey (2007). In a society where access to land was more widespread than in most parts of England, how significant was the landless element in Cumbrian rural society? What was the social and economic role of the small farmers or husbandmen who sublet land from the customary tenants? What role did the extensive areas of upland commons play in the economies of rural communities, especially for the poorer elements of society? How were the structures of communities affected by the rise of agrarian capitalism in the eighteenth century? In particular, what were the impacts of the ideology of improvement in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, a key element of which was parliamentary enclosure?

Watermillock Township

Watermillock was selected for detailed study because it was reasonably well documented and particularly because of the survival of a diary kept by one of the customary tenants, Thomas Rumney of Mellfell which, although covering only 1805 and 1806, provided valuable insights into contemporary society (Rumney 1936). Watermillock is located on the north side of Ullswater (Figures 1 & 2). It stretched from the high fells north of Helvellyn at a maximum altitude of c.720m to lower ground along the shores of Ullswater and in the valley of the Dacre Beck. It had a population of 338 in 1801. A range of hills including Little Mell Fell (505m) divided these lowland areas. Watermillock had a variety of terrain and land quality. The tithe survey of 1841 records 1,716 acres under arable, 6,925 acres of meadow and pasture, and 217 acres of woodland.³ Watermillock's physical environment was similar to that of many other townships on the eastern margins of Lakeland.

Watermillock was a manor within the Barony of Greystoke which belonged to absentee owners, the Howard family, Dukes of Norfolk. Within the manor Gowbarrow Hall and Park, including the hunting lodge of Lyulph's Tower,

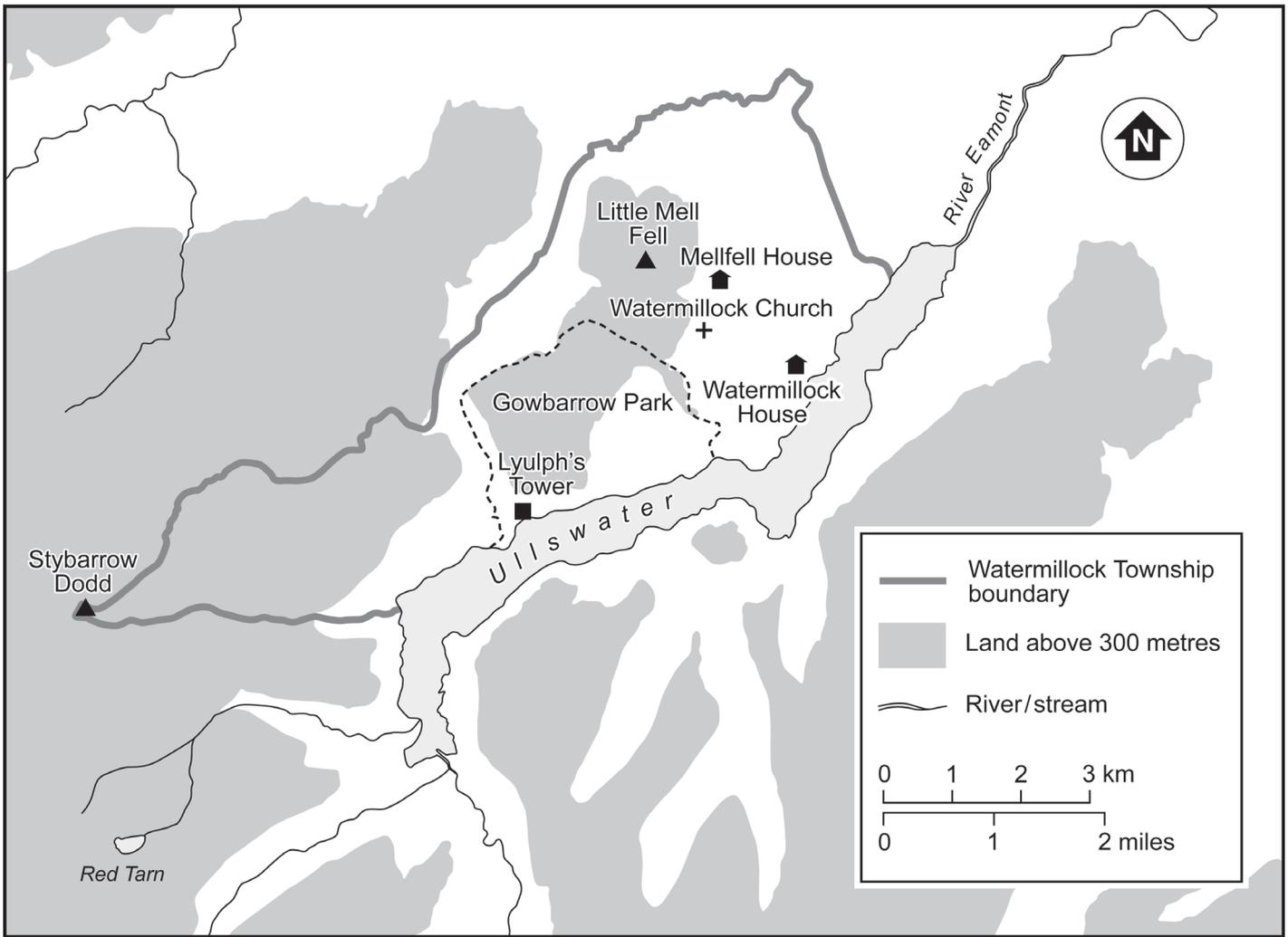


Figure 1: Watermillock Township.



Figure 2: Watermillock from Little Mell Fell, with Mellfell House in the middle ground.

formed a 2,200 acre block of demesne land, parts of which were leased out. Almost all the remainder of the improved land was held in customary tenancy. There were no major gentry families within the township. There was very little freehold land in Watermillock until parliamentary enclosure in 1835 created freehold allotments.

Many matters relating to day to day life in Watermillock were dealt with locally. The (usually male) heads of the more prominent customary tenant families served as churchwardens, constables, assessors of the poor and surveyors of the highways. Manorial business was focused on the courthouse at Greystoke and the stewards and legal advisors who ran the estate in the absence of the duke but the juries which oversaw manorial business were drawn from the ranks of the customary tenants. While hardly egalitarian this was a society with a strong sense of identity which was less markedly stratified than many. Thomas Rumney's diary suggests that lines of demarcation between gentry, customary tenants, husbandmen and labourers were often blurred (Whyte 2007).

Parliamentary enclosure in the Barony of Greystoke

All the manors within the barony had areas of common pasture, some of them very large. They frequently adjoined each other without fences demarcating the boundaries. This sometimes caused problems with animals straying from one common to another over considerable distances, as happened to some Scottish cattle bought by Thomas Rumney in 1806 (Rumney 1936). There are references to some encroachments on the commons made by existing customary tenants rather than incoming squatters. Management of livestock on the commons was by a system of levancy and couchancy, where commoners were only allowed to graze in summer on the common pastures as many animals as they could maintain in winter on their own inbye (improved) land, rather than the system of stinting where each commoner had an entitlement to a fixed number of livestock units depending on the size of his holding (Winchester 2000). It is not clear how serious a problem overgrazing was in the later eighteenth century. There are few references to it in the manorial court records but this does not necessarily mean that it was not a problem: it was certainly a widespread feature of other Cumbrian commons at this time (Searle 1993).

Manor	Date of Act	Date of Award	Area (acres)
Blencow, Newbiggin, Stainton	1772	1775	397
Johnby	1783	1795	638
Greystoke	1795	1796	3,688
Hutton Soil	1813	1817	3,740
Watermillock	1829	1835	4,591
Matterdale	1879	1882	5,300
Mungrisdale	1891	1893	500

Enclosure in this area probably began in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries with the carving out from the commons of areas of stinted pasture shared by small groups of farmers (Winchester 2000). The earliest enclosure of this kind so far discovered was Longlands stinted pasture in 1745.⁴ It was possible to enclose land at any time in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries without recourse to Parliament as long as there was unanimous agreement between all the parties concerned. Where this involved three or four customary tenants sharing a small stinted pasture this might not be difficult but for a larger common it was much more problematic. Parliamentary enclosure allowed a substantial majority of landowners (usually three quarters by amount of property rather than numbers) to push enclosure through against limited opposition.

A good deal of the earliest enclosure under parliamentary act, for Blencow, Newbiggin and Stainton, was of

open field arable but it also included the common pasture of Flusco, in a prime position adjoining the turnpike from Keswick to Penrith completed in the 1760s (Williams 1975). In 1770, 1771 and again in 1776 there are references to attempts to enclose Hutton Moor and convert it to a stinted pasture using a parliamentary act. Objections were raised that Parliament would not accept these proposals as it did not constitute a full enclosure process with a division into individual allotments. It was suggested that the only advantage of conversion to a stinted pasture would be that trespassers from neighbouring commons would be formally excluded. A letter of 1776 suggested that the problem of trespassing was quite serious and mentions how greatly the common was abused by '*foreigners and others not having the least pretence of rights*'. The scheme fell through, however, for reasons which are not clear and enclosure of Hutton Moor was not accomplished until 1817.⁵ It was not unusual for initial attempts at enclosure to fail in this way as a result of opposition from a significant proportion of the customary tenants. Part of the problem with Hutton Moor may have been that some tenants from the adjoining manor of Matterdale appeared to have regularly grazed livestock on the Hutton commons and submitted claims of common rights to the enclosure commissioners. They judged that the Matterdale claimants should be considered to have some grazing rights on Hutton Moor but only over the westernmost part on the slopes of Great Mell Fell.⁶

It is difficult to determine whether the widely spaced enclosure activity within the Barony of Greystoke was due to indifference and lack of direction by the absentee manorial lords, or represented a pragmatic approach by estate managers to situations where each common and its users had specific sets of issues and problems. It is notable, however, that the commons enclosed before and during the Napoleonic Wars were those containing the highest proportions of open field arable and better-quality pasture capable of being improved and cultivated during the wartime years of high prices. This may help to explain why Watermillock, with more extensive commons but a good deal of poorer-quality land was enclosed much later.

Parliamentary enclosure and Watermillock

Other influences may also have delayed the enclosure of the Watermillock commons. Parliamentary enclosure impinged upon the Watermillock commoners in 1806 with the enclosure of the common of the neighbouring manor of Dacre which was outside the Barony of Greystoke. Under the General Enclosure Act of 1801, enclosure commissioners were permitted to straighten boundaries between the

commons they were enclosing and neighbouring ones by means of exchanges of land in order to reduce the costs of fencing the boundary (Whyte 2003). The process involved identifying the line of the existing boundary to the satisfaction of both sets of commoners then agreeing upon its realignment. When a group of Watermillock commoners met on the ground with the Dacre enclosure commissioners

agreement was initially impossible as the Watermillock tenants were unable to agree amongst themselves where the existing boundary actually lay. At this point the Duke of Norfolk, on one of his occasional visits to his northern estates, became involved, old documents relating to former perambulations were consulted and agreement was eventually reached (Rumney 1936) (Figures 3 & 4).

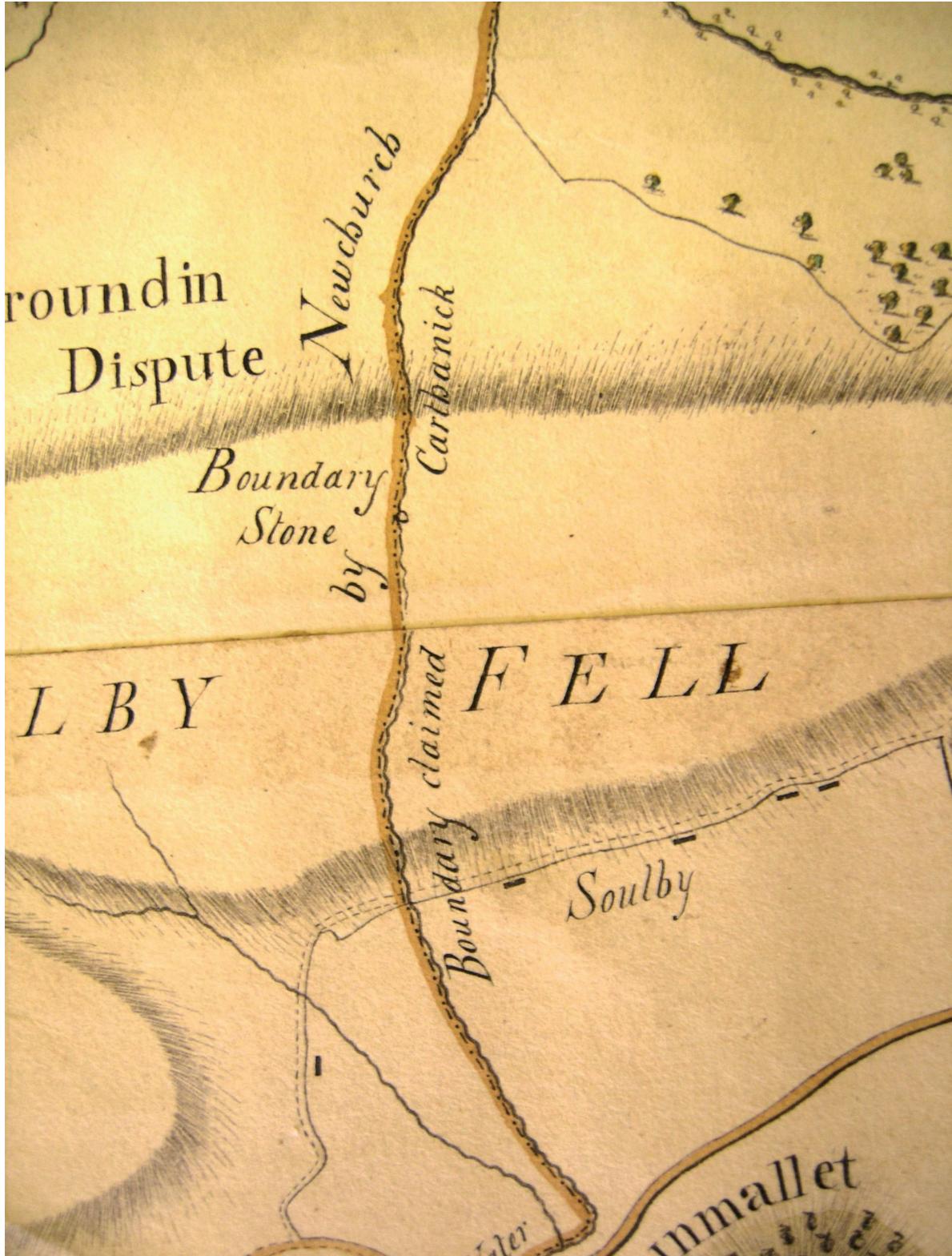


Figure 3: Estate plan of 1806 showing the disputed boundary between the commons of Watermillock and Dacre.



Figure 4: *The re-aligned and straightened boundary.*

The enclosure process within Dacre manor had aroused strong local opposition (Searle 1995). In 1795 an attempt by the lord of the manor, Edward Hasell of Dalemain, to enclose the common had been defeated because of concerns over costs and whether the land was of sufficient quality to be improvable. In 1806, with agricultural prices substantially higher, Hasell made another attempt. This time there was less opposition; enclosure went through and several small farmers sold out. The ill feeling generated by the Dacre enclosure may have put the Watermillock commoners off the idea of enclosure for a generation.

Another probable reason for delaying the Watermillock enclosure emerges from a box of documentation from a local solicitors' office.⁷ A bundle of claims for rights on Watermillock common provides a breakdown of the sizes of the holdings within the manor at the time of enclosure. A surprising feature of them is that 47 of the claims came from the customary tenants of the neighbouring manor of Matterdale. The claims related to rights over the entire area of the Watermillock commons. The reason for these claims from tenants in another manor becomes clear from other material in the box.

It transpired that the previous perambulation of the boundary between the commons of Watermillock and Matterdale had taken place in 1740. The boundary which

had been ridden ran westwards to the summit of the fells north of Helvellyn and then down the Glencoyne Beck to Ullswater. This assigned a large area of relatively poor quality common to the manor of Watermillock whereas the Matterdale tenants claimed that the boundary between the manors ran south down Todgill Beck, through Gowbarrow Park and so down to Ullswater (Figure 5).

The then lord of the manor appears to have been unconcerned over the discrepancy as both manors had the same lord. However, every customary tenant in both manors must have realised that there would be a dispute if enclosure was ever undertaken. This was precisely what happened. After an investigation the commissioners decided that three quarters of the Matterdale claimants had a claim to common rights as regular users of the Watermillock commons west of Todgill Beck, a decision probably based on the test case for Hutton Soil mentioned above. However, they also stipulated that these rights covered only this specific, poorer part of the Watermillock commons and not the better-quality parts to the east. Most of the Matterdale customary tenants accepted this but a small group led by the Sutton family challenged the commissioners' ruling in the Carlisle assizes. Thomas Rumney and other Watermillock customary tenants were cited as defendants but the case went against the Matterdale farmers.

Once the legal wrangling had been sorted out enclosure could proceed. It may have been because of the resolution of the problems over common rights that Thomas Rumney held a party for nearly 50 people on top of Little Mell Fell at the end of 1835 to celebrate the staking out of the enclosure allotments, including a 154 acre plot on the summit of the fell which was part of his own share of the former commons. There were entertainments like racing and wrestling and quantities of alcohol were consumed (Rumney 1936). The party was symbolic, marking as it did the end of the types of communal gatherings on the commons which had been a feature of life in Watermillock and doubtless elsewhere in Cumbria (see below). On the other hand it also celebrated the victory of rationality over tradition in that the enclosure process had now been almost completed.

4,591 acres of common were surveyed of which 882a were considered to be too poor to be worth improving and were merely converted to a stunted pasture. The lord of the manor received a sixteenth share of the former common in return for relinquishing his manorial rights to the soil. Some plots of land were sold off by the commissioners to defray the public costs of enclosure (Whyte 2006). Even after all these deductions, and the granting of allotments to Matterdale tenants there was still enough land left



Figure 5: Boundaries and Commons.

as allotments to add significantly to the holdings of the Watermillock customary tenants. Many had their holdings increased by 50% or even 100% (variations depending on land quality as well as quantity). Set against this, of course, was their loss of the resources of the former commons. It is unclear how well the commons were managed in the early nineteenth century; however, the addition of substantial quantities of reasonable quality land in close proximity to their original holdings is likely to have had a positive effect on the viability of the customary holdings in the township. Some of the better land was still under cultivation when the Land Utilization Survey was carried out in the 1930s.⁸

The impact of parliamentary enclosure on holding sizes in Watermillock is shown below in percentage form. In 1829 only 8% of the holdings were over 100 acres but by 1841 this had risen to 23%. There was also an increase in the smallest category of holding these often being worked

part-time by people with alternative occupations such as tradesmen or innkeepers, but a substantial reduction in the middling estates which had formed some three quarters of the total in 1829. The average holding size had increased from 55 acres in 1829 to 83 by 1841. Thomas Rumney's estate had trebled in size with the addition of his allotments plus additional land purchased from the commissioners and another customary tenant.

The land tax lists for Watermillock for 1829 and 1841 show that numbers of customary tenants did not alter as a result of enclosure.¹⁰ Only a limited area of the allotments changed hands between the passing of the enclosure act in 1829 and the drawing up of the award in 1835. Enclosure then does not appear to have caused an immediate exodus of smaller customary tenants from the land. Some studies of Cumbrian communities have indicated that numbers of yeomen, owner-occupiers or customary tenants declined

Acres	< 10	10-19	20-49	50-69	70-99	100-149	150-199	200-299	> 300
1829	3	3	54	24	8	5	3	0	0
1841	13	0	25	21	18	12	5	3	3

significantly but in Watermillock during the later eighteenth and especially the first half of the nineteenth century there seems to have been greater stability (Beckett 1982, Duxbury 1994, Healey 2008, Uttley 2007). Numbers of customary tenants did not change then as a result of enclosure but neither were there dramatic changes in the families who held the land. There was no influx of speculators from outside the community seeking land as an investment, as happened elsewhere (Duxbury 1994). The development of Picturesque tourism from the 1770s led, in the 1790s and early 1800s, to the purchase by wealthy incomers of some land with lakeside frontages from customary tenants and manorial demesne, for amenity rather than utility but this began long before enclosure. There was considerable continuity among the established customary tenant families.

If parliamentary enclosure did not cause major changes in the structure of land ownership it may have had more subtle impacts on people's spatial and environmental perceptions as well as economic perspectives. Even when it only impacted indirectly on a community, as with Watermillock and the enclosure of the Dacre commons, it caused a sharpening in the definition of rights and boundaries. By removing the most significant communal element in the economy of a manor it promoted individualism and capitalism, particularly as the division of a common could lead, as we have seen, to a significant increase in holding size (Whyte 2003). By changing the balance between improved land and the waste it altered environmental perceptions too, particularly in terms of what was and was not improvable.

Prior to parliamentary enclosure management of the commons had been regulated by purely local assemblies in which customary tenants had enjoyed a major say. The process of enclosure thrust the commons into a regional and national arena. Enclosure was planned by commissioners who were chosen for their lack of local interests. They operated from inns which were not necessarily located within the township whose commons were being enclosed and which might not be much used by local people (Rumney 1936). Customary tenants were required to attend enclosure meetings at them as participants rather than leaders. The lawyers and surveyors employed by the commissioners were also often drawn from outside the community. The commissioners implemented acts passed in Westminster and laid out new planned landscapes conforming to national norms (Turner 1984), imposing standardised requirements for the height of fences, the width of access roads and other landscape features. The result was that a regulated, geometric pattern of allotments and roads was created

which was so visibly different from the layout of the 'ancient enclosures' that it is often easy to identify the boundaries of parliamentary enclosure on modern 1:25,000 Ordnance Survey maps without recourse to historical documents.

Parliamentary enclosure also changed attitudes to the land regarding levels of investment in improvements and land use, again emphasising non-local norms. The survey and mapping of the commons to be enclosed often involved the first detailed cartographic representations of areas which were often remote and rugged. Prior to these maps the commons had often been seen as so many units of resource, such as cattlegates and shares of turbary, rather than fixed areas comprising so many statute acres. It is notable that the estimated areas of Cumbrian commons included in the original enclosure acts were often wrong by a factor of 20% or more (Tate & Turner 1978). Parliamentary enclosure introduced the practical mathematics of land surveying as well as the scientific rationality of agricultural improvement to areas which had previously been seen as marginal. The turnpiking of main roads in Cumbria in the later eighteenth century dramatically improved transport conditions within the region and with the rest of the country (Williams 1975). Parliamentary enclosure roads complemented these at a local level and may have helped to improve the quality of local road construction and maintenance generally (Whyte 2003).

Rural society was also changed in less obvious ways as a result of the enclosure of the Cumbrian commons. This can be seen for Watermillock through Thomas Rumney's diary. From this it is evident that the Watermillock commons and others in the district had a variety of social as well as economic uses. They were public spaces, places of assembly and meeting for horse races, hunting foxes and deer, and fairs. These were events at which people from a range of social backgrounds came together and interacted. Walking on the commons for recreation and pleasure as well as business also seems to have been a widespread pastime (Rumney 1936). With enclosure much of this vanished; free movement across what had formerly been open areas criss-crossed with trackways gave way to access on only a limited basis using the new enclosure roads. Old landmarks on the former commons were swept away. People were excluded from the new allotments and even today the density of rights of way through the 'ancient enclosures', as the commissioners called existing closes, is often far greater than across land enclosed by parliamentary act. In various ways enclosure encouraged a more marked differentiation of rural society.

Conclusion

To what extent did the customary tenants of Watermillock enthusiastically embrace enclosure as willing participants or even as initiators? Or did they merely accept decisions taken by the lord of the manor or his stewards and accept the changes involved? Searle has argued that it was often the larger customary tenants rather than their manorial lords who pushed for enclosure. To understand why parliamentary enclosure in Watermillock appears to have generated no significant opposition *per se* it is necessary to appreciate that enclosure was only part of the wider ideology of Improvement (Tarlow 2007). The diary of Thomas Rumney indicates that within the limits of labour and capital available to him he was active in improving his lands through drainage, walling, road building and planting trees. He was also growing turnips and potatoes in addition to the ubiquitous oats and barley. Visitors to the area west of Penrith in the later eighteenth century, including Arthur Young, commented that the cultivation of such crops was spreading on a scale which indicated involvement by the customary tenants rather than just experiments on demesne land (Clarke 1787, Young 1771). It seems likely that the larger customary tenants of Watermillock at least saw the parliamentary enclosure of the commons in a positive light and promoted rather than simply accepted it. Thomas Rumney's open air party also suggests that enclosure was embraced enthusiastically.

It is not clear whether the husbandmen and labourers of Watermillock had enjoyed access to the commons prior to enclosure. Such customary rights were accepted on some Cumbrian commons though it was becoming rarer by the end of the eighteenth century (Beckett 1982). The rise of population in Watermillock from 338 in 1801 to 429 in 1831 suggests that an increasing number of people in the lower strata of rural society would not have enjoyed common rights. They may well have benefited from the additional

labour needed in the short term to create the new enclosure landscape and in the longer term to work it.

This case study of the impact of parliamentary enclosure in a single Lake District community has shown that, in Watermillock at least, enclosure did not precipitate major social changes of the kinds identified in lowland England. Instead it encouraged existing trends in society, reinforcing the economic position of the larger customary tenants and further encouraging the existing trend towards greater social differentiation within the community by helping to create larger, more viable farms ensuring that the yeomen of the eighteenth century land tax lists evolved into the farmers of the mid nineteenth century census enumerators' books.

It should be noted, however, that not every Cumbrian community decided to enclose its common during this period. The survival of extensive areas of common in the modern landscape is proof that some communities resisted the urge to enclose. It is likely that most communities with common land considered seriously the possibility of enclosure at some point during this period. Evidence of surviving manuscript material and notices in local newspapers shows a number of instances where the process of enclosure was started but not followed through. The reasons are not always clear but the cost of fencing and improving the allotments is likely to have been a motive in many cases (Whyte 2006).

This study has also shown that the impacts of enclosure varied between communities and within them too. It should be possible to discover more about how enclosure affected the husbandmen and labourers of Watermillock through the land tax lists and parish register. More detailed study of the fortunes of individual customary tenant families may also allow a more finely nuanced picture to be drawn of the variety of responses to enclosure and research in this area by the author is ongoing.

Footnotes

- 1 Gentleman's Magazine December 1766 p.542
- 2 House of Commons Select Committee on Agriculture HC5 1833, pp.303-14.
- 3 Cumbria Record Office, Carlisle (CRO (C)) DRC 18/195.
- 4 CRO (C) D/HUD/8/12/6
- 5 CRO (C) D/HUD 8/36 bundle 3 witness depositions concerning Flusco. Ibid 8/43
- 6 CRO (C) DBS Box 1000
- 7 Ibid.
- 8 <http://edina.ac.uk/digimap/> consulted 17/6/09
- 9 CRO (C) DBS Box 1000, DRC/8/195
- 10 CRO (C) QR Land Tax Duplicates, Leath Ward

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