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Note to readers.

I am not a native of Kirby Stephen as I was born in Barnard Castle some 24 miles to the north east across the Pennines. My previous acquaintance with Kirby Stephen was limited to occasional visits to friends who were offcomers (see text). I was resident in the parish for the two years of my fieldwork and for a further three years following my marriage to an incomer.



Plate 1

KIRKBY STEPHEN - View over the northern section
of the parish.

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ABSTRACT

Kirkby Stephen is a relatively isolated parish in Rural North Westmorland. The population is concentrated in a small town and nearby farms and cottages. The economy is considered to be in a state of crisis due to factors beyond the control of the local people. Several attempts are being made to revitalise it, but these are frustrated by parochial loyalties, traditional ways of doing things and the fact that it is impossible to isolate economic from political factors and the other factors which make up the social system.

Kirkby Stephen has many points in common with rural Wales and pre Second World War Ireland. The peculiarity of Kirkby Stephen is that, in spite of its many contacts with urban influences, it retains so many of the features by which Frankenberg characterises the 'truly rural' community.

Although the majority of the population oppose 'new' ideas and attempt to reject urban values, social change is taking place. Formal and informal non-sectarian leisure time activities are changing in character. In the sectarian activities changes are less obvious. For, although attendance at religious services in Kirkby Stephen has followed the national trend, sectarian activities are well patronised. The religious sphere has several distinctive features, the two most outstanding being the stressing of Temperance as an important aspect of Nonconformity, in particular Methodism, and the fact that 19th Century Nonconformist Ideals very largely form the basis of the local value system.

The most socially active age group in the society is the over 60's. It is the old in years and residence who are the decision-takers in the society. Society respects them and in extreme old age cares for them. In doing this the people display independence of the Welfare State and the fact that they are a community not just an association of people.

In conclusion the community's orientation towards the rural rather than the urban life is evaluated and the belief that they are isolated from other communities is seen to result in intensification of kinship obligations and the social interdependence of the whole community.

A SOCIAL ANTHROPOLOGICAL STUDY

OF KIRKBY STEPHEN

by

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Thesis submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

Department of Anthropology
University of Durham

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Preface

This social anthropological study of the parish of Kirkby Stephen is based on fieldwork carried out between 1965 and 1967. The aim was primarily to obtain first hand information concerning the economic and social organisation of the parish. Subsequently it was hoped to demonstrate how this material is interrelated, and to compare it with other studies of communities in Britain, particularly those which are relatively near in terms of miles - Gosforth (Williams, 1956) and Westrigg (Littlejohn, 1963).

The majority of studies of British communities have been made by people who have had little previous knowledge of the area and its people. Notable exceptions are the Welsh studies of Jenkins, Jones, Hughes and Owen (in *Welsh Rural Communities*, 1962) and Emmett (*A North Wales Village*, 1964). I was acquainted with Kirkby Stephen before the fieldwork period and had friends in the town. In addition, I am a North Country woman, familiar with 'Chapel life' (Nonconformist sacred and secular activities) and a descendant of farming families. Therefore I feel that I can claim for my study what Davies and Rees claim for the authors of *Welsh Rural Communities* - that it is a study 'from within'. The economic difficulties the people of Kirkby Stephen faced, and still face, are those of rural Britain in general - that of the declining population of rural towns and villages. Young people leaving, old people coming in to retire, houses becoming derelict through lack of money or incentive to employ outsiders to do what members of the family were available to do in former times. The town, like many similar small towns, is no longer the focal point of the surrounding area due to modern means of transport which enable potential customers to visit the larger towns, where a greater range of goods

on sale and the anonymity of services have greater appeal. Consequently shops either close their shutters for ever, or have to concentrate on a smaller and smaller number of customers, who in a vis a vis community are influenced by familial and religious ties or friendship. Although Kirkby Stephen is officially classified as a town, the administrative functions are elsewhere; when the people state "it is a village not a town" they speak with truth, and its rural character for local people is revealed not only by the farms which are situated along the main street or within a short distance of the town centre, but also by the fact that the word 'town' is rarely used; more often 'the parish', or for the shops in the town centre - 'the shops of the parish'.

All rural populations do not face the same difficulties or attempt to deal with them in the same way. Comparisons are difficult and conclusions drawn from some studies and reinforced by others do not apply to all situations. An outstanding example of this, in the Kirkby Stephen situation, is the lack of that co-operation among the farmers which appears to be a feature of family farms elsewhere. So I hope to show in this study the way difficulties are faced and resolved by Kirkby Stephen people, and consequently to arrive at an understanding of their social life in relation to their economic situation. To do this I feel it is necessary to describe in detail the geographical and historical background. For although Kirkby Stephen is not far in terms of miles (about 70) from Gosforth, its geographic setting and its history are very different. Briefly Kirkby Stephen's terrain is mountainous moorland reaching down to a narrow river valley - altitude from over 2000 feet down to under 500 feet, whereas Gosforth's is gentle, undulating plain to fell land 50-900 feet. The settlement pattern in the case of Kirkby Stephen is nucleated, its houses and farms are all in or near the town.

Gosforth has one-third of its population dispersed throughout the parish on farms or in cottages. Westrigg, although it has land of similar elevation to that of Kirkby Stephen, has a settlement of the dispersed type. There is no village in the parish, no shops or public houses; dwellings and a few public buildings are scattered along valley floors, with here and there a small cluster, the two most compact being forestry settlements. Almost every cottage is tied, in contrast to Kirkby Stephen and Gosforth, where farming is a family business and not, as in Westrigg, an industry.

Another striking difference in the history of the three places is that in Kirkby Stephen the Nonconformist Revival of the 18th and 19th Centuries gained such strength that its ideals permeated all social existence, whereas Gosforth and Westrigg were practically bypassed by it.

Other studies of the tremendous influence of Nonconformism on social life are mainly confined to Wales; one might also mention that of a Hebridean community by Trefor Owen, but in the English parish of Ashworthy 'religious affiliation is important enough to be immediately recognisable in many of the things which people do, say and believe'. In Kirkby Stephen Nonconformist values act as a binding force for the parish and the surrounding rural area. The value system which determines the good and the true man in Kirkby Stephen is based on 19th Century Nonconformist ideals and acts as a measure of all men regardless of religious affiliation. This again makes Kirkby Stephen difficult to compare with other places, because the influence of Nonconformism on daily life has commonly been associated with isolation, lack of alternative forms of entertainment, and a small dispersed rural population. Whereas, although Kirkby Stephen has no larger settlements within 24 miles, it does have a main trunk road passing through the town and bringing

transient visitors to it; other forms of entertainment exist and the nucleated population of over 1500 is rather large for a rural settlement.

Against this, however, must be weighed the fact that isolation is frequently a subjective assessment and that as 80% of the population is 'local born' the parish has maintained its identity. Also, in common with many much smaller rural communities, it practises social restrictions against incomers, so that their 'new' ideas are to a certain extent modified before they can be absorbed by the local community.

I have tried to show what it is like to grow up and live one's life's span in this community with its system of sanctions and rewards, to help to explain why the local people are averse to incomers and believe decisions made by outside authorities are to their detriment, in particular the imposition of 'comprehensive' education. By doing this I hope to have arrived at an understanding of the behaviour of Kirkby Stephen's society, which is the basic aim of this study, so that it can be used in conjunction, rather than comparison, with other British Community studies, to reveal the social behaviour of communities in contemporary Britain.

I wish to express my gratitude for the assistance given and kindness shown to me by the people of Kirkby Stephen; for the help and advice of Professor Lucy Mair and Professor Eric Birley, the patience and endurance of my supervisor, Dr. Eric Sunderland, and the facilities provided by the Geography and Anthropology Departments of the University of Durham.

Dorothy Middleton, B.A.
January 1971.

Chapter 1

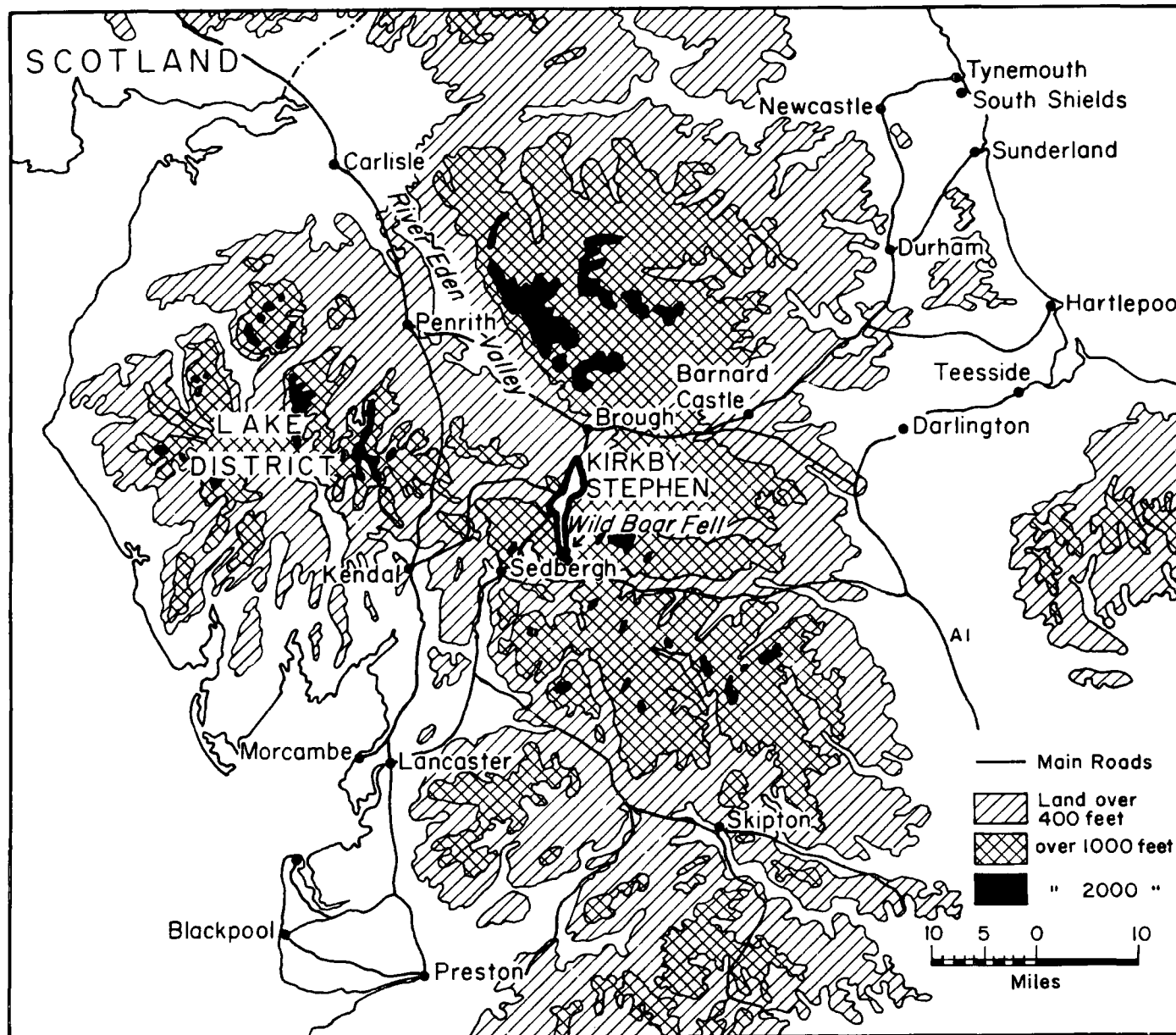
BACKGROUND

Geographical Setting

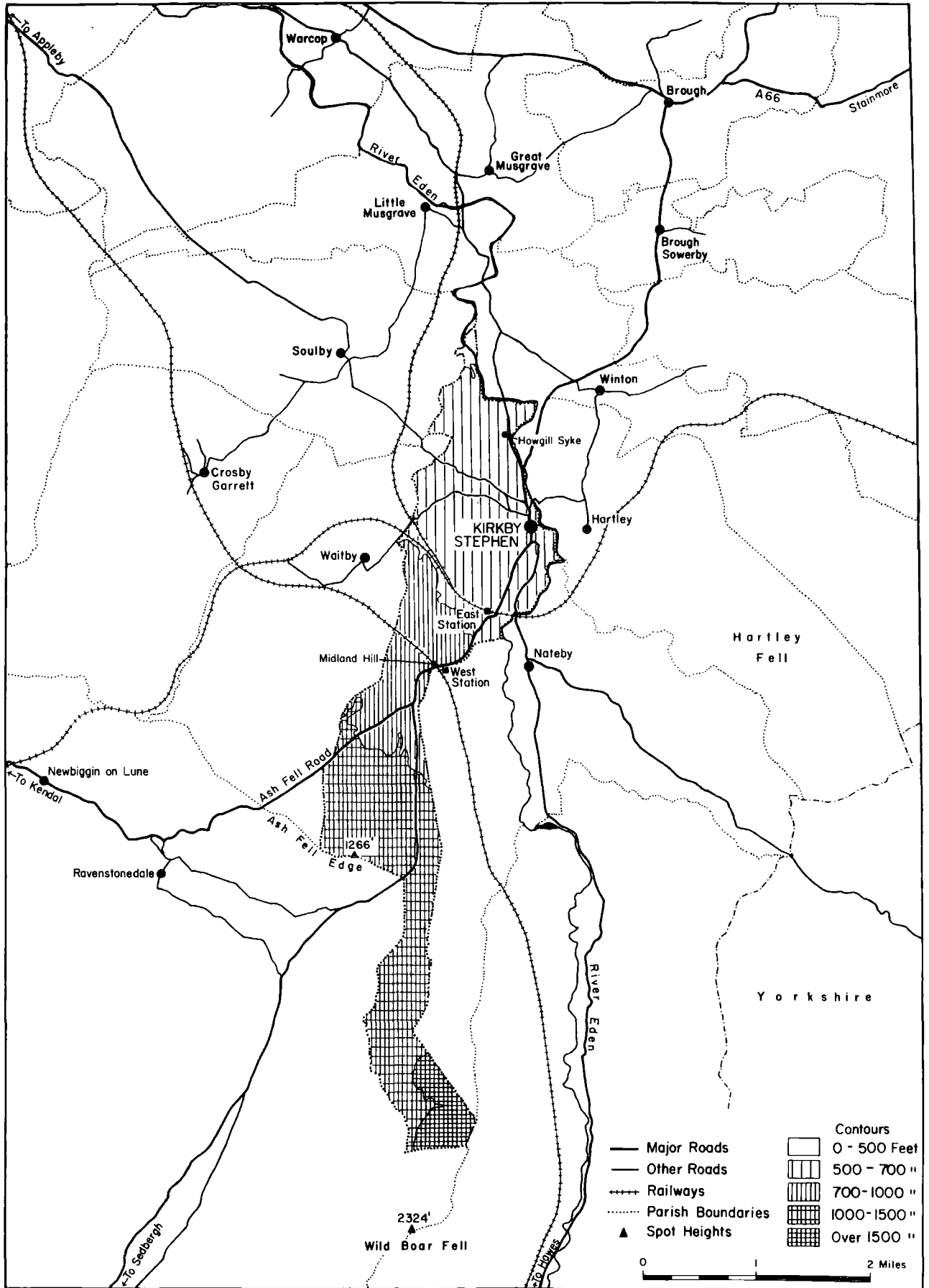
The civil parish of Kirkby Stephen is situated in north east Westmorland. It is a narrow straggling parish, with a maximum width of one and a half miles, and it extends for some ten miles northwards from Wild Boar Fell, in the Pennines, to the Upper Eden Valley (Map 1). To the west are the mountains of the Lake District and to the south-east and north are the Pennines.

The elevation of the parish varies from over 2,000 feet on Wild Boar Fell to about 500 feet on the banks of the River Eden. The climate is 'cold, wet and windy', the parish being in the paths of the prevailing rain-bearing south-west winds and the dry cold north-east winds in the lee of the Pennines. This has a direct effect on the vegetation, which is principally moorland and grassland, for the climate is unsuitable for the growth of cereals and root crops. The grass grows slowly in summer due to lack of warmth, and is dormant for the five months from October to March when the average temperature, 37.8° F, is below the mean minimum required for plant growth.

A natural ridge, along which runs the Ashfell road from Kirkby Stephen to Kendal via Tebay (Map II), effectively divides the parish into Southern and Northern sections. The Southern section extends from 1,000 to over 2,000 feet, and is principally bleak tree-less open moorland, covered with heather and bilberries except where the peat layer is thick and waterlogged. This peat is underlain by carboniferous limestone, which was extensively quarried in the 17th, 18th and 19th Centuries, so that the moorland, especially along the edges of the Sedbergh Road (Map II), is frequently interrupted by



Map I. Situation of the Parish of Kirkby Stephen

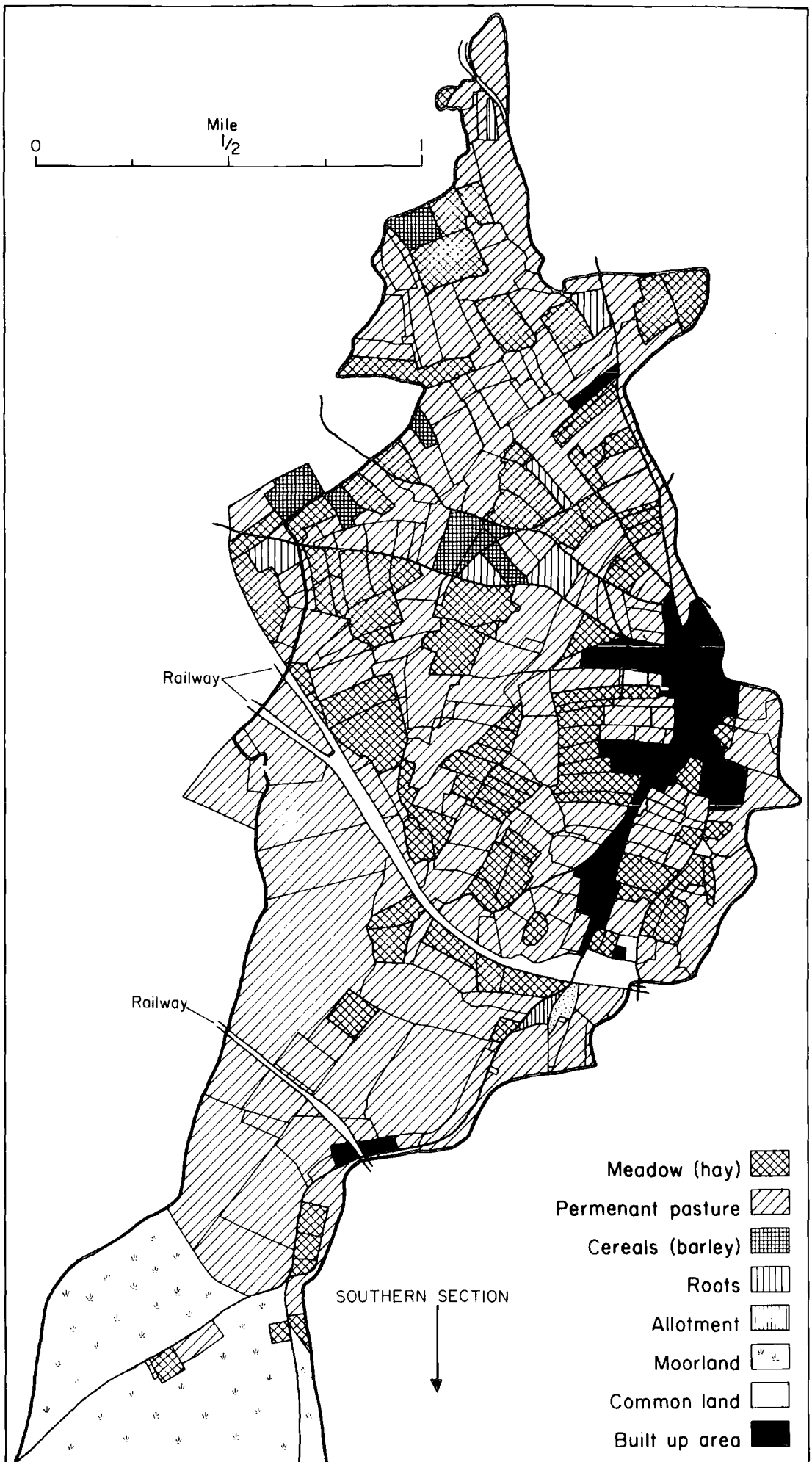


Map II. Location and Contour map of Kirkby Stephen

abandoned quarries.⁽¹⁾ The Northern section varies from 1,000 feet on the Ashfell road to 500 feet at the river on the extreme Northern boundary of the parish. It is here that the River Eden leaves the hills to commence its valley stage. The valley is filled with Permo-Triassic (New Red Sandstone) rocks. Towards the top of the sandstone layer, the sandstone contains conglomerates, breccias or breccias, which produces a hard durable rock. This rock is the principal building stone used in the area. Any effect these rocks might have on the topography is masked by the thick cover of glacial drift. It is the latter which results in the valley being covered with small rounded steep sided hills (drumlins), so that there is little flat land except near the extreme northern boundary. This flatter land is, in the main, subject to flooding either from the river overflowing or from the heavy rainfall not being able to drain away from the fields.

All the inhabitants of the parish live in the Northern section. When they speak of 'the parish' it is to this section that they refer. The majority of them have been familiar with its boundaries from childhood. These are in the main determined by obvious landmarks such as the river, streams, lanes and roads. The boundaries of the Southern section are not so obvious and they are difficult to traverse on foot due to broken land, abandoned quarries and marshy ground. In the Northern section the land is enclosed into fields (Map III). This land is principally used for hay and rough pasturage. The small area of arable land which does exist yields fodder for animals to supplement the hay feed during winter. The majority of the population live in the town, the rest in scattered farms and in cottages near the railway station (on Midland Hill).

(1) There are 37.



Map III. Land use in the Northern Section of the parish

The pattern of settlement in the countryside for a radius of twelve miles around the town consists of scattered hill farms to the south, east and north-east, and low-lying mixed farms, small hamlets of under 100 people and two small villages (Warcop and Brough) of 300 people in the north. This is the pattern of settlement throughout North Westmorland as a whole. The town and parish of Kirkby Stephen contain 1,564 people (in 1965), a large Anglican Church, a small Roman Catholic Church, a Baptist Church, two Methodist Chapels, a Gospel Hall (Brethren) and a Quaker Meeting House, two schools, an auction mart, two agricultural suppliers (seed, cattle foods and implements), five garages, about 30 shops, and professional services provided by the banks, two doctors, two veterinary surgeons, two accountants and one chemist.

The nearest larger towns are over 24 miles distant - Kendal to the south-west and Penrith to the north-west.

Maps of the road networks (see Map II) may give the impression that Kirkby Stephen is well served by roads. In fact, the town is situated on the main road from North-East England to the Southern Lake District and the resorts of the North-West coast. It also has roads leading south-east into the Yorkshire dales and north-westwards along the Eden Valley to Carlisle and Southern Scotland via the village of Warcop. However the motorist, facing tortuous lanes and difficult gradients, and hampered by hazardous weather conditions even on the better stretches of road, is likely to disagree. The road to the North-East passes over the Stainmore plateau (Map II) at a height of 1,600 feet. This plateau is known by people living up to 20 miles on either side as 'The Top'. Its exposed nature makes travelling somewhat hazardous in allseasons. The snow, which can be expected to fall at any time from late October to May, is driven by the high winds into drifts which completely block the road for anything up to a week at a time.

This road proves an effective barrier between North Westmorland and the North Riding of Yorkshire and Durham. No person living in Kirkby Stephen or the surrounding countryside would contemplate a daily journey to work over Stainmore, even though during the time of this study employment was difficult to obtain locally. "What's the good of a job in Barnard Castle (24 miles distant) if you can't get over 'The Top' for half the winter?" (Father of an unemployed teenager.)

The continuation of this north-east to west coast route, south-west from Kirkby Stephen, is along narrow winding roads in places only wide enough for one vehicle, and on Ash Fell (1,000 feet) there are narrow hairpin bends which are frequently made impassable by snow and ice, though not for such lengthy periods as on Stainmore. This stretch of road has been frequently criticized by travellers in the past, e.g. when Ingham, an 18th Century evangelist, came on a preaching mission to the town in 1738, he wrote in a letter to his community in Edinburgh, 'the journey from Kendal (to Kirkby Stephen) was over the worst roads that I have ever known', and went on, 'Kirkby Stephen is an indifferently built town on the edge of an inhospitable moorland. I pray that the journey will be worthwhile and the people will receive us gladly.'⁽¹⁾ His words have been echoed by many twentieth century winter travellers, particularly commercial travellers!

The road south-east into the Yorkshire Dales has to traverse the steep Tailrigg Pass (Map II) which can be blocked by snow for weeks at a time in winter.

The only other road out of Kirkby Stephen, leading via Warcop to Carlisle, goes over much flatter land, but unfortunately it runs

(1) Reference in 'Letters in Correspondence by Robert Sandeman, John Glas and their Contemporaries'. Ed. Daniel Macintosh (Hill and Alexander, Dundee 1851) p. 16.

along the banks of the River Eden for two miles along the northern boundary of the parish, and here is subject to flooding in summer as well as in winter.

Heavier vehicles such as 'buses can often travel in conditions which would be impossible for cars. The only means of public transport is the Ribble Bus Service which runs along three different routes at infrequent intervals. There is a daily service to Carlisle, the principal centre used by Kirkby Stephen people, but owing to its circuitous route which covers some 60 odd miles, as opposed to 46 miles direct, and the frequent stops, it takes three hours to make the single journey. This service allows a stay of three hours in Carlisle, but at a time which unfortunately does not fit in with hospital visiting hours. Kendal is served by 'bus once a day, but this is also by an indirect route with a change of 'bus in mid-journey.

There is also a Market Day (Monday) 'bus service in the area within a radius of five miles of Kirkby Stephen and a long distance 'bus from Newcastle to Blackpool, which has a stop at Kirkby Stephen in the summer months, and less frequently and 'weather permitting' during the winter months.

The parish does have a railway service, and a station known as 'The West Station' one and a half miles out of the town on Midland Hill. It is on the main Carlisle to Euston line, and although two trains stop daily at Kirkby Stephen, the townsfolk seldom use them, because they do not stop at other local places and it is a long uphill walk to the station, whereas the daily 'bus to Carlisle stops in the main street.

The climatic and physical conditions of the parish, then, reduce accessibility and help to create a feeling of isolation in Kirkby Stephen. True the distance involved is small, but the social interpretation of that distance makes it appear somewhat greater, as will appear in the following chapters.

Historical Development

Historical data for the Parish of Kirkby Stephen are not well recorded but from the available evidence it appears that there has been a long established settlement there.

The first evidence of man in the area comes from Stone Age implements (dated 7000 - 5000 B.C.). Pre-Roman occupation is evident from several ancient earthworks and burial mounds (e.g. Croglin Castle, at the southern end of the town) dating from the Bronze Age, about 1800 - 1600 B.C.⁽¹⁾ There are Roman roads on the periphery of the parish, but no sign of Roman settlement has been found. It is probable that the first town or village was of Norse origin, for Westmorland was extensively settled by the Vikings.⁽²⁾

The Parish Church (Plate II), which is the second largest in the county, was probably founded in the 8th Century. This Church was included in the extensive grant to Ivo de Taillebois, first Baron Kendal, by William I, who subsequently donated it to St. Mary's Abbey at York. At this period the Manor of Kirkby Stephen was in the possession of Robert de Vetripont, on whom King John had bestowed it in 1204, together with the castles of Pendragon, Lammerside, Hartley and Brough (all within 4 miles of Kirkby Stephen).⁽³⁾

- (1) Mannex P.J. 'History, Topography and Directory of Westmorland', pp.155-158. (Simpkin, Marshall & Co. London 1849). Also, Sowerby R.R. 'Kirkby Stephen and District' (Titus Wilson Ltd. Kendal 1947), p.3, and 'Historical Kirkby Stephen and North Westmorland' (Titus Wilson Ltd. Kendal 1950), pp.3-5.
- (2) Sowerby R.R. 'Historical Kirkby Stephen and North Westmorland' (Titus Wilson Ltd. Kendal 1950), p.4.
- (3) Parson W.M. and White W.M. 'History, Directory and Gazetteer of the Counties of Cumberland and Westmorland' (E. Baines & Son Leeds), p.544, also Parkinson's Guide to Kirkby Stephen (J. Parkinson & Son Kirkby Stephen 1920), p.6. Kelly's Directories of Westmorland 1873-1938 (Kelly & Co. London 1938).

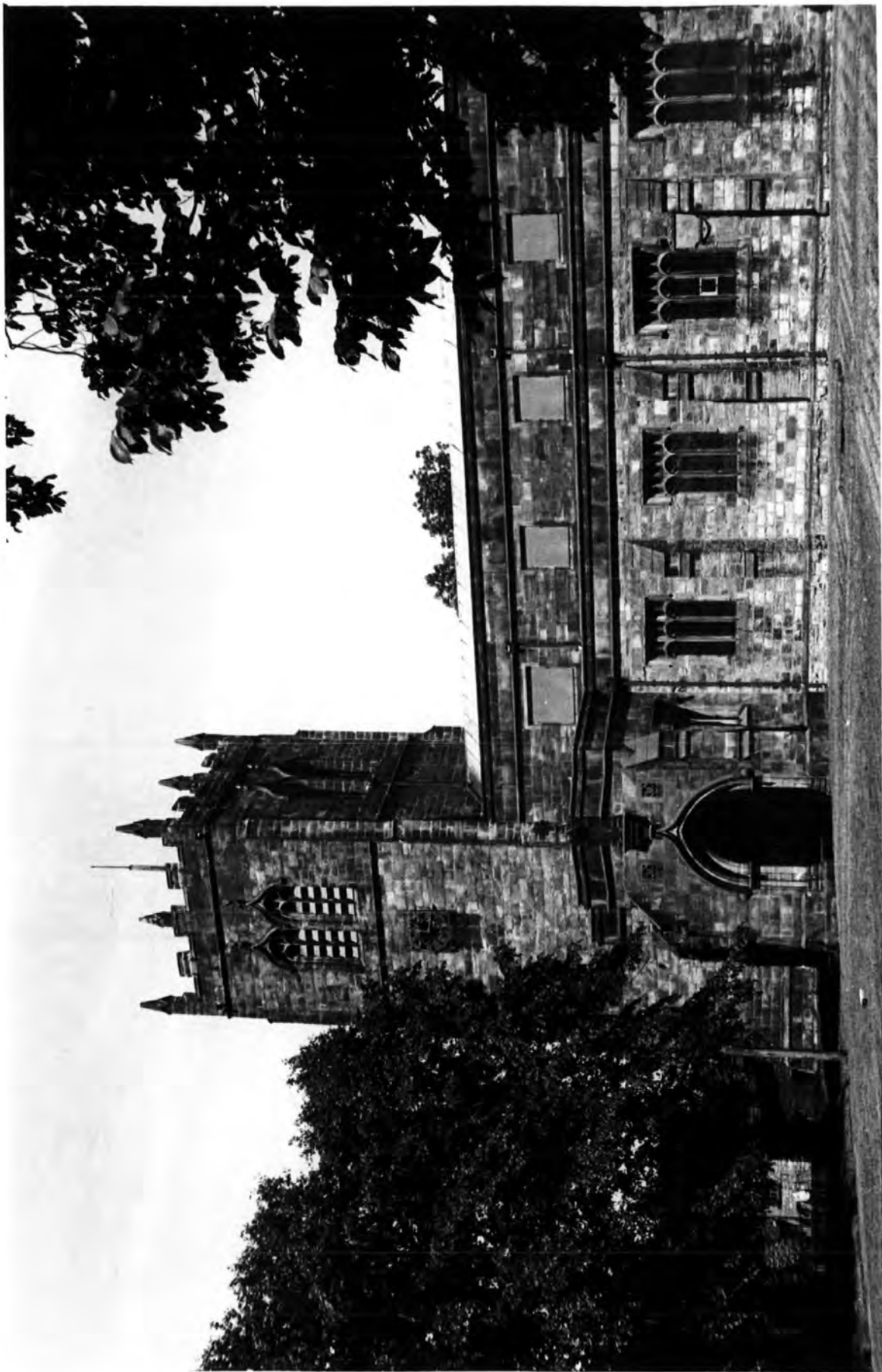


Plate II. Anglican Parish Church

Later, in the reign of Henry III, there was an inquiry at York concerning the division of the lands and hereditaments of Robert de Vetripont, grandson of the recipient of the castles. The inquiry resulted in half the Lordship being given to the successors of the Clifford family. The other half of the Manor remained in possession of St. Mary's of York and the Abbot and Monks exercised the lordship of the Manor.⁽¹⁾

Roger de Clifford, Baron of Westmorland, obtained a Charter from Edward II in 1351-2 granting him the privilege of holding a market in Kirkby Stephen, weekly on Fridays, and two yearly fairs on the festivals of St. Mark and St. Luke and the day following. Holinshed in his Chronicles, published in 1577, comments on the size and importance of these fairs.⁽²⁾ He also refers to the town of Kirkby Stephen being of 'indifferently built houses in the local stone, set along a street, down which runs an open sewer.'⁽³⁾

The earliest buildings in the town were near the site of the Church on the west bank of the Eden and around the wide market square. In the 16th Century the erection of further buildings extended the town to the southern end of what is now High Street. In this period numerous alleyways and small squares which contained houses and stables branched off the main street. Also, in 1566, Lord Wharton obtained a Charter from Queen Elizabeth to establish a Grammar School, built beside the church.⁽⁴⁾

- (1) Nicholson G. 'Mallerstang Forest (Braithwaite Kirkby Stephen 1888), pp.13-114.
- (2) Holinshed R. 'Chronicles' Vol. III 2nd edition (London 1577), p.1332.
- (3) Johnson J. edit. 'Holinshed's Chronicles of England, Scotland and Ireland' Vol. 4 (London 1807), p.383.
- (4) Parson & White (1829) p.545; Kelly (1873) p.354.

In 1606 a descendant of Roger de Clifford, George, Earl of Cumberland, was granted a Charter by King James to hold in Kirkby Stephen one market on Monday, and fairs yearly, one on Wednesday, Thursday and Friday after Whitsun and the others on the two days before the feast of St. Luke (27th October).⁽¹⁾ So it is clear that at this period Kirkby Stephen could still attract a large number of people, and must have had importance as a commercial centre.

By the beginning of the 18th Century, the town of Kirkby Stephen had grown to 230 dwellings and had a population of 980. The market place is described by Baitman⁽²⁾ as 'tolerably spacious, with a middle row of shops ... but by some strange inattention to public utility, houses have been suffered to be built upon it, and other afterwards to be built before them'.

At this period a stocking market was a regular feature. Dr. Burn⁽³⁾ in 1777 states 'Kirkby Stephen is a considerable market town noted for the sale of a great number of stockings knit there and in the neighbourhood'. Knitting was the part-time occupation of both men and women. (Knitting and handloom weaving were important activities in Kirkby Stephen and its surrounding area in the 18th and early 19th Centuries, but they declined in importance as transport facilities improved and woollen manufacturing became centralized in Yorkshire.⁽⁴⁾

- (1) Mannex P.J. 'History, Topography and Directory of Westmorland (Simpkin, Marshall & Co. London 1849), p.156. Also, Kelly E.R. (1873), Slater I (1869), Braithwaite J.H. (1884), Bulmer (1885), Atkinson & Pollitt (1903), Parkinson J. (1926), Sowerby R.R. (1947 & 1950).
- (2) Baitman F.J. 'With Wesley' letters from Westmorland pamphlets dated 1740-1746 (published in Manchester 1748), p.13.
- (3) Nicholson J. and Burn R. 'History of Westmorland and Cumberland Vol. 1 and 2' (London 1777), p.544.
- (4) Sowerby R.R. 'Historical Kirkby Stephen and North Westmorland' (Kendal 1950), p.11.

The history of industry since the 18th Century has been one of failure. The record of industrial failure is of considerable importance to this study as it helps to explain the present-day lack of faith in industrial enterprises, and the reluctance of local people to seek employment in them (see Chapter 2). During the 18th Century two tanneries, a brewery, a cotton mill, two dressmaking establishments and a sawmill are recorded as having failed. However, another cotton mill established by Messrs. Graves Lane and Company in 1780 had a run of thirty years before it became bankrupt.⁽¹⁾ This is the longest recorded run of any industrial venture. Why they succeeded when others quickly failed cannot be determined from available evidence except that they employed 'many paupers', so that overheads were perhaps low.

By 1800 the population of the parish had risen to 1,141 living in 200 houses, and 285 families were employed in 'Trades, Manufactures and Handicrafts', as compared with 62 in Agriculture.⁽²⁾

In the early 19th Century industry was still being attracted to the town. In 1801 a Kendal man named Tilley established a factory in the Back Lane (see Map IV) for making woollen hats. This venture lasted for three years, when he in turn became bankrupt and returned to Kendal.⁽³⁾ This was also the fate of a John Dand who took over Graves Cotton Mill in 1810.

In 1816 the townships of Hartley, Kirkby Stephen, Mallerstang, Soulby, Nateby and Winton (Map II), who supported their poor conjointly, purchased Dand's Cotton Mill as a workhouse and let part of it to John Henry Wilson of Manchester, who employed in it 'many of

(1) Parson and White (1829), Mannex (1849), Kelly (1873), Bulmer (1885), Atkinson and Pollitt (1903).

(2) Enumeration Abstracts Vol. I and Vol. II (Government Publications 1833), p.431.

(3) Bulmer T.F. Ibid. 1885 (p.191).

the paupers and others in the fabrication of silk and cotton goods.'⁽¹⁾
 This venture lasted for about six years before Wilson became bankrupt.

By 1829, three breweries, a woollen mill, a tannery and the silk and cotton manufacturers referred to above were established, and the townscape was changing. Some derelict houses were removed and 'larger houses than usual' were built in the High Street and North Road (to the south and north of the Market Square) which were principally occupied by the transient industrialists and business people.⁽²⁾

This industrial prosperity seems to have been short-lived, for two years later one of the breweries, the woollen mill and the tannery were closed or about to be closed. The Government publication 'Enumeration Abstract (Vol. 11)' stated that Kirkby Stephen now had 239 houses (compared with 200 in 1800) and a population of 1409 (1,141 in 1800) but only 130 families were now employed in 'Trades, Manufactures and Handicrafts' (as compared with 285 in 1800) and 23 in Agriculture (62 in 1800). The remaining industries had fluctuating fortunes and frequent changes of ownership. In 1869 Kelly's Directory states 'there are no industries in the town, and the businesses that flourish do so only by patronage of the townsfolk.'

Letters written by various industrialists⁽³⁾ who had short stays in Kirkby Stephen refer to 'the lack of co-operation of the townsfolk'; 'the people are principally workers in the fields with little interest in anything else', and 'the townsfolk are unsuited to working in groups - they quarrel easily' as reasons for their business failures.

(1) Parson and White *ibid.* p.543.

(2) Parson and White *ibid.* p.543.

(3) For example, those of J.H. Wilson, Abel Smith, and F.J. Cartwright, to a local solicitor. Now in possession of J. Ingram-Dawson's (deceased solicitor) heirs.

In addition to the changes in industry which occurred in the late 18th and 19th Centuries there were changes in land tenure. In 1780 the parish land was divided into 52 holdings; by 1800 the number had dropped to 39, the principal holders being 16 farmers, 11 of whom had their farm-houses and buildings situated within the town. By 1850 the allotments were reduced to 27. The principal cause for this was the amalgamation of several holdings near Stobars (Map IV), which was extended in 1829 from a small farm of 40 acres with a five-roomed farm-house to a castellated mansion. By the end of the century the number of farms in the town was reduced to 8 and there were another 7 in the Parish outside the town. (1)

Farming in the nineteenth century consisted chiefly of cattle husbandry on the lower land and sheep rearing on the high moorland in the southern part of the parish. Cultivation, mainly of barley and oats, was confined to the northern extremes of the parish.

In the mid-19th Century the railway era had a great effect on the economy of the region. Local men added to the work force of 8,000 who came into the region to build the railways. (2) The South Durham and Lancashire Union Railway was constructed during the period 1857-61. This line connected Tebay on the London and North Western Railway with Darlington on the North Eastern line. It was opened at Kirkby Stephen for passengers on 8th August 1861. The principal use of the line was to convey coke and coal from the Durham coalfields to the Furness district, but it enabled local people to travel quickly and easily to work outside the area and to make shopping and pleasure excursions. (3)

(1) Kelly *ibid.* 1897, pp.87-92.

(2) Mitchell W.R. and Joy D. 'Settle-Carlisle Railway' (Dalesman Publishing Company 1967), pp.1-62, also Joy D. 'Main Line Over Shap' (Dalesman Publishing Company 1968), pp.41-88.

(3) Bulmer *ibid.* 1885, p.197.

On 9th June 1862 the Eden Valley line from Carlisle reached Kirkby Stephen, where it terminated. A large siding was constructed, as were engine repair sheds and workshops. These ultimately employed 230 men and became the main local source of employment.

The opening of the East Station, sited on the top of South Hill above the town, was followed in 1876 by that of the West Station, one and a half miles to the south-west of the town, by the London Midland and Scottish Railway Company. So Kirkby Stephen acquired two stations.

With the development of the railways came a renewed growth of the town. Between 1860 and 1890 local builders extended it to the East Station on South Hill.⁽¹⁾ These houses were principally for the people who anticipated frequent use of the railway service. Several houses were also constructed along the riverside and at Mellbecks* (see Map 4) for railwaymen.

During the 19th Century, particularly in the second half, public buildings as well as houses were built. This was due to two causes, firstly the establishment of the Nonconformist places of worship, and secondly the increase in child education.

North Westmorland has been a fertile ground for religious sects since the early 18th Century.⁽²⁾ Some of these enjoyed only a brief existence, but others have endured for over two centuries.

Kirkby Stephen had its first Nonconformist chapel, the Inghamite Chapel, in 1750. This was a small building in an alleyway leading off the Market Square. After a few years the Inghamites transferred their allegiance to Sandeman⁽³⁾, and in 1787 the building became the Sandemanian Church. Later it temporarily reverted to the Inghamites.

(1) Kelly *ibid.* 1910, p.933, also Braithwaite J.W. 'Kirkby Stephen' (J.W. Braithwaite & Sons, Kirkby Stephen 1906), p.2.

* Contemporary spelling - Melbecks.

(2) Riley T.F. 'The Hammer and The Anvil' (The Dalesman Publishing Company, Clapham 1954).

(3) Riley T.F. *ibid.* pp.16-21.

At its height the Kirkby Stephen congregation only numbered about 40 persons, and before 1800 the movement was extinguished.

The Baptists, who came to Kirkby Stephen in 1832, first established themselves in the Inghamite/Sandemanian Church, and later built a new Chapel in Victoria Square (Plate IIIa). Although this movement was popular in Westmorland it never had many adherents locally.

A movement of greater significance followed John Wesley's tour of Westmorland in 1764.⁽¹⁾ His evangelistic methods soon attracted a large number of adherents to what became known as 'Methodism'. Chapels, at first in converted farm buildings and derelict houses, sprang up all over North Westmorland, but it was not until about 1820 that the Wesleyan Methodists had a fixed place of worship within Kirkby Stephen. This was a small converted warehouse in Union Square. It was replaced in 1839 by a large Chapel (Plate IIIb) in the High Street. This Chapel was named the 'Centenary' in commemoration of 100 years of Methodism. It had a Sunday School building built at the rear, but in 1879, when the number of children attending grew to 300, a new school was built and the former school incorporated into the Chapel to enlarge it. Chapel congregations averaged at this period from 350-400 persons.⁽²⁾

The Primitive Methodists came to Kirkby Stephen in 1864 and built a Chapel in North Road. But as the town extended southwards they decided to build a new Chapel on Fletcher Hill (Plate IIIc) and thereafter adherents became known locally as the 'Fletcher Hill Methodists'. Congregations at this period averaged 200-250 persons.⁽³⁾

(1) 'The Journal of John Wesley' edited by Nehemiah Curnock. 8 vols. (Epworth Press 1938), also Vullianny C.E. 'John Wesley' 3rd edition (Epworth Press 1954).

(2) Documents relating to the history of the Wesleyan Methodists in Kirkby Stephen - in possession of the Kirkby Stephen Methodist Minister.

(3) Documents relating to Primitive Methodists in Kirkby Stephen - in possession of the Kirkby Stephen Methodist Minister.



a. Baptist



b. Centenary Methodist



c. Fletcher Hill Methodist



d. Congregational/
Roman Catholic



e. Brethren



f. Temperance Hall

The Congregationalists also used the Inghamite Chapel as their first meeting place in the town in 1850. Later, in 1865, they built a Chapel (Plate IIIId), a Sunday School and a manse in the High Street, near the Primitive Methodist Chapel. At this period the congregations numbered about 90 individuals⁽¹⁾.

The next religious sect to establish itself was the Brethren. Their first meetings were held in a house in the High Street. This sect attracted members principally from the Primitive Methodists. In 1878 the Brethren got a meeting house of their own in Mellbecks (Plate IIIIe). This was financed by a local solicitor who was himself a member.

A principal result of the establishment of these sects was a decline in attendance at the Parish Church⁽²⁾, and the development of a social life which had no parallel in the Anglican Church, since the sects required their adherents to spend much of their time with fellow members. There was a way of life as well as a mode of worship and a common belief.

The Baptists, Congregationalists and the two Methodist Chapels all organised social events for 'promoting fellowship between members'. They held weekly meetings throughout the year, excluding summer (June to August), for members of both sexes together - The Guild; for men - the Men's Guild, and the Men's Music Group, and for women - the Women's Bright Hour (Methodist), the Ladies Guild, and the Sewing Circle (these were afternoon meetings), and the Junior Guild for children. These guilds, as they were termed, provided a mixture of religious and secular items. Impromptu concerts were also held for members, and there were numerous 'outings' - visits to

(1) Reference in Bound Volumes of Kirkby Stephen Church Magazines for each month of the years 1876-77, p.59.

(2) Ibid., p.67.

places of interest on foot and by rail. Picnics were held in summer and suppers in the winter. The highlights of the year for each sect were visits to fellow chapels in the Circuit to which their own chapel belonged, and these visits were always reciprocated. On these occasions concerts were given, for which the performers had long practised, and the entertainment was followed by a supper. These Circuit outings were held at slack periods in the farming year, mainly because sect members who lived outside the town were directly connected with agriculture. To enable the majority of members to attend, the organisers avoided the lambing season (April - May), haytime (mid-June - early September - varies considerably over this period due to fluctuating weather conditions), sheep-shearing and dipping (July).⁽¹⁾

The Brethren 'were a more serious sect', and their weekly meetings were for prayer and Bible readings. 'They gave no concerts nor did they have suppers.'⁽²⁾

Between the sects there was a certain amount of visiting. They attended each other's Harvest Festivals and Anniversaries, but not the social activities, which were 'for members only'.⁽³⁾

A great influence on the people of Kirkby Stephen was the Temperance Movement (or Temperance League as it is frequently called in the literature) with its Junior Branch, the Band of Hope.

The Movement was first active in the area about 1850, and in 1865 the Temperance Hall (Plate IIIf) was built in Victoria Square, within easy reach of the Baptist Church, the two Methodist Chapels

(1) Rees A.D. 'Life in a Welsh Countryside' (Cardiff 1950), p.26, describes how 'the seasonality of agricultural activity is reflected in the social life of the community' in Llanfihangel.

(2) Extract from a letter by F. Mason (a visitor to Kirkby Stephen in 1881) sent to his wife in Gloucester. In possession of the Kirkby Stephen Methodist Minister.

(3) Papers in possession of the Kirkby Stephen Methodist Minister.



Vale of Eden Demonstration at Kirkby Stephen, June 14th 1906.

Plate IV. A Band of Hope Demonstration in former years. (Copy of a picture postcard)

and the Congregational Church. The advocacy of temperance was not peculiar to Nonconformists, but most of the members of the movement belonged to the Nonconformist sects.

Each sect, and also the Anglicans, had its own Band of Hope, but joint meetings were held. The aim of the Band of Hope was that by the time the young people had become men and women they would totally abstain from intoxicating liquors, and by their own conduct and example 'leaven' their own generation by advocating total abstinence⁽¹⁾. Each Band of Hope throughout the County had its own banner (e.g. Plate IV), which was registered at the headquarters of the movement in London, and with the regional headquarters in the provinces. In order to demonstrate their solidarity and strength the Bands of Hope in the Vale of Eden held a combined meeting each year. A union of the Vale Bands of Hope was formed on 29th March 1873, and then consisted of seven bands (Kirkby Stephen's combining to form one) numbering about 500 members. In 1874 five more bands joined, bringing an addition of 482 members. In 1875 six more bands increased the number to 1,509. In 1876, two more bands were added to the Union and one withdrawn, making the number of members in the whole union 1,538, of which number not more than ten per cent were absent from the Annual Demonstration at Kirkby Stephen in June 1876.⁽²⁾

At this Demonstration⁽³⁾ the banners of each Band of Hope were carried triumphantly through the town at the head of their members. The whole procession was led by the Town Band. The Kirkby Stephen⁽⁴⁾

(1) Kirkby Stephen Church Magazine for June 1876, p.54.

(2) Ibid., pp.55-56.

(3) See Plate IV of Demonstration in 1906, also Plates XVII and XVIII Chapter 7.

(4) This Demonstration was held, and still is, in alternate years at Kirkby Stephen and Appleby.

procession ended in a large field by the river (Hill's Bottom). Here members and others gathered to hear visiting speakers and from the Band of Hope Queen elected during the previous winter. The speeches stressed the values of temperance and the evils of alcohol. Then a picnic was held for members, their parents and friends. At another part of the field sideshows, roundabouts and swings provided entertainment after the proceedings were over. It was in the nature of a fair, and as it was arranged before haytime it attracted farming families over a wide area, even those with no interest in temperance. These visitors came into the town by train and for this reason the procession started from the station.

The importance of the Temperance League lay in the power which it was able to exercise. From its early days in Kirkby Stephen it began a campaign to close down the local breweries and the public houses. (In the 1860's there were 13 of the latter.) This was done chiefly by purchasing the premises (money obtained from the more wealthy members and by collections and bazaars) and allowing the licence to lapse. The brewery which opened in the town in 1885, and moved to new premises in 1901, where it only lasted for three years, was closed due to pressure of the Temperance League on workers in the brewery rather than bankruptcy. Also a member of the Band of Hope or the adult Temperance League became, by his association and temperate way of life, a worthy person suitable for a position of trust where conscientiousness was required.

The Chapels and the Temperance League served as an educating force. Classes were held in the Sunday School rooms to teach members' children to read and study the Bible, during the period before general education was established.

In addition to the Grammar School founded by Lord Wharton in 1566, there appear in the 18th and 19th Centuries to have been a

number of private schools in the town. Parson and White's Directory (1829) lists five schools, three for boys and two for girls. But it was estimated that these catered for only a small proportion of children under 14 years of age.⁽¹⁾

The Education Act of 1871 led to the establishment of the first elementary school in the town. (In this year the population of the parish reached its peak of 1871 persons.) The school was temporarily housed in the Temperance Hall until a permanent building was put up in 1876 in Victoria Square, opposite the Temperance Hall.

The school opened with 176 pupils, each paying a penny per week, but poor attendance caused the Vicar to state in the Parish Magazine of February 1876:-

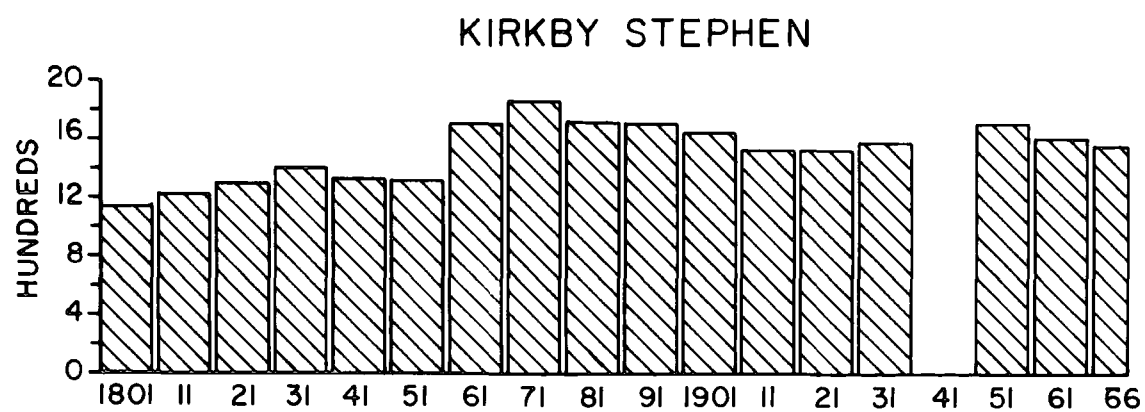
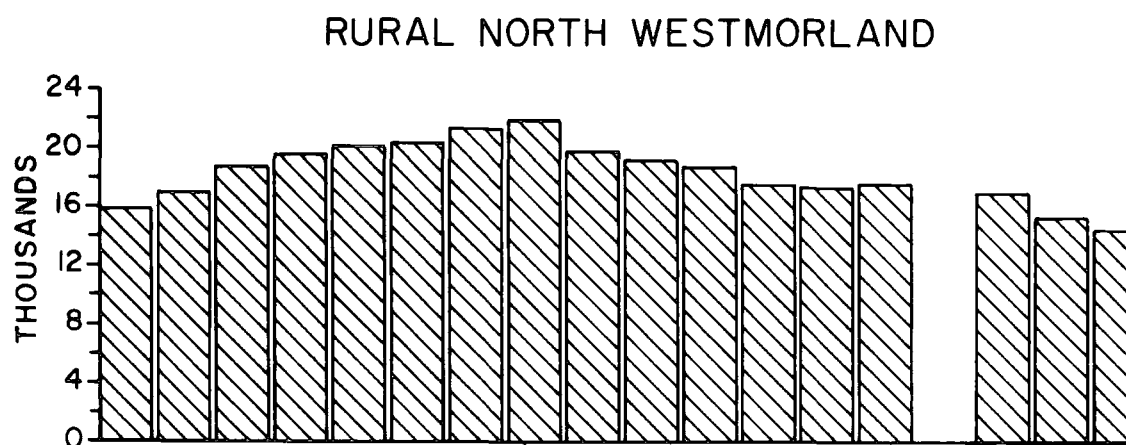
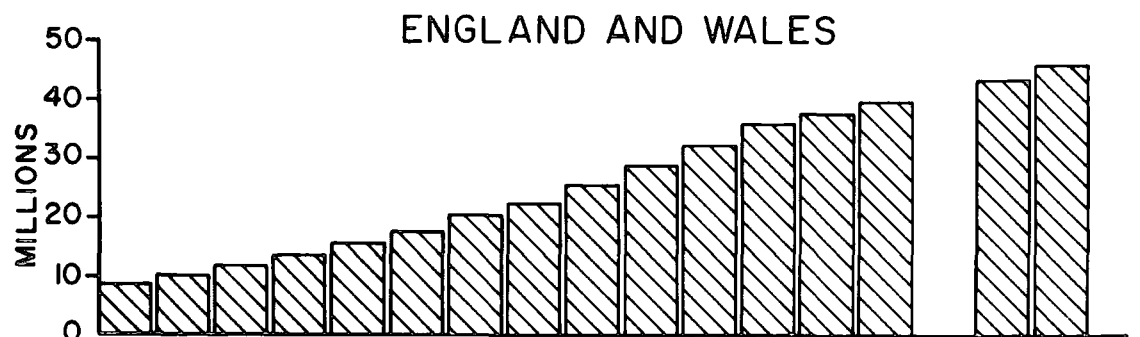
'Parents should bear in mind that every time they keep a child at home they are not only depriving him of the benefit of regular attendance, but they are diminishing the income of the school. They should also bear in mind that they do not pay so much as one half of what the education of each child actually costs.'

The Grammar School was closed down temporarily from 1871-76, and finally in 1890.⁽²⁾

In the last decade of the 19th Century the population of the town declined (see Diagram I). The Bands of Hope members were declining by greater numbers than the population (fewer than 1,000 attended the 1895 Demonstration), but the influence of the Temperance League was still strong. In addition to the brewery (mentioned earlier) they were instrumental in bringing about the closure of a

(1) 'Our Schools' article (no author mentioned), Kirkby Stephen Church Magazine, p.69.

(2) Kelly (1894, 1897), Braithwaite (1913), Sowerby (1950).



Sources:- Government Census and
County Council Records

Diagram I. Comparison of Populations

further 4 public houses, and opened in their places two Temperance Hotels and two boarding houses for visitors who came in by train for holidays in the town.⁽¹⁾ The town was now lit by gas and the sewers covered.

When the 20th Century began the parish had over 400 houses, including ten railway cottages near the Midland line station, and 8 farms in the town and a further 7 farms situated outside it. Employment was provided by the railways, the shops, the quarries (outside the parish) and the farms, in that order. The Grammar School was re-opened in 1906 as a Girls' Grammar School. Boys 'desiring Grammar School education' were sent to Appleby. Amenities were added in the form of a golf course and tennis courts, but most people relied for leisure time activities on the social life provided by the religious sects.⁽²⁾

The 1914-18 War was a great disaster for the people of Kirkby Stephen, since more than half the men who went to fight failed to return. A monument was erected in the Market Square bearing the names of the 48 men from the ecclesiastical parish who were among 'the glorious dead'.

The depression which followed the war did not create unemployment in Kirkby Stephen. During the General Strike of 1926, several families from the Durham mining districts occupied derelict houses in the town⁽³⁾, and the men obtained work in the quarries near Brough.

(1) Documents headed 'Band of Hope's Achievements' for period 1860-1965 in possession of Kirkby Stephen Temperance League President.

(2) Braithwaite Guides *ibid.* 1913 and 1924, also documents belonging to the various sects referring to their social activities and the good attendance of members.

(3) Parish Council records for 1927-1931 make reference to this occupation.

These immigrants created the impression, which is still held among local people, that people who live in the mining areas of Durham are content to live in dirty houses, and the men are all heavy drinkers. (1)

In the late 1920's and 30's a large programme of slum clearance was undertaken. Derelict houses in North Road, and Mellbecks, and in alleys leading off the Market Place and the High Street, were pulled down or partly gutted to render them uninhabitable. This aroused much local opposition, but the County Council pursued its policy. The people rendered homeless were rehoused, unless they had found other accommodation, in a newly built Council estate named The Crescent (Map IV).

The terraced houses in the Crescent were built and rough cast in dark grey. They were constructed as cheaply as possible. The roadways were left unsurfaced and the verges were not edged. (2) The houses were lit, downstairs only, by gas, and had a bathroom containing a bath but no hand-basin or toilet, the latter being outside. To each house was allotted a piece of land, which the Council intended to be cultivated. This land, or garden, was separated from the houses by an unfenced yard and communal path passing close to the windows of the houses. Both these features created social problems from the very beginning.

Private housing schemes were also undertaken. A new estate was built in Rowgate off the South Road, and several houses in Nateby Road, near the Crescent.

(1) This accounts for the critical attitude of Kirkby Stephen people towards the Blackpool bus travellers who mainly originate from Durham.

(2) At the commencement of the survey period for this study (January 1965) the roadways and verges were still in a similar condition, but this was rectified in 1967.

Electricity came in 1928, when a number of houses and business premises were connected to a battery in The Back Lane, behind the main street. A rival scheme was established at Stenkrith by the railway company, but it soon went out of business.

In the 20th Century the improvement of transport facilities and mass production of goods had their effect on tradesmen. The number of shops declined and saddlers, tin smiths, dressmaking establishments and milliners went out of business. Both the printers also ceased business, as it was cheaper to order direct from Kendal.

Population continued to decline during the first decade of the century, and then remained static for a further twenty years, as did that of North Westmorland (Diagram I). This was due to the lack of work opportunities for young people and the appeal of the larger towns. Agricultural methods and land use were changing and fewer workers were required. Numbers of livestock increased as feeding methods were improved and as it became more economic to buy the foodstuffs previously grown the cultivated area was reduced to less than 20 acres. The quarries in the area were being 'worked out' and their labour force reduced. Employment had to be sought ever further away.

The Parish Council records from 1925 onwards tell of attempts to bring industry to the town, but most of these attempts proved futile. With the exception of two garages, the only new source of employment in the area was the Hartley Limestone Quarry which was opened in 1928 in the next parish; but this did not employ all the men needing work.

In the 1930's there were more changes in land tenure. Several holdings in the parish were amalgamated, reducing the total number of farms to 12. Also more farms were worked by tenants. At the commencement of the 1939-45 War five of the farms were occupied by

their owners (compared with eight in 1900) and the other seven by tenants of the owners of the largest farm in the parish, Stobars.

The 1939-45 War temporarily solved the local employment problem. Men and women were drafted into the services, and a large army camp established at Warcop gave work to non-combatants in building and maintenance. During this period this part of North Westmorland was a reception centre for evacuees from the towns of the North East Coast.

With the coming of peace, Kirkby Stephen again saw a spate of building and the demolition of derelict premises. Another Council housing estate was built at Westgarth, off the High Street, to the west of the town, and private houses were built along Nateby Road and at Rowgate.

The new estate was designed to house 'people who for some acceptable reason were unable to purchase their own houses rather than a slum clearance scheme'.⁽¹⁾ Houses were also provided here for the Council Clerk, two policemen and a District Nurse. They were much superior in materials and design to those of The Crescent. They were mainly semi-detached and had gardens in front and rear, which were enclosed by walls and fences to ensure privacy.

So far the 20th Century has seen no evangelical campaigns such as resulted in the previous century in the erection of the large chapels which have been described. Two religious sects did come however: the Quakers and the Roman Catholics. The Quakers had been meeting locally since 1900, but it was not until 1931 that they had a fixed meeting place in the town, a converted house. The Roman Catholics numbered only one family before 1939, but during the war immigration from the North East Coast brought the numbers up to 30. When the Congregationalist numbers were reduced to four the chapel

(1) Council Report 1953.

was closed in 1946. The Roman Catholics attempted to purchase the building rather than erect a new Church for themselves. This move was opposed by many of the local people, particularly the Quakers and the Methodists, but finally in 1953 the Roman Catholics succeeded in purchasing the building (Plate IIIId, see also Chapter 7).

The congregations of the other sects and of the Parish Church continued to decline. However the Methodists, Wesleyan and Primitive, who had been united nationally in 1931, with the strong disapproval of the local Methodists, continued to maintain the two chapels separately (in spite of declining numbers) though compelled by the Methodist Conference to share the same Minister. The activities of the Temperance Movement continued, but were now confined to members of the dissenting sects.

In 1955 a new co-educational Comprehensive school was built in Kirkby Stephen for children of eastern North Westmorland. The Girls' Grammar School was closed down and the Kirkby Stephen boys attending the Appleby Grammar School were transferred to the new Comprehensive school which was officially called 'The Kirkby Stephen Grammar School'. This move was unpopular in the town, particularly with parents who had girls attending the local Grammar School or boys at the Appleby school, who opposed the education of all children regardless of their educational potential and parents' desires in the same school.

The post-war period saw renewed attempts by the Parish Council to encourage industry to come to the town. They were more successful than previously and two small factories employing a total of 35 people, 34 women and 1 man, were established in the town. One, with headquarters at Bolton, was for finishing knitted garments, and the other a Kendal firm, for making hosiery. The Bolton firm was housed in the former Temperance Hall (Plate IIII), and the Kendal firm

in the old Inghamite/Sandemanian Chapel. In spite of the shortage of local employment the factories had difficulty in obtaining workers, for the majority of Kirkby Stephen women did not want to work in a factory (see Chapter 2) and the majority of the staff had to come from Brough (4 miles distant). This presented difficulties as there was no local public transport to fit in with the proposed factory hours. Adjustments, e.g. shorter working hours, had to be made which the employers did not consider satisfactory.

The attraction of the Lancashire coast for the people of North East England had a beneficial effect on the town's trading. In the 1930's it had become the fashion for people from the North East region, especially the Newcastle area, to visit Blackpool and Morecambe for summer holidays, and in particular for the Illuminations in autumn. Before the war they travelled by train, but after the war, when train services were curtailed, the business was transferred to motor coaches. The journey time was lengthened and refreshment and rest stops became necessary. Kirkby Stephen, situated mid-way between Newcastle and Blackpool, became a scheduled stopping place (Plate V). This resulted in the opening of several cafes and snack bars along the main street where the road was wide enough for 'buses to park. Other shops, in addition to those selling food, benefitted by the influx of visitors, particularly those which stocked souvenirs. Garages also benefitted from the increase in motor traffic, and two more were built.

The amalgamation of land holdings continued. The number of farms in the parish was further reduced to five in the town and five outside (Map V). The unwanted farm-houses were allowed to become derelict, though parts of the buildings in some cases were used as barns. The proportion of tenant farmers to owners increased to 7 out of 10 as compared with 5 out of 12 in the 1930's.



Plate V. The Blackpool buses having a lunch time stop in Kirkby Stephen.
(Holiday makers in the foreground)

The 1960's brought a greater misfortune to Kirkby Stephen in the closing down of the East Station and the railway engine repairs shops. As a result 230 people in Kirkby Stephen and the surrounding area were faced with three choices:- 1, to work on the railways outside the district, which necessitated living away from their homes during the working week; 2, to leave the railway's employ and seek new employment in the district or to be on the dole pending suitable local employment; or 3, to leave the area altogether accompanied by their wives and children. The majority took the third course.

The effect of this decision was reflected in the townscape. Several shops whose profits had hitherto been meagre now closed down. These shops sited in old buildings and poorly maintained rapidly became derelict. There was also some re-location of the townsfolk. People moved out of semi-derelict property into the houses vacated by the railway families where the latter were in a better state of repair.⁽¹⁾ This in turn allowed further houses to become totally derelict.

The closing of the railway gave further impetus to the Parish Council to encourage industrial development. Support for this was given by the local Chamber of Trade (formed 1960) and the Government-sponsored Rural Industries Commission centred in Carlisle.

In 1964 the Government included Westmorland and Cumberland in the newly created 'Northern Region' which also contained Durham and Northumberland. The headquarters of the Northern Region was to be in Newcastle. The reason for this creation was to form 'an economic unit' to the benefit of the areas concerned. Also it was announced that an economic and industrial survey was to be made of the whole

(1) Information obtained from local people.

region with a view to establishing industry in the depressed areas in order to halt depopulation.⁽¹⁾

Since the war the North Westmorland depopulation rate has accelerated. This is reflected in the attendance registers of Kirkby Stephen Grammar School (Comprehensive), where the number of pupils enrolled dropped from over 600 in 1955 to just over 400 nine years later (1964). The school catered for pupils from a wide area of North Westmorland (Map VI).

The population decline appeared to be slow (Diagram I), but the diagram does not tell the whole story. An influx of newcomers, predominantly retired persons, replaced the younger people who were leaving. This is depicted in the age pyramid (Diagram II).

The large number of older people in the town put a strain on welfare facilities, particularly the Health Service. An Old People's Home (Christian Head) was built in 1961 to cater for the aged of North Westmorland, but Kirkby Stephen old people, for reasons explained later (Chapter 8), rarely needed to live permanently in such a home; what they required was a hospital for short periods of intensive care when they were very ill. So in 1964 the local doctors and nurses requested their Member of Parliament to appeal to the Government to establish a geriatric and cottage hospital for eastern North Westmorland in Kirkby Stephen. This was refused for economic and political reasons.

The shortage of young people resulted in sports associations becoming depleted of numbers and some ceasing to function.

By the end of 1964 the limestone quarry at Hartley had again reduced the number of its employees, due to automation, and this affected the jobs of 8 Kirkby Stephen men.

(1) Up to the end of the survey period for this study (1967), no one connected with the 'Northern Region' had been known to visit Kirkby Stephen.

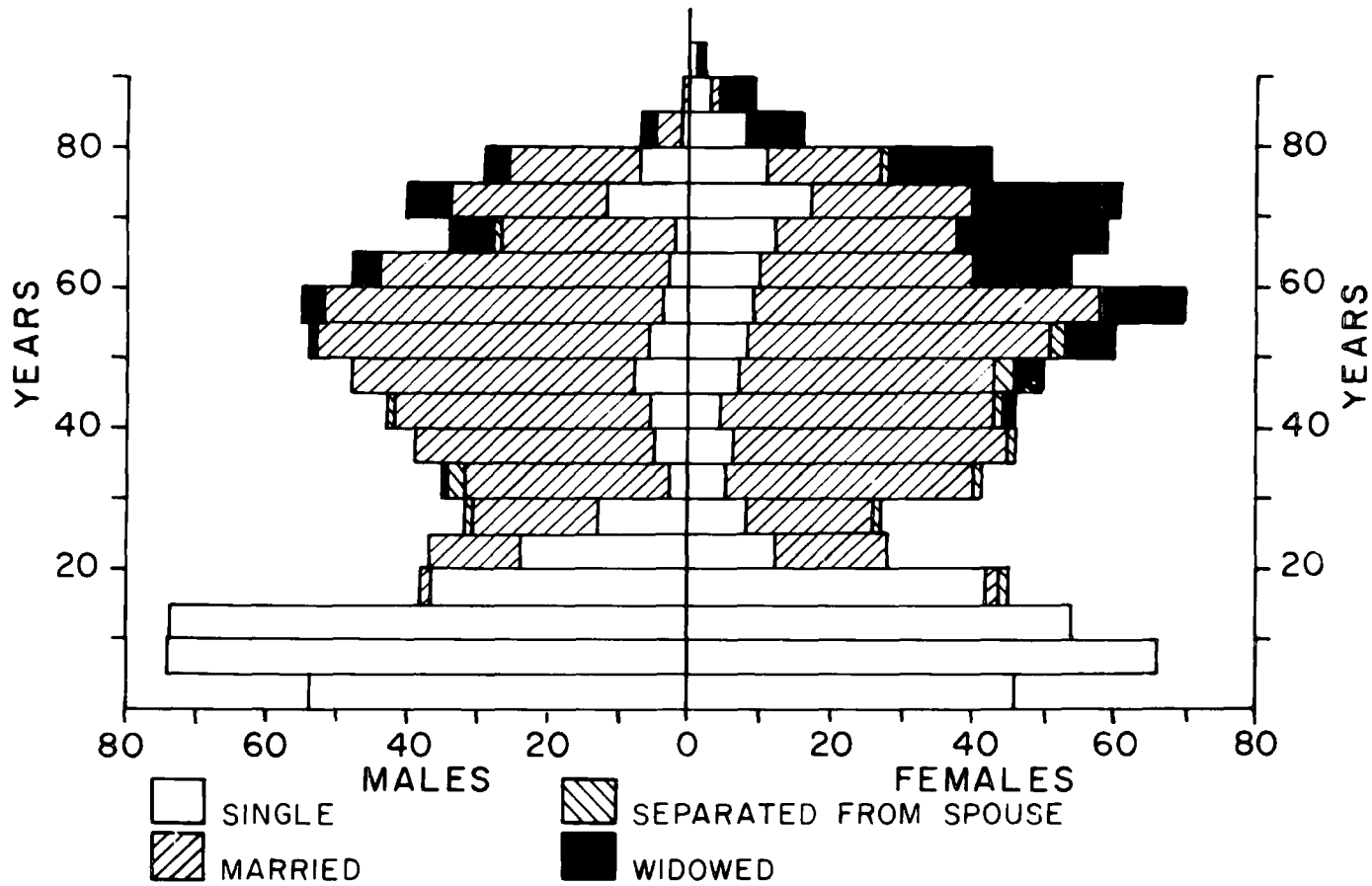


Diagram II. Age Pyramid and Marital Status of Kirkby Stephen's population, June 1965

So Kirkby Stephen had at the commencement of the survey period for this study '.... a top heavy population, a town cluttered with unsightly derelict shops and buildings, declining transport facilities, and very poor employment prospects.' (Parish Council report to the County Council - November 1964.)

Throughout its history Kirkby Stephen has not had a large population. Its peak was reached about 1870 when it had over 1,800 persons. After that period it declined slowly, until the 1930's and 40's, when it was brought up to about 1,700, first by immigration from the North East after the closure of coal mines there, and later by that of wartime evacuees. After this period decline set in again and by 1965 the population was 1,564. During most of its existence the town has been a service centre for the surrounding rural area. Though many attempts have been made to industrialise it, these were never successful for any length of time. Kirkby Stephen was and still is a small country town set in an isolated area, and it may well continue as such.

Chapter 2

ECONOMICS AND POLITICS

Although the parish of Kirkby Stephen is situated in a predominantly rural area, only 10 of its 522 houses are farms, and only a minority, about 7% of the working population (Table I), are concerned directly with farming. Yet the agricultural state of the area and the farming cycle have a direct influence on the economy and social life of the region.

The southern section of the parish, as stated in Chapter 1, consists of heather moorland. This is used for grouse and sheep rearing and is chiefly owned by persons living outside the parish. They exercise the shooting rights, but rent the sheep rearing areas to persons the majority of whom live outside the northern section. The 10 farms situated in that section take practically all the land into their holdings (Map V) and few farmers have any land outside the parish boundary. Their 10 farms consist of the 5 situated along the main street of the town (Plate VI) and 5 to the north-west, west, and south-west (Map V). However, since the town extends for over a mile and a half from north to south the 5 outer farms are no further from its centre than are some of the rest of the houses. All are, in the local terminology, 'in easy walking distance', that is under 2 miles from the town centre. With the exception of Stobars, 408 acres, and Green Riggs, 240 acres, all the farms are between 67 and 100 acres in extent.

When the study began in 1965, four of the farms, Stobars, Trainriggs, Old Fountain, and Gorton House were owner-occupied. The owner-occupier of Stobars also owned Fletcher Hill, Sandwath, Enterber, and Moorlands (purchased between 1957 and 1965). All the farms, with the exception of Old Fountain in the Market Square, have additions of 20-50 acres of rented moorland either in the southern

TABLE ILocal and Non-local Employment - Kirkby Stephen

Local = within 5 miles

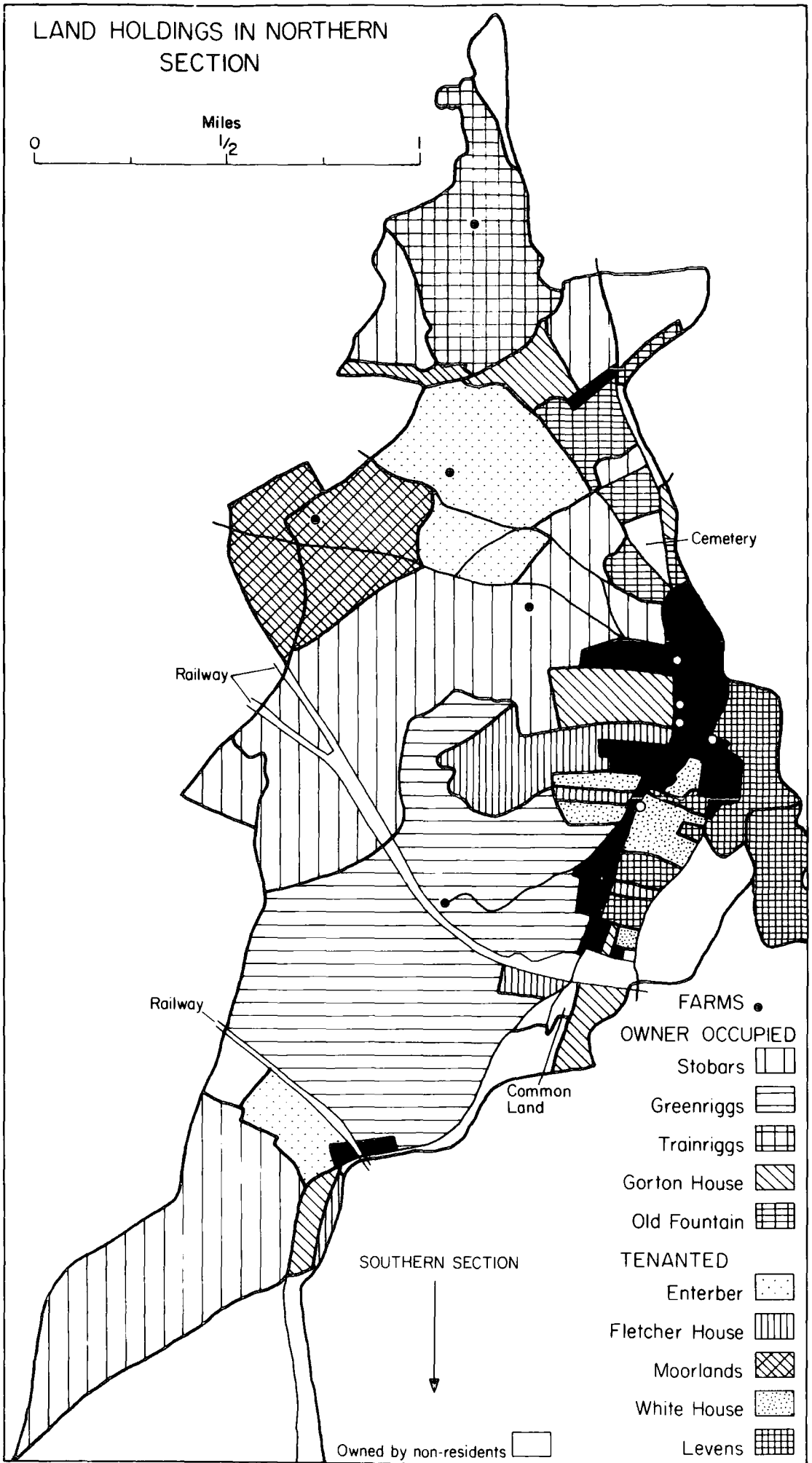
	<u>OCCUPATIONS 1965</u>			
	<u>Men</u>		<u>Women</u>	
	<u>Local</u>	<u>Non-local</u>	<u>Local</u>	<u>Non-local</u>
Railway	29	9		
Farms	24	8	3	
Estate Owner/Manager	1			
Schoolteachers	12	2	12	
Shops	43	2	39	
Caretakers (The Club & 2 schools)	3		3	
County Council Workmen (roadmen)	22	6		
Rural District Workmen (sewerage & refuse)	5	2		
Clerk to the Council	1	2		
Surveyor	1			
Office Workers	7	3	11	
Hotels & Public Houses (full-time)	5		13	
(part-time)			10	
Waitresses (Hotels & Cafes) (full-time)			6	
Agricultural Suppliers (warehousemen & drivers)	7	2		
Milk Marketing Board Officials (A.I. & Testing)	3			
Auction Mart yardmen	3			
Garages (owners)	6	2	4	
(workers)	10			
Quarries (Hartley & Brough) (Manual workers)	24	2		
(owner/manager)	1			
(clerical staff)	1		3	
(electricians)	2			
(joiners)	1			
Building Workers	8	2		
Long distance lorry drivers		11		

OCCUPATIONS (Cont.)

	<u>Men</u>		<u>Women</u>	
	<u>Local</u>	<u>Non-local</u>	<u>Local</u>	<u>Non-local</u>
Post Office Workers				
(Postmen)	5			
(Postmaster)	1			
(sorters & counter)	3		1	
Casual Labourers	4	8		
Old People's Home				
(supervisors)	1		1	
(attendants)	2		5	
Haulage	5			
Factory Workers				
(Kendal Carpets)		21	1	3
(Pennine Fabrics, KS)	1		5	
(Cheese, Appleby)		3		
Dairymen				
(Appleby)		2		
(Kirkby Stephen)	2		1	
School Canteen Workers			10	
Charwomen				
(Office and School)			11	
Domestic Service				
(full-time)			4	
(part-time + insured)			10	
Coal Merchants	4	1		
Insurance Collectors	2			
Eden Valley Water Board				
(manual)	2	6		
Electricity Board				
(manual)	3	3		
Gas Board				
(manual)	2	2		
(Manager)	1			
Hairdressers	1			
Nurses	1		3	
Pharmacists	2			
Doctors	2			
Veterinary	2			
Solicitors	1			
Bank				
(Managers)	3			
(Clerks)	5		1	
Accountants	2			
Butchers	3			
(Assistants)	5	1		

OCCUPATIONS (Cont.)

	<u>Men</u>		<u>Women</u>	
	<u>Local</u>	<u>Non-local</u>	<u>Local</u>	<u>Non-local</u>
Bakers (self-employed)			2	
Ribble Bus Drivers	3			
(Conductors)	1			
Travelling Shop Drivers				
(Co-op)	1			
(Walter Wilson's)	1			
Dumper Driver (Kirkby Thore)		1		
Army Camp Maintenance Workers				
(Warcop)	7			
Chiropodist	1			
Market Gardeners	1	1		
Chimney Sweep	1			
Blacksmith	1			
Plumbers (self-employed)	2			
Electricians (self-employed)	4			
Stonemason (self-employed)	1			
Signwriter (self-employed)	1			
Cloth Merchant (self-employed)	1			
Tailor (has shop as well)				
(self-employed)	1			
Script Writer (self-employed)	1			
Confectioner & Cake Icer				
(self-employed)			1	
Window Cleaner (self-employed)	1			
Joiners (self-employed)	2			
Painters & Decorators				
(self-employed)	5			
Ministers of Religion	5			
Police	4			
Air Force		1		
Engineers (apprentices)		4		
	<u>329</u>	<u>107</u>	<u>160</u>	<u>3</u>



Map V. Land Holdings



a. White House



b. Levens



c. Old Fountain



d. Gorton House



e. Fletcher Hill

part of the parish or in the neighbouring parishes to the south-east. The Levens House tenant farmer also rented (after 1960) a further 126 acres of 'hill' (rough pasture) for cattle rearing in the parish of Nateby.

These farms are mainly family units, such as are typical of Westmorland.⁽¹⁾ Only Levens House and Stobars employ outside labour (non-kin) - Levens one man and a boy, Stobars two men and a boy. Where members of the family are employed it is not customary to pay them wages but only to give them pocket money. (See Table IX, p.116, Chapter 4.)

'If all family labour is charged at the prevailing rate no surplus (money) remains. Thus the farms are in general too small in scale both to support the amount of labour which they use and to yield a management and investment return comparable to that of other groups of farms, e.g. yield of £59.4 per acre in Cumberland Plain⁽²⁾ compared with £29.8 per acre in Kirkby Stephen area.' Agriculture of Cumberland and Westmorland. Lancaster University pamphlet, p.15.

The land in the northern section of the parish is predominantly used for hay and pasturage for sheep and cattle, and only about 20 acres are used for cereals and root crops (Map III), intended for animal feed stuffs and not for human consumption. It was stated by all the farmers that profits cannot be made on cereals due to their poor yield and inability to ripen adequately in this climate, but they do provide an insurance for winter feeding of cattle, particularly if the hay crop is poor. The roots, turnips or swedes, are always used to feed the ewes before they lamb.

The land is extremely difficult to farm efficiently because of the unevenness of the ground on the many drumlins. Accordingly hay-time is a lengthy business, for although all the farms except Old

(1) Agriculture of Cumberland and Westmorland. Lancaster University pamphlet, p. 14.

(2) William's Gosforth is situated on the Cumberland Plain.

Fountain have tractors and modern grass-cutting and turning machinery, much of the crop has to be cut and gathered by horse-driven machinery or by hand (Plate VII a & b). A larger labour force is required than for the flatter land and the financial return is correspondingly poorer. Hence some farmers leave land in permanent pasture instead of using it for hay.

Hay-making requires not only the blessing of the elements but also a co-operative family, other relatives and friends to bring in the crop. No local farmer can get in his hay crop using the sole help of his family or regular employees. Due to the smallness of most of the farms the income is insufficient to pay full wages for additional help. So help is sought and obtained from those persons who will not expect full payment in money, namely kin and those friends with whom the farmer has a reciprocal agreement. This is possible because the Kirkby Stephen hay is the latest to be cropped in the Eden and Lune Valleys, which were the former domiciles of most of the local farmers or their parents.

The mutual aid systems observed by Arensberg and Kimball⁽¹⁾ in Ireland, Rees in Wales and Williams in Gosforth are not found in Kirkby Stephen. The situation in many respects resembles that found by Littlejohn in Westrigg. He ascribed the absence of mutual aid arrangements to the lack of kinship ties among farmers and to a tradition of independence. Both these factors are found in Kirkby Stephen. None of the local farmers are linked by ties of kinship, neither have they had a long association with the area. Only one farmer followed his father as tenant and the latter, who came to the area in 1937, was always considered an 'incomer', i.e. someone not born or bred in the area. (The social implications of this are discussed later.) The local farmers tend to seek help from relatives

(1) Arensberg, C.M. and Kimball, S.T. Family and Community in Ireland (2nd Edition, Harvard University Press, 1968)



a. The horse-rake



b. Father, son and daughter shaking out
the hay cocks

and friends living in the area from which they are derived. This serves to alienate them further from the local people and it intensifies the farmers' extra-parish links.

There is a widely held and practised belief in Kirkby Stephen that people, with the exception of the aged, should only seek help from outside their kin group in cases of dire emergency. They expect the same behaviour of other people. Also, the local people do not readily extend assistance to 'incomers', even if it is sought by them.

A good quality hay crop is essential for good quality milk, and it is upon the milk cheque that the local farmers rely for a substantial part of their income. Even if the weather is satisfactory, the natural grassland has to be improved with the use of expensive applications of nitrogen, lime and phosphate. Although it is generally accepted that silage made with green grass would be the most economical method of using the grass, the local herds (15 - 20 cows) are too small for the expense of installing and maintaining silos.

The traditional dairy cow in this region until about 1960 was the dairy Shorthorn. However, this breed has lost favour with small farmers as it is not regarded as being satisfactory for providing milk and beef. Local farmers have gradually re-stocked with Friesians and Ayrshires, the latter being more favoured, for after 6 - 8 years it still has good beef value.

Store cattle, Galloways, and crosses with Friesian, Hereford and Shorthorn, are also reared on some of the farms, but farmers in the lower region of the parish are more concerned with breeding pure bred for dairy herds.

On some of the land over 1,000 feet in the upper region of the parish and in the parishes south and south-east of Kirkby Stephen beef cattle are reared with the aid of Government subsidy schemes. These cattle calve and suckle their young, and the calves at 9 - 15 months are sold at the spring and autumn sales at Kirkby Stephen auction mart to dealers from various parts of England and Scotland. In the 1965, 1966 and 1967 sales the principal buyers came from East Anglia. These dealers re-sell the cattle to be fattened on richer pastures on lower land.

To many farmers in this region rearing cattle for beef production is an attractive proposition. Government subsidies in 1965 for calves were £8.0.0d. per head for heifers, and £10.5.0d. per head for steers, and for hill cows they were £13.0.0d. per head per annum.

But the lack of suitable land limits beef cattle production locally.

Sheep are kept on every farm in the parish. Swaledales, the principal breed, are renowned for their thick wool. Kirkby Stephen is the centre of 'C' District Swaledale Breeders Association⁽¹⁾, and the principal sales of Swaledale rams are held in the local auction mart each October. Although Kirkby Stephen farmers rear Swaledale sheep they do not enter rams at prize giving shows and sales. Prize rams are hand-fed and are reared close to the farm-house until they are ready to be shown. None of the local farmers have 'either the time or the money for such goings on'. Any rams which they purchase are obtained from sales outside the parish where prices are lower.

The Lancaster University study of the Agriculture of Cumberland and Westmorland, published in 1967, states that:

(1) Breeders of Swaledale sheep formed a society in 1930 which registers sheep and divided the breeding area into four districts, A, B, C, D. C is the largest.

'It is known that a large proportion of these farms would not provide a full occupation for one man and that income is likely to fluctuate considerably from year to year because of varying seasonal factors.'

The farms of this parish can provide full occupation for at least one man for most of the year but cannot provide an adequate income. The majority of the farmers have, since the mid-1950's, had additional sources of income from that obtained from farming. One buys and retails milk in addition to what his own dairy cows (averaging 11) produce. Four of the other farmers are cattle dealers. That is they buy cattle, house them for periods varying from one night to a maximum of one week, and then re-sell them at auction marts in Barnard Castle and Bishop Auckland in County Durham, Hawes and Richmond in Yorkshire, Kendal in Westmorland, and Penrith, Carlisle and Wigton in Cumberland. None of these cattle dealers own more than one cattle truck and therefore business dealings are limited both by capacity and distance. Also time for these deals must be taken from what is required for their own farm duties. During the study period one of these dealer/farmers became bankrupt by neglecting one job for the other, and neither of these jobs provided an adequate income.

Another farmer buys, renovates, and re-sells agricultural machinery. Two of the remaining three are owners of the largest farms in the parish, and in addition draw rents from houses and farms outside. The remaining farmer does nothing outside his 67 acres, possibly because of ill health. So on all but the two largest farms farming is unprofitable, and this is said to account for frequent changes of tenants and owners. However, it is believed by non-farm people in Kirkby Stephen (and elsewhere) that all farmers are wealthy. The belief is fostered by the sales held in the local auction mart - the cattle sales in the spring (usually late April, but delayed until May if the winter is prolonged) and the three weeks of sheep

sales (ewes and 'jimmer' lambs in the first week in October, and rams and ram lambs in the last two weeks), for which the Auction Company's annual turnover for the years 1965, 1966 and 1967 averaged about £400,000. It is not the yearly average which causes the most comment but the prices paid for individual animals. The Champion Rams are outstanding examples, top prices in the period 1960-66 being:-

1960	-	£1,200
1961	-	£1,500
1962	-	£1,800
1963	-	£2,400
1964	-	£1,800
1965	-	£1,800 ⁽¹⁾
1966	-	£1,500

A typical comment from a non-farmer, "Farmers must be 'too well off' (wealthy) if they can pay three to four times a working man's wage (annual income) for one animal". But many local people, farmers and others, doubt whether any money actually changes hands in these transactions. It is generally accepted that kin, and sometimes friends, will bid up an animal on the understanding that a similar service will be performed for them when the opportunity arises. The great disadvantage is that unless the bidders are carefully watched, and bids are usually made so that they are only obvious to the auctioneer, a person might find himself purchasing an animal he has no wish to possess. It is obvious that safeguards are made, such as the seller agreeing to reimburse the buyer. The system falls down sometimes, for feuds between farmers are sometimes explained as, "He did not do right by 'x' at the sales."

(1) For a photograph of this ram see Plate VIII.



a. Judging the rams



b. A champion ram

Great prestige, as well as financial gain, is attached to the price paid and obtained for a ram. If a farmer manages to sell a ram which has gained a show award for over £1,000, he is established as a Champion breeder, and subsequently his sheep are sold for higher prices than the average. This is fostered by the Auction Company who get a commission of sixpence in the pound if sold; threepence if unsold. The auction announces, e.g. 'Another ram (or tupp) from Mr. B. breeder of the ram which fetched £2,400 last year.'

The purchaser of a ram costing over £1,000 knows that the lambs bred from such an animal will bring exceptionally high prices at the next sales as compared with an animal costing only slightly less.

'The Sales', or 'the Great Sales', as they are known throughout North Western England, attract buyers and spectators from Southern Scotland, Northern England, the Isle of Man and East Anglia, and agents, usually based in the Midlands, who buy for farmers in South America (where Swaledale sheep are being bred experimentally in Argentina, Chile and Bolivia). Kirkby Stephen farmers are noticeably absent from the lists of sellers and breeders, mainly because they have neither the time nor the money available to go in for prize breeding, and their own sheep and cattle tend to make better prices at other sales where they do not have to compete with large 'champion' breeders. Nevertheless, they are keen spectators and they look on the sales period as an annual holiday. Their farms are run in their absence by their wives and teenage sons who absent themselves from school, to the annoyance of their teachers.

The Sales are great social occasions for they provide the opportunity for farming families and friends of former times, who are dispersed over a wide area, to meet. In fact some meet only on these occasions. It is a frequent practice for visiting farmers to bring their small sons with them as a treat, take them to the sales

for short periods, and then let the children spend the rest of the day with relatives. "My grandsons and great nephews always come for the sales, but they soon get tired of watching so they come here until their fathers are ready to go home". "It is the only time that I can be sure of seeing all the men of my family together," are frequent statements. So the 'Sales' help to reinforce family ties and to make the local non-farm people conscious of their 'farming connections'.

Few women accompany their husbands. The auction rooms and outdoor rings are a male stronghold. Only three women attended the 1965 Sales, and two women, including myself, in 1966. These included a woman who farms in her own right in a neighbouring parish, and the newly married wife (of 'town' origin) of a farmer in Upper Teesdale (in 1965 only) and myself. I was given a place in the clerks' stand by the auctioneer, "So that you can see what's going on and folks won't think it's queer you being there as the company sometimes have to bring in an extra woman clerk." (Auctioneer). The woman who farms in her own right was frequently alluded to as "the woman who comes t'sales", and "You'd think she'd find someone to bid for her." (Hotelkeeper).

Between 3,000 and 4,000 men attend the Sales daily, which is at least twice the population of the town. The town accommodates these men with a struggle. Parking is a major problem. All squares, alleys, roads and lanes are lined with cars and trucks, as are the verges of the roads leading out of the parish. Traffic jams build up and through traffic is at a standstill several times in the day. Reserve police are brought in to supplement the majority of the North Westmorland police force already present, in an attempt to control the traffic. The Auction Mart, situated in the Back Lane (Map IV) is poorly sited and entry and exit are limited to one vehicle at a time. Hold-ups prolong the period of the sales.

Feeding the men is another problem. Farmers are notoriously reluctant to spend money on meals when away from home. At the ordinary sales, which usually open at 10.30 a.m. and end about 3 o'clock, many are prepared to exist on a beef sandwich instead of a hot midday meal. But the Great Sales necessitate farmers who are involved in sales and purchases being in the Auction Mart from about 6.30 a.m. until nearly 11.00 p.m. Therefore more substantial meals are required at as low a price as possible (lower than normally asked by the cafes and hotels), the caterers depending for their profits on sheer numbers. The principal catering is done by two hotels, of which the most popular, the Pennine, makes upwards of 1,500 meals daily. The reason for its popularity is not based on its food, as both hotels provide similar meals, but because it makes special provision for 'Temperance Brethren' (Chapter 1). Under normal circumstances believers in Temperance would never enter public houses, but the Pennine Hotel is able to provide meals in a room detached from the hotel. It attracts not only the 'Temperance Brethren' but their Nonconformist relatives and friends. (A high proportion of farmers in the area are Nonconformists.) Some Nonconformist farmers will enter the hotel bar for a drink during the course of the day, and in fact some of these men admit that the Sales period is the only time when they do drink alcohol. Some do not go quite as far as to purchase beer or spirits, but drink 'Sailor's coffee' containing rum, of which vast quantities are dispensed by the hotel staff throughout the days of the Sales. The other hotel provides food on the premises and does not serve coffee, only alcoholic drinks. In addition to these hotels, all the cafes, both permanent and seasonal, and some private houses share in the catering. The only thing which deters some people from doing so is the lack of equipment.

The money taken by caterers (and by banks) during the sales period is much more than the total for the rest of the year. Without the sales few of the cafes and hotels could continue in business. The majority admit to counting on the Great Sales, and the cattle sales of spring and autumn, to offset the lack of customers during the rest of the year. Therefore they consider it essential to take as much money as possible at sale time. It is also one of the few times when women can find temporary paid employment.

The Great Sales are not looked on with favour by the townsfolk unconnected with farming or the shopkeepers, for although it is a time when food is bought in larger quantities than in the rest of the year, the major part of this food is purchased wholesale outside the town. Many shopkeepers complain that their receipts drop during this period as the congested streets do not encourage shoppers and through traffic is not permitted by the police to stop. The influx of people into the town consists chiefly of men who frequent the public houses and the cafes and not the shops.

Of all the sales held during the year, the horse sale of late September, Cowper Day (Chapter 1 ii) was most beneficial to the shopkeepers as it attracted women and children as well as men. This was because Cowper Day commenced with a parade of all the horses and ponies from the Mallerstang Common in the next parish, to the Auction Mart via the main street of the town (see Plate IX). The parade was headed by the owner of the largest number of horses and ponies which were offered for sale. This spectacle drew large numbers of people both local and from outside the parish. Shops did a roaring trade in ice creams, soft drinks and sweets. Women frequently went shopping for other things while their husbands and children went to view the horses penned outside the Auction Mart.



Plate IX. Cowper Day - The wild ponies being paraded through the town

As with the sheep sales and cattle sales, the horse sales came in for a lot of criticism. The traffic was disorganized (which was true). Many of the visitors were potters (gypsies and tinkers) who were on their way to Brough Hill Fair (a traditional gypsy annual gathering). These people carry large sums of money and display it by peeling off a note from a large wad whenever making a purchase. This is considered vulgar exhibitionism, and doubt is cast on how they got the money. The potter folk exhibited none of the virtues which are considered so essential by the local people - hard work at a permanent job, temperance, goodwill towards others, and cleanliness. Fights occurred and persons and property were damaged. After a disastrous Cowper Day in 1966 when a local doctor had his leg broken by a potter while he was interfering in a quarrel between townsfolk and potters, the Auction Company and the police, supported by the Parish Council, decided that the Cowper Day Sales which had existed for at least 400 years⁽¹⁾ should cease. Only the public-house keepers officially objected for their sales on that day were even higher than for any particular day of the big sales. To them the profit obtained far offset any loss or damage to their property. A horse sale was in fact held in 1967 on Cowper Day, but not in the town. This was a sale held at the farm of the largest horse breeder in the next parish. No potter folk were permitted to enter their animals.⁽²⁾ Some local people mourned the passing of an institution and blamed the police and the Auction Company for not exercising 'a proper control over things'.

(1) Parish Magazine May 1878, p.14. Also Parkinson's Guide 1829, p.10.

(2) Since 1967 the potter folk have concentrated their horse dealing on Wigton in Cumberland.

The local shops can ill afford to lose any opportunity of doing business for the town does not, as it might be supposed from its geographical position (Chapter 1) at the head of the Eden Valley with its isolated farms and small hamlets and villages, mostly without shops, and its distance from other small towns and lack of public transport to them, attract many people from outside the town to purchase goods in its shops.⁽¹⁾ The chemist is an exception as there is no other chemist for a radius of nearly 12 miles. The town is little different in this respect than it was when Kelly's Directory described it in 1869 as a town in which 'the businesses that flourish do so only by patronage of the townsfolk'. Many people living within reach of Kirkby Stephen advance a variety of reasons for not patronising its shops. The selection of goods from which to make a choice is considered to be very limited, particularly in the case of household furnishings. Shops in Kendal, Appleby, Penrith and Carlisle provide efficient 'travellers' (large travelling shops) selling groceries and small household equipment. These travelling shops are obstructed by weather conditions during winter, but great efforts are known to be made to bring the goods to the customers, and their favourable prices and convenience ensure patronage. 'Window shopping' is almost impossible because many of the shops have very small windows, so displays are limited, and what goods are on display are rarely priced. Embarrassment is felt by potential customers if the goods which attract them are found on enquiry to be too expensive.

Kirkby Stephen shopkeepers are aware of these criticisms but are reluctant to make changes. They maintain that they only stock the kind of goods which they are fairly certain of selling, and they have neither the space nor the money to experiment. They estimate that the Kendal-based bakery vans do more business than the local shops, not only in the outer villages and farms but also in Kirkby

(1) This also applies to the weekly market, which had 23 stalls in the 1930's and now has only 4 in summer and 2 in winter (see Plate X).



a. The fish, hardware and fruit and vegetable stalls



b. The Pennine Hotel, with the 'pot' stall in the foreground

Stephen itself. This is attributed to lack of appreciation of 'good stuff' (theirs). There are two locally based travelling shops, but they are much smaller than those from outside the area and the prices are higher. The extra-parish travelling shops are locally believed to run at a loss, but their owners offset this by the 'tremendous profits' that they are reputed to make in their permanent shops.

As studies in Ireland and Wales (particularly those of Arensberg, Rees and Frankenberg) have shown, when local people shop, social relationships are involved. It is the local custom 'to patronise your own', that is, to do business with your relations and/or members of your religious sect (see Chapter 7). Therefore the type of customers and where to shop is not solely determined by the goods and services. It is usual to hear someone say that they prefer, e.g. the meat sold by M's to W's where they shop, but "He's my mother's cousin so I cannot very well leave him." Also if a person says that she has just been to the grocers, then, if you are aware of her religious sect and her relatives you will automatically know which of the grocers she means. To retain a good relationship with a shopkeeper who does not stock all the goods one requires or the make one prefers, it is necessary to purchase the bulk of your order with the person you are obliged to patronise and purchase (or preferably get someone else to purchase for you) those particular articles elsewhere.

The answer to the criticism that goods displayed in the windows are not price marked is that no one would wish anyone else to know what they have paid for a particular article. This was found to be true, even for people who complained at the lack of price tags.

As more and more shops along the main street closed during the 1950's due to lack of business, or death of owner and the business not being resold, several local businessmen (and the Parish Council) became concerned, and in an attempt to stop the decline in business and to promote trading interests a Chamber of Trade was formed.

Membership was not limited to Kirkby Stephen people, but was open to farmers, quarry owners and managers, and businessmen from the neighbouring villages. However, although the majority of local businessmen, both shopkeepers and professional men, belong, the owners of five of the larger shops refused to join the organisation. Even among the Chamber of Trade members there is little agreement. An example of this occurred in 1965 when their committee tried to change the local Half-Day Closing. Over the whole of Westmorland and South West Durham, and part of the North Riding, every shop is closed on Thursday afternoon. The Chamber of Trade committee decided that Kirkby Stephen's shops would benefit if they changes their half-day so as to be open when everyone else was closed. In particular, they would tempt the through traffic to stop. Also Thursday is an Auction Mart weekly sale day and probably if the local shops were open the farmers coming into the sale would bring their wives to shop in the town. Practically all members, at first, were enthusiastic about the proposed change and hopes grew of booming and expanding business. However, when the initial excitement died down members began to produce objections, e.g. "Everyone round about knows that I close on Thursdays, they expect me to be closed then"; "My deliveries are on Tuesday so I must be open Tuesdays". After much discussion and argument a vote was taken and the choice fell on Wednesday, and an announcement was made public that this was to be the official Half-Day Closing. Then one member put a notice in his window stating that in future he would be 'open Thursday afternoon and closed Saturday afternoon'. This arrangement pleased no one else. Also, the shopkeepers who were not in the Chamber of Trade decided among themselves that no matter what alternative day the Chamber agreed to have as a half-day they would adhere to Thursdays, and displayed notices on their doors to this effect. Within two days

several Chamber of Trade members did likewise, so the committee, on behalf of their members, decided to abandon the scheme.

Another venture in 1965 by the Chamber of Trade, frustrated by their members and other townsfolk, was the Civic Trust Scheme. This scheme was intended to make the town centre more attractive by painting, colour-washing, and doing minor alterations to facades, following strictly a colour scheme designed by a competent designer. Several towns in the North West of England, including Kendal, had participated in a similar scheme. The designer, based at Manchester, was invited to submit designs, which were studied by the Chamber of Trade committee, and when they agreed on a particular scheme it was to be displayed, and individuals whose buildings were part of the design were invited to participate in the scheme. This duly occurred, and committee members visited all the property concerned and informed the owners that it was essential for all of them to participate to ensure that the scheme was a success, particularly as the colour scheme for any one building depended upon that of the buildings on either side. The majority of the townsfolk liked the scheme when it was publicly displayed. But before the scheme was put into operation several persons whose buildings, both houses and shops, were conspicuously sited along the main street and whose property had not been painted for several years, had them painted in entirely different colours from those proposed by the scheme. Consequently the scheme had to be abandoned.

The failure of people to co-operate was attributed to the fact that when it was learned that the materials for the scheme would be provided by certain members, its opponents attested that they were promoting their own interests, not those of the townsfolk in general.

The Chamber of Trade is therefore largely ineffective as an organisation for promoting the trading interests of the town. However,

the committee continues to attempt to persuade the Parish and the County Council to improve parking facilities, roads, and 'bus services, and suggests alternatives to Parish Council proposals. Although two members of the Parish Council are also members of the Chamber of Trade, the Parish Council considers that the Chamber's activities are an unwarranted interference in their prerogatives.

Shopkeepers and other businessmen tend to act independently of the Chamber of Trade in their attempts to improve trade and their income. The town has 34 shops which have been in continuous use for at least 50 years; 22 shops closed business between 1939 and 1965, and four between 1965 and 1967. Some of these empty shops are re-used at intervals for a different type of business. In the late 1950's when television and portable transistor radios became popular, four such shops were opened within months of each other on previously empty premises. The new radio shops were in addition to the two long established 'Electrical and Radio' businesses. Of the new shops, two were out of business within a year (due to lack of patronage); another lasted two years, and the final one of the four, who, in addition to his venture into television and radio also sold tourist souvenirs, finally closed due to bankruptcy in 1965.

The 1963 to 1966 period was what was locally termed 'the cafe era'. Because of the number of visitors to the West Coast Illuminations who make Kirkby Stephen their stopping place, the cafes and hotels do good business during the season (in addition to the earlier mentioned Auction Sales). A man who had a sweet shop on the outskirts of the town decided to take over one of the empty shops in the Market Square and open it as a cafe. It appeared to do well, and as a result before the season was over two other people had opened cafes. By the next year, 1964, the number had risen to seven, including a person who had turned her sitting room (previously a drapery shop) into a snack bar. By the time the last two had opened

the first three closed. By the summer of 1966 all the 'new' cafes had failed. It appeared that few of the people had foreseen the hard work involved in making an adequate income, or that from the profits had to be subtracted wages, rates, equipment, and fuel, and that the premises had to conform with Government regulations, which required the installation of fittings which were in fact too expensive for the proprietors. Just before the last of the new cafes ceased to do business, a local man opened an antique shop which appeared to be popular with passers-through, though the local people were astonished at the prices charged for goods similar or inferior to what they had in their own homes. Soon two more antique shops were opened by a local woman, who had never been in business before, and by a man who had a similar business in Yorkshire. By 1967 the first one closed for reasons unknown. (1)

Not all the newly opened businesses failed when similar old established ones flourished, or at least remained in business, as did the cafes. In 1965 there was only one hairdresser, not a local man, who did a brisk business, but a year later two other hairdressers came and opened salons in the town. The original hairdresser a year later had to close down due to losing his customers to the new shops.

The opening of the supermarket in 1960 (in the old cinema) with its variety of types of goods, gave some shopkeepers the idea that it might be to their advantage to extend their range of goods. However, people openly questioned the 'right' of a person to infringe the monopoly of others. One draper hastily returned his supply of confectionary when he began to fear that he would lose his drapery customers. The newsagents still stock small quantities of sweets in tubes and bars of chocolate, and a greengrocer items of hardware, but all claim that the local people rarely purchase these from them.

There is strong feeling in this community that what is long established is virtuous and is right. Therefore it was right for a

(1) By 1968 two more antique shops were opened and two of the earlier ones closed down.

certain man to sell stationery but not right for him to sell sweets. This attitude also accounts for the supermarket's lack of prosperity. When the supermarket was first established it was modelled on supermarkets that are to be found in most towns in the British Isles. Goods have prices marked on them and displayed on the shelves, and the customer, after first picking up a wire basket at the entrance, is supposed to walk throughout the store. Goods are not obtained on credit, neither are orders taken or delivered. This way of shopping is not in keeping with the traditional ways of Kirkby Stephen people, who expect to be served, helped, pay when convenient, and also, if the goods purchased are too heavy for them to carry, expect that the shopkeeper or his assistants will deliver them to their car or their homes.

The local supermarket is owned by a national chainstore company, which has had a grocery shop in the town since 1923. In order to retain their customers they had to revert to local practice, except that only very large orders, or those of long established customers, are delivered. The supermarket's customers are mainly those who patronised the earlier shop, incomers, 'people with no loyalties', i.e. with no obligations to purchase elsewhere, through traffic, and the second largest hotel in the town. However, since the introduction of Selective Employment Tax (1966) they have had to reduce the staff by half to make economies.

As will be discussed in detail in Chapter 4, employment locally is dependent in the majority of cases on the social relations which an employer has with a potential employee or his or her parents. For example, shops and other businesses belonging to a member of a particular religious sect will tend to employ sect members. People are expected to employ relatives in preference to others.

The lack of opportunities for the employment of both adolescents and adults is a constant concern for the people of Kirkby Stephen,

particularly for those under 40 years of age (see Age Pyramid Diagram II). Many are dissatisfied with the wages paid by local employers. On the other hand, local employers do not appear to make high profits, and in most cases they seem to work harder and for longer hours than their employees. During the fieldwork period I never heard anyone criticise their employer for their low (by national comparison) wage. A nebulous 'they' were always to blame for the low wages and lack of employment opportunities.

There existed a fear that the employment opportunities would rapidly diminish in the near future. The principal employers of the district are the shops, the railway, the farms, the quarries, and the County Council (roadmen) (Table I). With increased costs due to an increase in national insurance rates plus declining trade due to depopulation of rural North Westmorland (Chapter 1 ii), the shops are reducing staffs. The local railway was closed, including Kirkby Stephen East Station in 1962⁽¹⁾ and the second station - The Midland - is due to close down in the near future, and staff are being drafted elsewhere, which means persons leaving the district or having to seek another job locally. The hill farms, on which about half the local farm workers are employed, are undergoing a change in farming patterns. Many of these farms -

'are purchased by absentee landlords, who then use them merely for grazing young cattle which are allowed to range over the land without fences and gates Consequently no attempt is made to cultivate the land for hay or other crops This growth of ranch farming has been yet another factor in depopulating our district; besides reducing the fertility and productivity of the land'. (Annual Report of Medical Officer of Health for rural North Westmorland, 1965, page 9.)

The two quarries continue to reduce their staffs, despite the opening of new faces.

(1) This closure prevented nearly 30 local people from commuting daily to Appleby, Penrith and Kendal, because a 'bus service was not introduced to replace the train service. Only people with private transport could continue to work in those places.

The County Council, after abandoning a road improvement scheme in the parish, reduced employees or drafted them too far away from Kirkby Stephen for local commuting purposes.

By 1967 the five principal types of work showed a marked decline in local employees (Table II).

TABLE II

Changes in local employees - January 1965
to December 1967

	<u>1965</u>		<u>1967</u>	
	<u>Men</u>	<u>Women</u>	<u>Men</u>	<u>Women</u>
Shops	43	39	30	28
Railway	29	-	15	-
Farms	24	3	18	2
Quarries (manual workers)	24	-	19	-
County Council (roadmen)	22	-	16	-

The above table only takes into account local persons who are employed locally, that is within five miles of the parish. The principal outside employer is the Carpet factory at Kendal, but as with the cheese factory and dairy at Appleby, the number employed fluctuates over the year. Employment at either town is considered as a stop gap until something turns up locally or else better opportunities resulting in living elsewhere offer themselves. Factory work does not appeal to local people (see Chapter 4) and also the daily journey of over two hours to Kendal renders it more unattractive.

Many people are aware that new categories of employment are needed, but they have not much faith that 'they' will be instrumental in providing them in the foreseeable future.

Who are 'they'? They cannot be identified with the Government. The Government is in London, which is considered too far away for them to be aware of Kirkby Stephen's existence. National politics are of little interest to the majority of local people. Even the General Election of 1966 passed off with very little comment. Kirkby Stephen is part of a safe Conservative seat, and most people appear to be satisfied with the local Member. "He is doing as well as he can, I suppose", is the usual remark if anyone comments on his work. The local people cannot fail to be aware of his activities if they read the local paper - 'Cumberland and Westmorland Herald' - for it records his speeches in the House, his views on world affairs, etc.. His visits to the area are notified in advance, so that his constituents can meet him and discuss any problems. But, "He'll be like as not knocking his head against a brick wall if he tries to get them to do anything about conditions up here."⁽¹⁾ (Parish Councillor).

'They' sometimes materialise as the County Council at Kendal. Kirkby Stephen people are unanimous that the County Council have a grudge against the town. The wheels of the County Council do seem to turn very slowly in the affairs of Kirkby Stephen. For example, every year since 1934 the local water supply has been reported by the County Medical Officer of Health's Report in terms such as 'inefficient and inadequate', 'discoloration after wet weather', 'shortages in the higher parts of the town', and 'the supply is long overdue for drastic renovations'. In 1966 the highest parts of the town had their tap flow reduced to a trickle, and many people had to install a rainwater tank to enable them to rinse their washing, as the tap water was so brown that it discoloured clothing. Even more serious in some people's eyes was that 'the inadequate local water

(1) The Government did set up a Rural Industries Board in 1964 to encourage industry to set up in rural areas, and in 1965 the Department of Economic Affairs did a sub-regional study of Cumberland and Westmorland. But Kirkby Stephen up to 1968 saw no direct benefit from these two organisations.

supply' was one of the reasons given for a milk drying factory not being established in the town.⁽¹⁾

Although 28% of the houses are classed as semi-derelict by the local surveyor, the County Council has refused to permit the further building of Council houses, stating, "There is no urgent need for them in an area of declining population such as rural North Westmorland." (Reply to Parish Council's request January 1962.) Yet the number of applications for Council houses varied from 20 to 26⁽²⁾ for each house vacant in 1965 and 1966.

The local Parish Council, anxious to provide amenities for visitors, has been trying to persuade the County Council to build permanent public conveniences ever since the 'temporary' ones were erected in 1937. In this particular case the Parish Council contributed to the delay by failure to agree, even among themselves, where these should be sited. Objections to sites suggested by the County Council were, e.g. that certain shops would have an unfair advantage if visitors would be forced to pass them on the way to the conveniences, or that the value of property near the site would be reduced. The much needed car park was delayed by similar arguments. But 'they' were responsible, not local officials.

The Parish Council, although its Chairman is also a County Councillor (discussed later), views the County Council as a threat to its dedicated purpose of arresting the drift of population away from the town by improving the employment situation. The Parish Council has worked hard, at least since 1945, to attract an industry or preferably industries into the area, principally to employ men, in spite of the local attitude to factory work. Whenever the

(1) The manufacturers of a baby food product were seeking a site in Westmorland for a milk drying plant in 1963. A good constant supply of water was needed for the factory processes.

(2) At least 60% of these applications were from people living outside the parish.

management of a factory in the North of England is known to be considering expansion, the Chairman of the Parish Council writes to them and suggests Kirkby Stephen as a possible site. Sometimes this brings results in the form of letters asking for further information, sometimes the Council has a visit from the firm's planning board, and sometimes they have been successful, as in the case of the two small fabric-finishing factories,⁽¹⁾ (Chapter 1 ii), which unfortunately only employ one man. In the period 1960 to 1966 attempts were made to attract a shoe factory, a Close Security prison, a chemical industry, a milk-drying plant, a bobbin mill (producing wooden bobbins for the textile industries of Lancashire), a horn mill (for shaping and polishing cows' horns to make into ornaments and buttons), and factories for making prefabricated buildings and plaster boards. All were of no avail for a variety of reasons, the principal ones being, 1. inaccessibility ('if the County Council had improved the roads 24 miles (to Kendal) would not have worried anyone.') 2. A poor water supply - 'the County Council's fault', though they could scarcely be blamed for the surface rock being predominantly limestone, which frustrated water retention. 3. Lack of adequate houses to accommodate key workers (again considered the County Council's fault). 4. Insufficient locally available labour (?), and 5. too many restrictions were imposed by the Town and County Planning Authorities, as interpreted by the County Council's Planning Department.

Of all the above problems, the Parish Council found that of 'insufficient locally available labour' the most difficult to understand. To them there were plenty of people who would be willing and

(1) Both of which were closing down by the end of the survey period due to being uneconomical.

eager to relinquish their present job, particularly if it was not local, and seek employment in a new factory. Also, every year school-leavers who had to leave the area to seek employment (Chapter 4) could be induced (or so it was believed) to work in Kirkby Stephen. There were plenty of under-employed people in North Westmorland who could come to Kirkby Stephen to work in the new factories, but factory planners want a definite labour force not a probable one. Lack of adequate houses annoyed them - certainly there were no Council houses available (because the County Council refused to sanction any more), but there were many houses in the town which were under-occupied and also semi-derelict which could be improved with money. "They cannot expect to come here and have it all served on a plate. Plenty of local people have had to put up with houses without hot water and bathrooms, but when they have earned enough money to pay for them they have had them put in. Any incomers can do the same." (A Parish Councillor).

These were difficulties in the way of bringing in industry that the councillors had not anticipated.

In 1965 other ideas were put forward in the Council meetings for bringing money and employment to Kirkby Stephen. If factories could not be attracted in the foreseeable future, then they would attempt to develop it as a tourist centre. At the September meeting it was decided to apply for Kirkby Stephen to be included in the Lake District National Park, or the parish to be established as a National Park to attract tourists. Unfortunately admission to a National Park is 'a very protracted business'. (Termed so in a reply to the application.) Also the National Park Committee were not very hopeful, as the area was not considered (in whose opinion it was not stated) to have 'great scenic beauty'. Inclusion in a National Park area would, it was pointed out, preclude 'any industrial development such as would affect the landscape.'

The result of the negotiations was that the Parish Council decided to drop the idea, but would continue to encourage the development of the town as a tourist centre 'without the added attraction of its being a nationally recognised area of natural beauty'. (Council Report). The major obstacles considered to stand in their way were: the absence of gardens, public parks and flower-bedecked streets, and the condition of the river, which was full of debris and since the destruction of the weir in 1961 is very shallow and stagnant in dry weather. Plans were made to put hanging baskets and flower tubs in the main streets and plant bulbs in the grass verges of the approach roads, plant trees along the river bank and on the grass verges of the Westgarth housing estate. The river was to be cleaned out and the weir repaired.

Unfortunately estimates for providing and planting flowers and trees proved prohibitive. It was felt by the Council that the rates, which were the highest in North Westmorland, could not stand a further increase large enough for the scheme. The estimated cost put the majority of councillors against the scheme. One councillor tentatively suggested a public appeal, but the negative result of earlier public appeals in Kirkby Stephen made them decide against the suggestion.

However, just as the Parish Council decided to abandon the scheme, a member of the Chamber of Trade announced his own scheme to beautify the town. He advertised it in the local papers and also got some free publicity on Border Television.⁽¹⁾ His scheme was ostensibly to mark his Silver Jubilee (25 years) in business. He put up £200 and invited people both within the parish and outside

(1) Independent television operating to cover North West England and South West Scotland.

the area to contribute money, plants, or time, to his scheme 'to beautify Kirkby Stephen and surroundings'. Contributions were slow to arrive and came mainly from people living outside the town, but his own contribution and physical efforts were sufficient at least to start the planting programme. It was also given support by the County Council Planning Department.

The Parish Council did not give any support to the scheme, and considered its launching by a member of the Chamber of Trade as a further example of interference in what they considered their prerogative. The support given to the scheme by the County Council, especially when they offered no help to the Parish Council's scheme, was taken as a deliberate insult.

Many townspeople considered that anyone who was prepared to spend £200 on something not obviously to his benefit must have some ulterior motive. He was known to have a successful business - the most successful in the parish. People are suspicious of success and consequent wealth (or assumed wealth), in a community where few are successful in business. The £200 gift was an example of his being too successful, so the Parish Council was commended by them for not supporting the scheme.

The dealings of the Parish Council with the County Council are rarely judged favourably by local people, as Frankenberg found in Pentreidiwaith -

'The County Council makes decisions which affect villagers and which they do not like. The task of interpreting such higher decisions and advocating their adoption falls on the Parish Council.'

An event during my fieldwork period for which the Parish Council was blamed was the demolition of a row of shops and houses in the old part of the town (Silver Street, Plate XIVb) in order to widen the road to the Grammar School and new Fire Station. The Parish Council were known to have opposed this action, but to have had one's views disregarded is considered to be the same as not

having expressed them.

Parish Council meetings are open to the public. Unlike the Parish Council of Pentreidiwaith (*ibid.* p.70), they do not meet in private, except when selecting tenants for Council houses. This does not mean that the general public attend their meetings en masse, but there is always the chance that they may do so. I attended most of the monthly Parish Council meetings in 1965 and 1966. The largest number of the public to attend was four - two elderly men who had hopes of being on the Parish Council in the future, a female school teacher who had attended regularly for over six years, and myself. Usually there were only three spectators, one of the two men mentioned above, the woman teacher and myself.

Holding elections for Parish Councillors is the general practice legally established⁽¹⁾ throughout England and Wales, but no election has taken place in Kirkby Stephen since 1937⁽²⁾. (Williams comments on a similar situation in Gosforth (p.175)). When a vacancy occurs the remaining eight Councillors get together in private session and decide whom they shall ask to fill the vacancy. This is invariably someone who has been attending their meetings for several years in the hope of being co-opted. Failing this they invite someone who is known to be 'public-minded' (i.e. prepared to be active in local affairs). All Councillors must be 'good' persons in terms of the local value system, and if not locally born, though this is preferred, at least to have lived in the parish for many years. "We also try to strike a nice balance between church and chapel people." Therefore the Parish Council can be said to perpetuate itself and as a result is conservative.

(1) Arnold-Baker C. 'New Law and Practice of Parish Administration 1966' (Longcross Press 1966), p.34.

(2) On this occasion two men sought election for one seat. One was elected, the other was co-opted in the following year.

In the period January 1965 to December 1967 there was no change in the composition of the Parish Council (Table III). Only the two headmasters were not born in the parish. The retired headmaster, who is the Chairman, has lived in Kirkby Stephen for nearly 40 years. In addition to his role as Chairman of the Parish Council he is also a Rural District Councillor and a member of the County Council. The Parish Council proudly claims to have 'a foot in every camp'.

To be a Parish Councillor, Rural District Councillor, or even County Councillor, does not carry much prestige. Few people wish to be one, particularly a Parish Councillor dealing with local affairs, as they do not want to have to make decisions which will make them the butt of local criticism. This is quite different to the situation in Gosforth, where Williams claims that local people would not want the role due to the Parish Council's 'few functions and very little power'.(p.175).

Although the parish meetings are nominally open, few local people are aware of all the subjects discussed. Reports are not sent to the local papers because the Clerk to the Council considers that this would arouse criticism from people who did not know the difficulties involved - the same reason why Pentrediwaith Parish Council reports were not made public (p.70). After the discussion of an item the Clerk asks members whether it shall be recorded and if so in what manner. As far as possible names and opinions are omitted.

Another similarity between the Kirkby Stephen and Pentrediwaith Parish Councils is the number of matters which both Councils concern themselves with in addition to their official duties, and how they are encouraged to act as decision-takers. In addition to the problems of industrialising the area and establishing a tourist industry which came up at all meetings in the period January 1965

TABLE IIIParish Councillors

<u>Sex</u>	<u>Age</u>	<u>Salaried</u>	<u>Self- Employed</u>	<u>Wage Earning</u>	<u>Church</u>	<u>Chapel</u>	<u>Member of Chamber of Trade</u>
Chairman	70's	Headmaster (rt)				Quaker	
Vice-Chairman	70's		Grocer & Wholesale Tobacconist		1		1
Member (male)	50's	Headmaster			1		
Member (male)	70's		Farmer (rt)			1	
Member (male)	70's		Hairdresser (rt)			1	
Member (male)	70's		Builders Merchant & Ironmonger		1		1
Member (male)	50's			Shop Assist.		1	
Member (female)	60's	Farmer's wife (rt)			1		
Member (female)	60's	School- teacher (rt)			1		

to December 1967, the Councillors dealt with the siting and introduction of telephone kiosks, alteration of local signposts and placards advertising the town, dangerous buildings, the War Memorial, Border Television 'Top Town' competitions, siting of 'bus stops, public benches for old people, pony trekking, the restoration of the War Memorial, conservation of the chapel cemetery, repairing the cloisters, expansion of evening classes, a swimming pool fund, Christmas illuminations for the town, the arrangement of amusements for the Temperance Demonstration, the allocation of vacant Council houses, and several other minor matters.

The placing of tenants in Council houses was the most arduous task. Above all else the Parish Council are concerned with maintaining good social relations among the local people, and therefore it is considered essential that a Councillor should have lived in the parish long enough to be acquainted with all the inhabitants and be knowledgeable of their social relations and individual circumstances. Particularly as potential tenants are not placed on a waiting list but have to make a fresh application whenever a house becomes vacant if their former application has failed.

'There is no anonymity (in the selection for Council houses) and the House Committee attach importance to the personal knowledge of Councillors in making their selection - this system has its advantages as well as its disadvantages.'
(Medical Officer of Health's Report for the Rural District of North Westmorland 1957).

The situation is further complicated by the fact that most of the applicants prefer to be housed in Westgarth, the more recently built (Post War Development) of the two estates (Chapter 1 ii) To live on the Westgarth estate is considered preferable socially.

When the application list is closed the Councillors meet to consider the potential tenants. The type of questions they ask themselves and each other involve - is the potential tenant likely to fit in with the neighbourhood and the immediate neighbours; do

feuds⁽¹⁾, which are relatively common, exist between that person's family and that of any of the near neighbours; are they likely to keep the house in a decent state of decoration; are they able to pay the rent; and how great is their need for a Council house?

It is accepted that locally born people have preference over incomers even of long duration, and that children are not a necessary requirement for tenants.

It is considered socially desirable by local people to own their own house in preference to living in a Council house, and the Parish Council foster this ideal. They consider it their duty to the town to encourage people to purchase their own houses. Hence they delay giving a tenancy to anyone (however needy) who they consider will be able 'within a few years' to do this. This also serves an additional purpose as it prevents more houses becoming derelict. A semi-derelict house, i.e. one with major structural faults, without hot water or a bathroom, can sometimes be purchased for a very small sum - under £100, and the purchaser will gradually bring it into a habitable state. On rare occasions 'Local Authority Improvement Grants' can be obtained to pay half the cost, but the Rural District Council who allots them is reluctant to pay for work not done by professionals, and many of these houses are not considered suitable for renovation. Therefore many people who buy this type of house make the necessary repairs and improvements themselves or with the help of relatives and friends, over a long period of time.

Although the Chairman of the Parish Council is a member of the Rural District Council and the County Council, the local Parish Council is essentially inward looking. The affairs of North

(1) Feuds - inveterate strife between parties or families. Feuds are discussed in detail in Chapter 3.

TABLE IVRural District Councillors for Kirkby Stephen

<u>Sex</u>	<u>Age</u>	<u>Incomer</u>	<u>Salaried</u>	<u>Self- Employed</u>	<u>Wage Earning</u>	<u>Church</u>	<u>Chapel</u>
Male	70's		Headmaster (rt)				Quaker
Male	60's			Garage Owner			1
Male	70's	1	Civil Servant (rt)			1	
Female	50's	1	Nurse			1	

Westmorland in general are not considered by them to be their concern, unless they directly affect the parish. Nor is it considered that the local Rural District Councillors should have the attributes thought essential for Parish Councillors. They do not disapprove of the nomination of 'incomers' (see Chapter 3) to the list of candidates. Two of the Rural Councillors included in Table IV are termed 'incomers'.

The industries the Parish Councillors seek to establish in Kirkby Stephen are primarily intended to employ the local people. When the two small fabric finishing factories, established in 1959, employed mainly women from outside the parish (27 out of 32) they ceased to show any interest in the factories for they considered them to be of no importance to the town even for the money obtained from their rates. They want to attract tourists so as to benefit economically from them. They do not wish to beautify the town for its own sake; they want the status quo in social relations to be maintained, which is why they choose their members and their Council tenants with such care.

The importance of the role played by the Parish Council is that, (a) it is the only official body recognised by outside governmental bodies, (b) it represents the parishoners, (c) it works for the benefit of local people, and (d) it is recognised as a decision-taker in other problems as well as those directly connected with Parish Council affairs officially determined, which are minor roads in the parish, footpaths, sewerage, street lighting and provision for burial of the dead.

Bailey⁽¹⁾ 1965 studied decisions made in Councils and Committees

(1) Bailey, F.G. Decisions in Councils and Committees in Political Systems and the Distribution of Power. ASA Monograph 2 (Tavistock 1965)

by consensus and majority voting in India village panchayats and in Pentrediwaith (using material derived from Frankenberg's book). He advances the hypothesis that decisions by consensus are more likely to be taken and successfully implemented, in communities where relationships 'tend to be multiplex, because in such communities disagreements cannot easily be isolated within one realm of social action and tend to cause total paralysis' (p.5). I consider that Bailey's hypothesis is valid in the case of Kirkby Stephen, and accounts for the Parish Council being more successful as a decision taker than is the Chamber of Trade. In the case of the former, and in the majority of other committees in the community, it is considered essential for all decisions to be arrived at by consensus. Naturally this procedure is somewhat lengthy and not always is a decision actually taken. The proposal may be discussed again at some later date or abandoned altogether. The Chamber of Trade act differently. They attempt to reach decisions quickly by voting on proposals and accepting a majority vote. The result is, as seen in the case of the Half-Day Closing and the Civic Trust Scheme, that decisions were taken, and afterwards they could not be implemented due to people either not abiding by the vote or else doing something which was quite contrary to the original proposal.

The question can then arise - why does the Chamber of Trade attempt to reach decisions by voting instead of by consensus? The members claim that voting is more 'businesslike' and 'quicker', and also that there are too many people involved to arrive at a consensus. This latter contention gains support from Bailey who maintains that decision by consensus cannot be reached in a council where active members number more than about fifteen (p.2). The Chamber of Trade has over 40 members. These members are not all resident in the parish, and for some, particularly those businessmen who have additional, in

some cases larger, economic interests outside the parish, Kirkby Stephen does not constitute their total environment. They are less involved in local politics, and also local sanctions cannot be fully effective against them.

Local politics and economic values extend into the Magistrates Court. In fact the Chairman of the Parish Council is also Chairman of the Magistrates (Table V).

The eight magistrates include four resident in the parish. The other four have close ties with Kirkby Stephen, for they are all members of the Nonconformist Chapels in the town's Circuit, enjoying high status in their sacred and secular activities, and are active members of the Temperance League, as are also two of the locally resident magistrates. The Chairman of the Magistrates is the President of the Band of Hope.

Any local person who comes before the Court is aware that the magistrates are already in possession of many of the facts or assumed facts of the case before it ever reached Court. Also that his local standing will have some relevance in the case, as his former misdemeanors, if any, even if they have not resulted in prosecution, will be known. Again it is very unlikely that a local person will bring another into court if he is not fairly certain of public approval and the prosecution being successful. In the case of a misdemeanor committed by a young person, it is unlikely that it would ever have resulted in his appearance in court if his parents had responded to warnings from the police of the possible results of that type of behaviour, for example drinking 'under age' or riding a bicycle without lights, and ensured that their son had 'seen the error of his ways'. 'First offences' are rarely brought to court. The police maintain a good relationship with the majority of the townsfolk. As can be expected from the composition of the Magistrates Bench, it is particularly severe with persons who have committed

TABLE VKirkby Stephen Magistrates 1965

<u>Sex</u>	<u>Age</u>	<u>Salaried</u>	<u>Self- Employed</u>	<u>Wage Earning</u>	<u>Church</u>	<u>Chapel</u>	<u>Kirkby Stephen resident</u>
Chairman	70's	Headmaster (rt)				Quaker	1
Male	70's			Railwayman (rt)		1	1
Male	70's		Farmer (rt)			1	1
Male	70's		Farmer			1	
Male	70's		Farmer/ Landowner			1	
Female	70's		Landowner		1		
Female	60's		Widow of Landowner			1	
Female	50's	Teacher's wife			1		1

offences under the influence of alcohol, or after visiting a public house, even if they had only had relatively little to drink.

Poaching is another offence which incurs heavy fines and admonishments. During the fieldwork period several cases came up before the Court. In one case three Liverpool boys who had shot a hare on a landowner's estate in a neighbouring parish were each fined £22. The Magistrates expressed the opinion that it was a particularly grave offence, made even worse 'by the fact that it had occurred on a Sunday'. The two poaching cases which involved local persons were dismissed 'from lack of evidence'.

Frankenberg considered the magistrates of Pentreidiwaith 'to be remote from the ordinary villagers' (p.70) and he quotes examples of individual cases which came before the Court which were purported to show that they were unaware of the economics of the 'ordinary' villagers. A Kirkby Stephen magistrate told a man from Leeds, who earned £17 per week, that he ought not to require time to pay a fine of £12 because 'with that wage you ought always to have money in your pocket'. The fact that the magistrate concerned is a large landowner with an income of probably at least £5,000 per annum obviously affects his judgment, but he is also aware that £17 per week far exceeds the wage paid to a similarly employed local man who appears to maintain his home and family in the locally approved manner. Therefore it is obvious that non-local persons are judged by locally accepted standards.

In the economy of Kirkby Stephen there is little to distinguish the farms from the town. Neither provides well paid employment at the present time, nor is it likely that the economy will be boosted in the near future. Unlike Westrigg, where the farms 'are enterprises in the 'agricultural industry' and not family farms' (p.155), the

farm land of Kirkby Stephen is unsuitable for intensive mechanised farms. Again, for geographical reasons, there are no large industrial developments in the vicinity as there are in the case of Gosforth, to provide employment for local people. If there were it would not only alter the economic scene, but acquaint local people with the 'rights and privileges' of employees in modern industry, which would consequently alter the social environment, due to the fact that obtaining a job would not involve complex social relationships as it does here.

The annual sheep and cattle sales are an ever present reminder that the parish is in a rural setting, and for all the inconvenience they produce for the average parishoner, they are instrumental in enabling some of the business and commercial enterprises to continue. The profits obtained from the Sales offset the poor returns from trade during the rest of the year. The same applies to the transient tourist trade during the summer season and the West Coast Illuminations in autumn. However, it is unlikely that either the Sales or the transient tourist trade will increase or even maintain the present economic state of the parish.

The shops, which are the principal employers of the local people, are declining in number and the empty shops bring to the attention of everyone that the economy is not healthy.

Attempts are constantly being made to try to improve the economic situation, but they are frustrated by parochial loyalties, traditional, and therefore conservative, ways of doing things, and the fact that it is impossible to isolate economic from political factors and the other factors which make up the social system. For the pessimists there is the example of former times when repeated attempts to establish industries in the parish met with failure.

In the economic and political environment (and, as will be shown also in the kinship, recreational and religious spheres) it is obvious that many roles are played by only a few persons. Although this is typical of rural communities (Southall⁽¹⁾ 1959 and Frankenberg⁽²⁾ 1966) the extent it has reached in Kirkby Stephen makes the parish an outstanding example of its kind. I consider that, due to some of the roles being in conflict, such as membership of committees with opposing interests, it is difficult for decisions to be made and for the decisions that are made to be implemented. This makes the community's lack of optimism in the economic future of the parish understandable.

(1) Southall, A. An Operational Theory of Role. Human Relations 12: 17-34. 1959.

(2) Frankenberg, R. British Community Studies: Problems of Synthesis. The Social Anthropology of Complex Societies. ASA Monograph (Tavistock 1966).

Chapter 3

THE PEOPLE OF KIRKBY STEPHEN

One of the first impressions gained by newcomers to the parish is the significance attached by the people to the length of residence. In fact when any inhabitant of the parish is describing another parishioner to a stranger, the description almost always includes a reference to his locally assessed domiciliary status. For example, "He's from an old Kirkby Stephen family"; "He's a Kirkby Stephen lad"; "He's a local/an offcomer/an incomer". Or when making reference to himself - "My family are real Kirkby Stephen people"; "I'm an offcomer/an incomer, you see"; or even - "Don't include me in among these people. I'm not one of them. My wife and I are incomers". (One man of 67 years' residence stated himself to be "an incomer though I've got connections here now - a married daughter".) These terms are used to enhance the description of anyone in both religious and secular social concourse when it is felt that the person under discussion is in need of special consideration or that the person's domiciliary status goes some way to explain his or her behaviour. These terms are meaningful to a person who has lived for several years in the parish or in adjoining parishes, but may be confusing to the stranger.

The terms are primarily used to denote the origin of a person - i.e. where he was born and bred. To be from an old Kirkby Stephen family implies that for at least four generations in the male line individuals have been born within the parish. Of the 655 persons born in Kirkby Stephen (Table VI) 383 claim to belong to this category, and a further 208 that three generations have been born in the parish. This category has prestige value in that members are considered to have a greater claim to the amenities of the place, e.g. a Council house, before other more needy people; attention from tradesmen and

TABLE VIBirth Place of Kirkby Stephen Population - January 1965

<u>Place of Birth</u>	<u>Males</u>	<u>Females</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>% of Total Population (approx)</u>
Kirkby Stephen - Town	312	326)	655	41.8
Outer Parish	8	9)		
Adjoining Parishes ⁽¹⁾	148	168	316	20.5
Cumberland & Westmorland (except above)	136	160	296	18.9
Northern England (excluding Cumberland and Westmorland)	90	121	211	13.5
Midlands ⁽²⁾	2	-	2	0.1
Southern England ⁽³⁾	22	16	38	2.4
Scotland ⁽⁴⁾	13	12	25	1.6
Ireland ⁽⁵⁾	6	6	12	0.7
Wales	1	1	2	0.1
Elsewhere	4	3	7	0.4
TOTALS	742	822	1,564	100.0

(1) Adjoining parishes - Soulby, Waitby, Musgrave, Crossby Garret, Wharton and Mallerstang.

(2) Midlands - in this case Warwickshire and Shropshire.

(3) Southern England - Middlesex, Kent, Sussex, Hampshire, Devon and Cornwall.

(4) Scotland - various counties.

(5) Ireland - Eire.

businessmen; assistance in need, etc.. To be 'a local' means that one's parents, or at least the father,⁽¹⁾ have been born and bred in the parish or one of the neighbouring parishes within a radius of about three miles. People from Brough to the north and Warcop to the north-west, both four miles distant, were not classed as locals. 'Local' people together with 'old Kirkby Stephen people' consider and are considered to be the 'real people' of the place. It is their town, their parish, and it is these people who frequently oppose 'incomers' coming to live in that town. One of the arguments against the introduction of new industries is that "it would flood the town with incomers and it wouldn't be any benefit to the locals, for the incomers would take over everything." (Parish Councillor at Parish meeting to discuss inviting industries to view the parish with the object of setting up factories.)

The classification 'offcomer' is more vague, but it usually means someone from the hills to the east and north of the town. Eighty-two per cent of the 'offcomers' come from the hill farm - sheep rearing plateau of Stainmore (Map II). These people are invariably retired farmers and their wives, or elderly children and widows of farmers. Most have had long acquaintance with the town and have used its services. Many already have relatives in the place. Although they are not accepted as locals, they have an advantage over other incomers in being of farming 'stock' and predominantly Methodist in a place where both characteristics have high prestige value, and are more 'acceptable' to local people. The most frequently stated objection to offcomers taking up residence in the town is that they increase the price of property to the disadvantage of would-be local buyers and that they are invariably elderly, that is over sixty years of age, and have come into Kirkby Stephen to retire. The first objection is valid, as can be seen by anyone

(1) The birth place of the father is considered to be more important than that of the mother.

attending a house auction. Local people are almost always outbid by offcomers, and these offcomers will bid against one another, thereby inflating the price beyond what is locally considered to be appropriate. Local people, unless they have considerable wealth, can only purchase houses, other than semi-derelict ones (Chapter 4), by private arrangement with another local person who is prepared to sell the house 'reasonably'. The objection that the offcomers are old at first seemed to me surprising, for in this society the principal roles in secular and religious activities are held by persons of over 60 years (Chapters 6, 7 and 8), but on further acquaintance with the place it was obvious that old age has prestige and value only if that person has grown old locally and thus has knowledge and appreciation of traditions and the local value system.

An incomer is a person outside these three categories. If he was born and bred in some place outside the areas covered by them, it makes no difference whether that place is 50 or 5,000 miles away.⁽¹⁾ The above descriptions tend to over simplify the situation, for it is by no means clear when an offcomer merges into an incomer. A person referred to in one context as an offcomer can in another be referred to as incomer and some people who are, in terms of origin, incomers are classified with locals.⁽²⁾ However, the majority of incomers are classified and evaluated as 'incomers'.

'Incomer' is frequently used as a derogatory term⁽³⁾ and implies that a person 'does not belong' in the parish, is not acceptable, and cannot be expected to observe the society's code of values. Incomers are considered to have lower standards of behaviour

- (1) A German family and several families from Southern England were classified together with all other incomers.
- (2) e.g. Frankenberg found that 'strangers' in one situation are not necessarily strangers in another. 'Village on the Border' p.43.
- (3) Bracey H.E. In some new English neighbourhoods 'newcomer' is still a term of disparagement. 'Neighbours' (Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1964), p.191.

than any other section of the 'local' people. Therefore, if an incomer breaks the law, his behaviour is partly explained by the fact that he is an incomer.

An incomer may live like the locally born, obeying accepted norms, sending his children to the local day and Sunday schools, joining in local activities. He appears to be accepted until he reacts to some situation in a way which is contrary to local practice, and becomes an outsider, 'an incomer'.

When seeking for an understanding of the importance attached by the inhabitants to domiciliary status, I consider that a number of factors have to be taken into consideration. First, the relative isolation of the parish, harsh weather conditions and the years of economic depression have created a sense of 'belonging' in people whose families have lived here for generations. It is their 'world', and they believe it to be more challenging than the world of others. For example - "none of the soft easy living of southerners, and people in towns who always have had everything laid on for them all their lives", as one old man expressed it. To have met the challenge successfully, as their continuous residence in the parish proves, is considered virtuous. Secondly, the parish is a face-to-face community in which everyone's family and friends are known to the majority. Jenkins, in his study of Aberporth in Wales⁽¹⁾, describes the attitude there in terms appropriate to Kirkby Stephen.

"Incomers are not 'plant y lle'" (children of the place), but 'pobol dwad' (newcomers). They are, in the eyes of local society nobody's 'people', for people are usually 'placed' in this society by their connections. If someone has been fitted into a known kindred then he is 'known'. (p.10).

(1) Jenkins D. 'Aber-porth', in Welsh Rural Communities. Cardiff 1962.

Thirdly, the local born are on the whole very proud of Kirkby Stephen, and the majority do not want to leave it or have it changed. They relish the predictability of their way of life. For life here does have an established pattern which is evidence even in minutiae. Certain activities are appropriate to certain days, even though the only reason given is "they have always been done then and it would not seem 'right' to do them at different times". So, for example, marriages take place on Saturday mornings or Thursday afternoons; friends are visited formally on Wednesday afternoons; on weekdays adults go out on definite errands but not for casual walks; public meetings are held on Mondays and the religious sects' secular activities are invariably arranged for Tuesdays, Thursdays and Fridays. The majority of adults can be depended on to be in their own homes on Wednesday and Saturday evenings. The social behaviour of certain families is predictable. The Xs and Ys are in agreement, whereas the As and Bs are always in discord. The Cs can be relied on in emergencies, but the Ds are not dependable. Also, members of certain families are public spirited and will fill administrative positions to the satisfaction of the majority of local people.

The general belief that incomers will want to change things is not without foundation. Many local people feel it necessary to band together against such attempts and have done so successfully.⁽¹⁾ They also resist the attempts of incomers to get on to committees, into the Chamber of Trade, and the Parish Council. An incomer can only hope to attain to any office if no local person is available. Of course, not all incomers wish to be 'public-spirited'. Those who try to hold aloof entirely from local affairs are condemned by locals

(1) These included a coffee bar for teenagers; a fell walking club for 'the teens and twenties', commercial classes for adults and a by-pass for the town centre.

and incomers alike. To be accepted as worthy by both locals and long-resident incomers one should appear, as one incomer of ten years' residence expressed it, "keen but not over eager - ready to help out but not appearing to want to run things".

The local people of Pentredywaith (Frankenberg 1957) thrust outsiders into roles on committees so that they might 'take the responsibility if things went wrong' (p.41). This is not the case in Kirkby Stephen. People in administrative and executive positions are invariably selected from persons of high domiciliary status, who because of their local knowledge of people and their desires can be counted upon to see that things do not go wrong, or, if they appear to be doing so, will take the appropriate action which will have the support of the majority.

Incomers to Kirkby Stephen have to prove their 'worth' before friendship is extended to them. Local people meeting them in the street would 'pass the time of day', since such greetings are considered polite. (To ignore someone is to insult him. Local people only deliberate insult people with whom they are feuding.) But it may be months before anyone tries to converse with them. When someone does, the incomers are expected to be forthcoming about their former existence, place of birth, parents, occupations, etc.. Not to reveal these particulars is taken as a sign that the person has something to hide. Incomers are more readily accepted if they can produce concrete evidence of their former life in the form of visiting kin. 'One cannot really know a person well unless one knows something about his family' is as true of Kirkby Stephen as of Glan Llyn.⁽¹⁾

Many incomers of both long and short duration resent local attitudes, and many scoff at the local value system which respects the religious sects and their practices (including the Temperance

(1) Owen T.M. 'Chapel and Glan Llyn, Merioneth', p.226.

Movement), and gives prestige to the farmers, and to the 'clannishness' of the kin groups. They comment adversely on the economic state of the town and the predominance of elderly people in local affairs. Many of the criticisms are valid, particularly the latter; but voicing these criticisms does not endear them to the local people or secure acceptance of themselves or of their ideas. Local resentment of the 'new' (1955) Comprehensive School stems partly from the fact that the majority of the staff are incomers who are known to criticise local institutions.

Many incomers of long standing have come to regret their outspokenness, for the local people have long memories and a seeming insult is not forgotten. Thus, incomers who have not come to terms with the local people have to seek their friends and any necessary help from other incomers. This is not wholly satisfactory, as many incomers are not permanently in Kirkby Stephen. The people who make up the 'incomers' are, in the main, of two types: 1. clergymen, bank employees (though two of the three bank managers are locally born men); teachers, doctors, district nurses, and unskilled labourers supplementing local workers on the roads, quarries and Government projects; and 2. spouses of local persons, mainly women. Of the first type, nonconformist clergymen, bank employees and district nurses are employed for temporary periods, and Roman Catholic and Anglican clergymen and teachers are likely to be promoted outside the area, while the unskilled labourers frequently leave when a particular job is completed. Of the second, as will be discussed later, their residence in the parish is frequently dependent on their spouses remaining alive. Therefore, if incomers are likely to remain for a long period in the district they should, for their own comfort, come to terms with their neighbours and make friends with the locals.

In an urban area it is possible for people to live their lives more independently of their relatives, friends and neighbours than in

rural areas such as Kirkby Stephen. In emergencies the incomer who has not been accepted as 'one of us' is in great difficulties, for people do not readily offer help to an outsider. This was revealed by several incidents during the fieldwork. For example, when the local 'uncertain' water supply had a 36 hour break-down, and water had to be conveyed from local streams and the river for household use, very few people had containers large enough for their needs, or the physical strength to carry water long distances. Two local farmers and a dairyman had large containers, which they filled and brought round to the homes of neighbours with whom they were friendly. Several houses were deliberately omitted, either because they were feuding with the householder (discussed later) or he/she was an unacceptable incomer. Again, when the local electricity service had one of its frequent breakdowns and people with all-electric cooking facilities had to depend on relatives or neighbours, many incomers complained that no local people offered them help. When the local 'bus services broke down some incomers were stranded, whereas local people came to the aid of other local people and their friends with Landrovers. Lastly, when an incomer's wife (also an incomer) was about to give birth and the ambulance which was to take her to the nearest hospital, 24 miles distant, was delayed, the husband, who was trying unsuccessfully to locate some local doctor or nurse, sought the help of neighbours (who were unknown to him and unfamiliar with his wife) to come and stay with his wife whilst he was searching. No one approached would come, and in the end the woman gave birth to the child on her own. None of the local people expressed any disapproval; the general opinion was that the couple themselves were to blame for not providing for such an emergency. "She must be a peculiar woman if she has no relatives or friends from her home place to come to look after her at a time like this." Such behaviour would be unheard of among local people or accepted 'incomers' who consider it

to be the duty of neighbours to help one another. Many elderly people with few or no relatives of their own count on the help of neighbours for their every-day existence. (See Chapter 8).

The incomer who is a practising member of one of the sects in Kirkby Stephen is more easily accepted, provided he is prepared to recognise that the older established members constitute the authority as to what should be done and how. The traditional way is almost always considered the best.

Belonging to a congregation means, in effect, participating in a social system. Therefore an established social life is open to the incomer, particularly if he is a Methodist, for this sect has the most active social life of any in the community. (See Chapter 7). High status can be attained by participating in chapel activities, and this status is carried over into public life outside it.

Local people and 'accepted' incomers are largely tolerant of each other's sects, with the exception of the Roman Catholics. The majority are not favourably disposed to Catholics for many reasons (see Chapter 7), two of which are that they are all incomers, and they tend to participate in Roman Catholic social activities outside the parish. The only social activity held by the Catholics in Kirkby Stephen is a weekly whist drive which hardly constitutes a religious inspired activity as do the social activities of the rest of the sects. It is purely for raising funds.

If a person is accepted, which can take anything from a year to a lifetime, he or she can count on help in emergencies from neighbours, other members of his religious group and friends. Reciprocity is expected, for no one is expected to take all and give nothing.

There are many pitfalls for the incomer. It is accepted that neighbours are naturally inquisitive and will expect to be invited to view any major alteration to a house, e.g. a new fireplace, sink unit or bathroom. There are ways of displaying newly acquired

possessions so as not to arouse their envy or contempt (for wasting money). As Owen asserted of Glan Llyn, 'The possession of wealth is not something to be displayed in order to attract admiration' (p.232). As a result it is usually difficult there to distinguish between households of different economic standing. The incomer finds the same attitude and practice here.

The worst pitfall for incomers, offcomers and even unwary locals is the danger of offending a member of a particular kin group. Kinship in Kirkby Stephen has an organic quality, which has been found to be a feature of other rural communities in Britain⁽¹⁾, in that what happens to the individual member is felt by the whole group. Relatives are expected to be loyal to one another. This 'clannishness' has a two-fold social function. On the one hand it gives the individual a sense of security, of belonging. On the other, it acts as a check upon violent and impulsive behaviour - a person will think twice before alienating a body of neighbours (Rees, *ibid.* p.80). About 96% of the population of Kirkby Stephen can claim consanguineous kinship. Eighty-three per cent have relatives of first and second degrees of kinship in the town. The statement often made by incomers that everyone is related to everyone else is largely true. The other assertion frequently made, that they are closely interbred, is not true. There are no first cousin marriages in the parish except among newly arrived incomers.⁽²⁾ The marriage of second cousins, i.e. children whose parents are first cousins, is not encouraged but occasionally happens. People are not keen to claim consanguineous kinship, however distant, with a spouse.

(1) Rees (1950) Williams (1956 & 1963) Frankenberg (1957), Jenkins (1962), Jones (1962), Hughes (1962), Owen (1962) and Emmett (1964).

(2) The lack of first cousin marriages was noted in the areas studied by Rees (Llanfihangel). Also in Tregaron, Emrys Jones found first cousin marriages were rare ('Welsh Rural Communities', p.96).

Kinship entails a host of obligations but obligations to kin are not similar. Some kin require more attention than others. This is not a matter of need but of kinship nearness and, therefore, importance to ego.

Diagram III is taken from Rees' study of Llanfihangel (p.73) and is appropriate to Kirkby Stephen. However, I have indicated on it the Kirkby Stephen nomenclature. For example, where Rees used the terms 1st, 2nd and 3rd Degrees of kin, the Kirkby Stephen people use terms to denote these classes. First degree kin (Ego speaking) is 'My Family', 2nd degree 'Our Family', and 3rd degree 'Our Relatives'. For some purposes they also recognise kin beyond these and lump them all together as 'sort of cousins'.

A person's primary obligations were towards 'My Family' so long as the sibling remained unmarried. After marriage obligations lessen towards siblings of the opposite sex, but not to siblings of the same sex. For 'my family' a person will give up chances of promotion outside the district, holidays (so that, e.g. they could help to do the work or any tasks of an incapacitated Father or Brother, Mother or Sister), and any spare time. In sickness and health 'my family' is assisted, even to the inconvenience of one's spouse. 'Our Family' also has claims for assistance, particularly when the senior members grow old. 'Our Relatives' are helped whenever possible and are given consideration before 'friends and neighbours'.

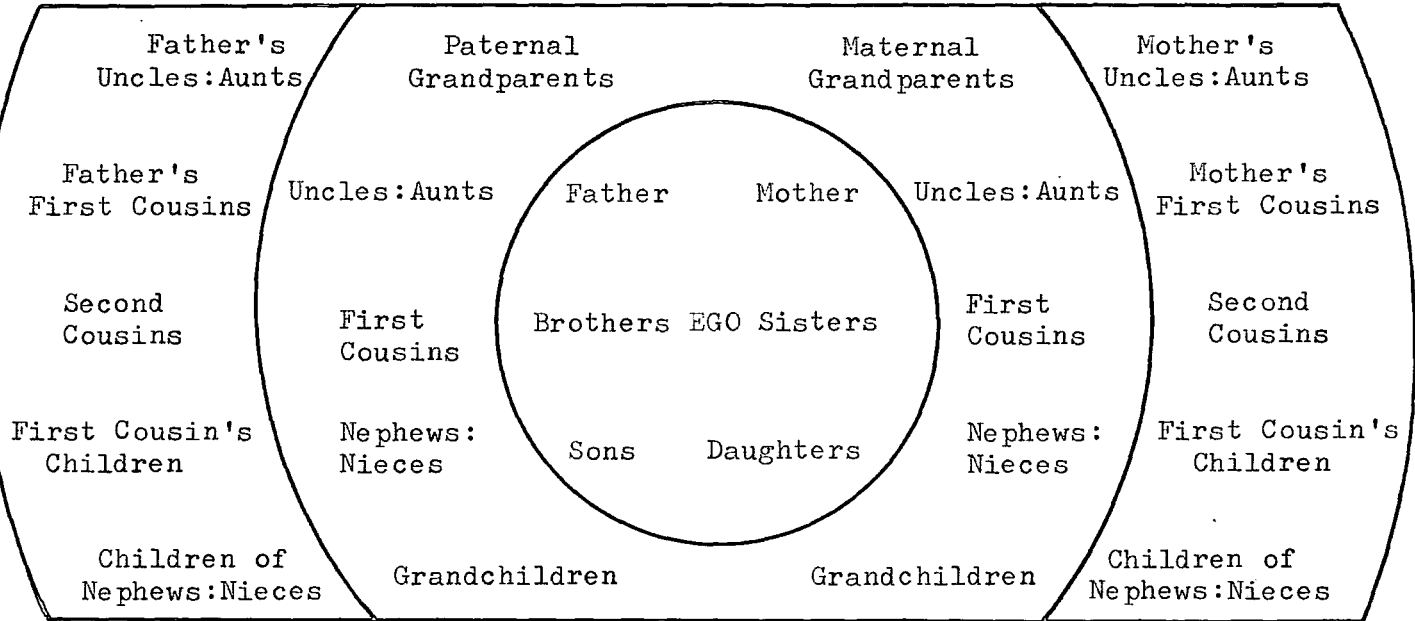
It is imperative for goodwill for first and second degree relatives to attend family funerals, even at great inconvenience, and many families also make every effort to 'pay their last respects' to at least 'our relatives' of the same sex.

Ego's relationship with his 'sort of cousins' depends on friendship as well as kinship. Some farmers considered that 'sort of cousins' should come to help at haytime. Also, this category of relatives will give preference to Ego if he wants to work for them or purchase or rent a house from them.

DIAGRAM III

Paternal Relations

Maternal Relations



After Rees.

	<u>Rees Classification</u>	<u>Kirkby Stephen Classification</u>
Inner circle	1st Degree kin	My Family)
Middle circle	2nd Degree kin	Our Family)
Outer circle	3rd Degree kin	Our Relatives

) Close relatives

Ego is on visiting terms, i.e. could go uninvited to the home of any first and second degree kin, though not all such kin take advantage of this. For example, Mrs. W. has never been into either of her brother's homes but said, "I would be welcomed if I went but I never have and it's too late to start going after all these years." (Brothers had been married 9 and 13 years respectively.) It is with these kin that local people may make commensal visits at Christmas and after the Chapel Anniversary and Harvest Festival Services. (Methodists who do not normally go to Sunday services will usually attend on these occasions, and it is customary for close relatives (first and second degree kin) to take meals together between or after the services.) The importance of a unified family is constantly stressed by the Ministers of the various religious sects. It is considered essential by local people for first and second degree relatives to appear united. Many are, and they form a powerful opposition to anyone who offends one of their members and frequently they are able to reinforce their ranks with 'Our Relatives'. Opposition is particularly effective if the person who caused the offence is a tradesman who will suffer financial as well as social embarrassment if a number of persons withdraw their custom.

Feuds are, however, common particularly with relatives outside the first degree kin. There were only two families where first degree relatives were involved, in these cases mother and daughter in one family and two brothers in another.⁽¹⁾ The feuds are invariably caused by some failure in obligation, e.g. "his uncle was laid up with a bad back all Spring and he never came near to do his share of the digging (the garden)", and "she knew her niece was wanting to go to Kendal to get her material (for a carnival dress) but she never

(1) These two feuds were considered to be "very bad" and "shameful" and beyond comprehension. "You would think that they would make it up if only for the rest of the family" was frequently stated.

called to take her." Members of one's close kin-group may no longer reside in Kirkby Stephen and therefore obligations and roles which would normally be fulfilled by these individuals must be carried out by more distant relatives. These obligations and roles are not clearly defined, with consequent friction among those who are required by some of their kin to perform certain duties which they consider should be undertaken by others of their kin-group. It may be thought presumptuous that an individual should offer to assist, e.g. a third degree relative, even though no one else of the kin-group is in a position to do so.

To the outsider the cause of the feuds often seems too trivial for the actions taken. Feuds result in abandonment of obligations and not addressing or appearing to take notice of each other in public, or in the case of a shopkeeper, as stated above, withdrawing custom. Feuds can and do last a lifetime; only in time of death are feuds ignored by everyone.

Feuds are not confined to relatives and frequently occur between neighbours and, here again, the neighbours can call on their particular kin group, plus friends, to support them.

The incomer has to tread warily when attempting to make friends with what the majority of the kin group and neighbours consider to be 'the guilty party' in a feud, for this friendship will alienate him from a large body of people as he or she will be 'guilty by association' and have, therefore, to share the ostracism.

There is no particular person here who takes on the role analogous to the Leopard-skin chief in the Nuer situation⁽¹⁾, but the fact that a feud is socially disruptive is recognised by everyone, and therefore some people take it upon themselves to attempt to

(1) Evans-Pritchard, E.E. *The Nuer of Southern Sudan in African Political Systems*, O.U.P. 1958.

mediate and restore the social balance. People who assume these roles are invariably persons whose opinion is of value to the 'wronged' party. For example, a religious leader, treasured friend, or someone from whom a favour is likely to be asked. The mediator will, of necessity, be a person who is tactful. Otherwise the situation may deteriorate further. It is absolutely essential that neither side should lose face. One feud was settled by the mediator giving the following advice, which was acted upon: "Just ignore what happened. You always know she (the guilty party) is outspoken and has been all her life. It's not her fault, as her father (not related to the 'injured' party) was much worse than she is and set his children no example." Then the mediator added, "Don't let people see that you mind (care) what anyone says, especially when everyone knows that it isn't true". (I have no knowledge of what was said to the guilty party.) Unfortunately would-be mediators are not always successful, neither is there always someone to help settle the feud, as some are considered 'justified' by most of the community.

The incomer who marries a local person is frequently considered to be part of the kin group only so long as his or her spouse remains alive.⁽¹⁾ When a local person enumerates his relatives his affinal relatives are generally not included. After the death of a spouse the affinal kin rarely exchange visits. If they have children the situation is sometimes different, particularly in the case of grandparents. However, it is usual for the grandchildren in these circumstances to visit their grandparents unaccompanied by their surviving parent. The lack of attention and necessary help from the affinal relatives is frequently the reason why bereaved people, particularly women with young children, decide to leave the area and return to their former home area to be with their own relatives. This lack of

(1) 'When a married sibling dies the latter's spouse is no longer regarded as a relative.' Williams 'Gosforth', p.74.

inclusion in the deceased spouse's kin group is also experienced by local people. But these people usually have kin, living near, who will help and comfort them when necessary.

The incomer to Kirkby Stephen is not, therefore, easily accepted by the local people. To be socially accepted is not the same as being accepted as kin with attendant rights and obligations. Since death tends to sever links forged by marriage it is essential for the 'incomer' to make friends with some of the townsfolk and to come to a working agreement with neighbours. No one can be totally independent, particularly in a remote rural area. It is necessary to bear in mind that all essential local services are manned, if not by relatives of your next-door neighbour, then by those of the neighbour two doors down the road. Social interdependence based on residential proximity and kinship connections is characteristic of all societies; it is especially true of Kirkby Stephen. The people here are not unusual in placing such significance on length of residence and using it as an important determinant of social status. For, from evidence supplied by other rural community studies, in particular those of Gosforth and Ashworthy (Williams), Aberporth (Jenkins), Tregaron (Jones), Aberdaron (Hughes) and Glan Llyn (Owen), this is a feature of rural communities. In fact, Littlejohn uses the lack of importance of domiciliary status as one of the criteria for determining Westrigg's similarity to urban centres rather than to other rural settlement areas (p.155). He also states (p.67) that 'to be a parishioner (of Westrigg) is no longer to be an object of interest to all other parishioners.' Which is completely opposite to the case of the parishioner of Kirkby Stephen.

An important result of the high status given to long residence is that it is a cohesive factor in social existence. It binds the

locals together, just as the communities in Wales gained cohesion from their 'Welshness' (for example, Llan, Emmett 1964) which made them socially superior to the incomers who were usually English or Anglicised Welsh. Whatever other factors determine social differentiation and stratification in Kirkby Stephen, domiciliary status can be seen as cutting across these and reducing, or even eliminating, some of them, as will be seen from material presented in later chapters.

Chapter 4

GROWING UP IN THE COMMUNITY

In this chapter I have a threefold purpose. Firstly, to describe the acquisition by the children of the community of socially approved attitudes and patterns of behaviour, which is currently termed 'socialisation' in anthropological literature. Secondly, to describe the interfamilial roles which derive from the birth of a child, and thirdly, to show how the traditional norms of the society are in conflict with the present economic situation and the ideas and systems imposed from outside the community, in particular formal education. It is not my intention to deal with these separately but rather to interrelate them in order to illuminate the process of growing up in Kirkby Stephen so that the attitudes and actions of the adults can be better understood.

From the moment a child is known to be conceived it has an effect not only upon its immediate family, but on the community at large. There are traditional ways of announcing the impending arrival, and to avoid public censure and gossip it is essential to follow these ways. (In addition the child who has a socially approved mother will benefit materially by receiving numerous presents before and after birth.) The first person, other than her husband, to be informed of the pregnancy is the prospective maternal grandmother. To be a grandmother is to have a role of honour. All marriages are expected to result in children and all parents expect to become grandparents. Adverse comment is made where this does not occur, and always the woman is blamed for lack of children. It is not that the society is unaware of male infertility, but a woman is expected to choose wisely, and her mother to advise her, that is to select a husband from a family where

fertility is evident. If a man's brothers and sisters have few or no children then he is thought to be similar. Only children are disapproved of and never regarded as a matter of choice on the part of the parents. After the prospective maternal grandmother is informed personally, or by letter, the paternal grandmother is now informed by her son. The girl is then at liberty to inform her first and second degree kin, friends and near neighbours. These people will feel insulted and show resentment if the pregnancy becomes obvious before they have been told of it. But to discuss one's pregnancy openly with people who do not fall into the above categories is considered indelicate; 'flaunting herself' is the usual term.

Babies, particularly first babies, are awaited with great pleasure, provided they are legitimate. (One intelligent person in the community made the following statement which was found to be demonstrably true - "It's essential here to be born right and die right (to die a natural death not to commit suicide, see Chapter 8) for your own good and that of your family.") The pregnant mother will receive many acts of kindness and consideration which, except in extreme old age, will rarely happen again. All the people particularly informed of the pregnancy will make and purchase presents. This is not limited to the women, for the men will also make articles of furniture and sometimes toys, and first degree, and more rarely second degree, farming kin will donate a calf or ewe. If there is no place at the child's home for rearing the animal it will be kept on the original farm and the money for its eventual sale or that of its progeny will be placed in the child's bank account. People who approve of the mother and grandmother, even if they have little social intercourse with them, will also give presents or money after the child's birth on the occasion of his 'parade'.

The most important outing a child ever has is his first. This is known as his 'parade', and takes place about ten days to a fortnight after a child's birth. It is traditionally the first time he has been taken outside his home, though the situation is now somewhat complicated by the fact that the majority of first children are born in hospital at Kendal or Carlisle. Where this occurs the new baby, following his return from the hospital, will be kept indoors for two or three days. In order to parade her baby the mother does not simply walk up and down the streets with the child. This would be considered too blatant. She makes a prior arrangement to visit her mother, grandmother, or some close relative some distance from her home. The farther away the better. On the way there and back she will call at houses of friends and relatives, both her own and her husband's. What usually happens is that the girl will be accompanied by her mother or sister. One of these kin will go on slightly ahead of the mother and baby so that she can quickly attract the attention of people to whom they wish to display the baby. Visits are very brief and rarely is the child taken from its pram. All people to whom the baby is shown give it presents. It is also usual for passers-by to place money on the pram. All except money presents must be inspected immediately and displayed for the next person, if possible. Where the mother is an incomer married to a local man, her husband's mother or sister arrange the parade and accompany her, even though her own mother may have been staying with her for the birth. The illegitimate child does not have a parade, and if people give it presents they do so unobtrusively.

By now a name will have been chosen. Traditionally a baby was named after a parent or grandparent, with the addition of a non-family name. For example, George Reuben son of Reuben James,

grandson of Joseph Reuben, Reuben being the family name. This practice was followed for girls as well as boys. It has now lapsed except where the child is expected to inherit a farm or a business. Among the older people of the parish there are several who are always known by both, or two of their Christian names, e.g. James Arthur and Alice Mary. Although children are invariably given two forenames, it is unusual to call a child by both, and even if the parents do so before it goes to school, the teachers will not continue the practice.

Local families usually have their children christened, but several of the incomers, and the mothers of two illegitimate children, have not done so. For most people, as will be discussed in detail in the chapter dealing with religion (Chapter 7) christening is an essential entrance to the sacred/secular social life of a sect member, but they are not such important social gatherings as weddings or funerals. There is usually a celebration meal held afterwards in the baby's home, but it is a very simple affair, the main feature being an iced cake (not elaborate) bearing the child's Christian names. The baby, its parents, godparents (in the case of Anglicans and Roman Catholics only) and any brothers and sisters of the baby attend. The tea is traditionally prepared by the maternal grandmother. The maternal grandfather and the other grandparents do not usually attend, neither do other relatives, friends or neighbours. Again, in contrast to weddings and funerals, no one feels insulted at not being invited to a christening tea.

The baby becomes a source of prestige for its mother. For it to walk early (that is, by local standards), to talk early, to be weaned with little trouble, and to be continent, all bring praise to the mother. In turn mothers make every possible effort to make the child appear 'good' to other people. The good mother keeps her

child spotlessly clean and her pram highly polished. Whilst the baby is in his pram-stage he will be taken out whenever his mother goes shopping, even if she could more conveniently leave him at home. Also the maternal grandmother will expect to take the baby out by herself as well as with her daughter. A 'good', well-mannered daughter-in-law gives her mother-in-law the opportunity to do the same, though not as frequently as her own mother. Great pleasure is obviously obtained from pushing the pram. However, the baby's father will seldom do this, or even accompany his wife when she does. A couple out walking with a pram can immediately be recognised as 'incomers'. However, when the child is able to toddle, usually at about eighteen months, the pram will be replaced by a pushchair, and this is considered suitable for fathers and grandfathers to take out with them when they take the dog for a walk on fine Sunday mornings while their wives prepare lunch.

If the baby is a boy these walks with his father and/or grandfather continue throughout childhood, and create a bond of shared experience between them, giving the child an early insight into 'the world of men'. For women do not accompany them. It is usual to see groups of men, who have been friends from childhood, standing on the river bridges holding their sons and grandsons while the children throw stones into the water or just watch the water birds and animals.

In caring for her baby and young child, the mother can obtain advice from the bi-monthly children's clinic. The clinic is staffed by local nurses and a woman doctor from Kendal. Tea and biscuits are provided, so that attendance becomes a social event, and young mothers can meet and talk even if they do not seek the advice of the staff. The only official requirement is that they allow their babies to be weighed and the weights recorded. Babies can be

vaccinated and inoculated against various diseases, but few parents avail themselves of this service. Their local doctor is held to be the right person to give injections. Not all mothers attend the clinic, but those who do so make it a very formal occasion. They dress themselves and their babies in their 'best' clothes. This results in the mothers having to constantly restrain their children in case they soil themselves on the floor of this old building. As it is considered essential for children to be well-behaved in public, that is not noisy or rough, there is constant coming and going of mothers who remove their children at the slightest indication that they are 'going to cause a fuss' and shame their mother. From a very early age ideal behaviour and what is not permitted is instilled into the children by their parents, grandmothers and anyone else who has the care of the child. Noisy unruly play is extremely unusual in any age group. Also small children are under constant surveillance by an adult.

As a child grows it becomes increasingly aware of not only what others expect of him but what he can expect from others. Whilst he is very small, under school age, he will probably see his maternal grandmother almost every day. He will learn to distinguish between the roles held by his mother's mother and his father's mother, and will be taught separate names for both persons. It is usual to call a maternal grandmother "Nana" and a paternal "Grannie" or "Grandma". His grandfathers will be "Nanda" or "Granda" and "Granda e.g. Wilson" or "Grandad John" respectively. His maternal grandparents will usually be more familiar to him and less indulgent than his paternal grandparents. He will be more familiar with his mother's sisters and his father's brothers than their spouses, as he will have accompanied his mother frequently to her sister's home, and less frequently gone with his father on visits to his father's

brother. Every little boy and girl has "Aunties" in this community. For the incomer the term is confusing as it suggests a close blood relationship. This rarely is the case when the term is used on its own. Blood relations are usually known by their Christian name, e.g. Auntie Rose. Aunties are close friends of the child's mother or her mother. In the latter case the surname is usually affixed, e.g. Auntie Johnson. "Aunties" serve many purposes and the request for a person to allow a non-kin child to address her as "Auntie" is an honour. In this community children are rarely indulged. Presents are given by relatives in moderation at Christmas and sometimes, but usually only when a child is very young - under school age - on birthdays. Whereas an "Auntie" can be counted on to bring a small present back from a shopping expedition to town, or from a holiday. An Auntie may make any necessary costumes for Band of Hope activities or Chapel plays, and frequently she will make a girl's wedding dress, or provide the necessary items. Where families are denuded due to emigration, the "Auntie" tends to assume the role vacated by blood relatives as well as her established one. A little boy is encouraged to run errands, help with the gardening and other tasks for his Auntie. In time of family trouble the home of an Auntie is frequently a place of refuge. (The homes of grandparents are not places of refuge, for in this society the relationship between grandparents and grandchildren is one of respect. Grandparents are not asked to be mediators between a child and its parents.)

By the time a child has reached its third birthday, his parents, if they are Nonconformist, will be training him in order that he will be ready to attend Sunday School. The Sunday School will not accept children if they are still 'babies'. Parents and other relatives derive prestige from having a child 'old enough' (in experience) to attend Sunday School, and are derided if their child

does not conform to the expected behaviour. From the child's point of view the Sunday School enlarges his social sphere.

From now on the child clings less and less to his mother, and if there is another baby in the house, this behaviour is actively encouraged. The child will be urged to play outside the house with older children, and if his relatives live near he will be able to visit them on his own. Apart from his Sunday School and ultimately Day School Christmas parties and school lunches, a child will seldom eat outside the family circle. In this society parties are unusual for other than family members. Birthday and Christmas parties for children in their homes are virtually unknown.

During a child's fourth year his training in social norms must be speeded up, as his parents have a goal for which to aim, that is school. Although the Law does not require a child to start school until he is five years old, the local primary school will take children at any time during the previous six months. Before he goes to school the child must learn the 'correct' words for people and objects which he has been accustomed to name in 'baby talk'. All local children learn 'baby talk' which consists mainly of abbreviated words, such as Baba for baby, Mama for mammy, and diminutives of proper names. 'Baby talk' is considered easier than proper speech (the local dialect) and as it is considered essential for a child to speak as soon as possible 'baby talk' is actively encouraged. The child must also be able to remove and replace his outer clothes. Only in changing his shoes, which is considered more difficult, is he expected to receive help from his teacher. He must be prepared to have to be away from his mother, home and familiar surroundings for 6-7 hours each day. He must behave as a person in his own right, without prompting from his mother. He must above all be a credit to her and not give her cause for anxiety. Many parents and grandparents threaten their children with school and create the

impression that the teachers are very harsh. e.g. "Wait 'til you get to school, the teacher knows how to deal with naughty boys", even though they know it to be untrue. Where a child has no brothers or sisters attending school he is usually very apprehensive about going. He is left in no doubt that his baby days are over. School-age children are considered 'old enough' to run errands for their parents; do small tasks about the home/farm; and if of Anglican parents, old enough to begin attending Sunday School.

Schooldays

On his first day at school he is taken by his mother and is officially introduced to his teacher. The reception class teacher greets the child with a show of affection, to which, because of his nervousness, he fails to respond. His mother will tell the teacher certain things about her child, such as how shy he is; more frequently how careless he is about keeping a coat on outside, etc. Mothers never boast to the teacher of the child's attainments as they are aware that the teacher may disbelieve them and is probably not interested. Home and school are considered separate spheres; one is not thought complementary to the other. The child becomes aware of this attitude, which helps to explain why the older children are reluctant to spend any more time than is necessary in the school, even for recreational activities, as will be described later (p.112). The teacher will tell the mother what are the official school hours and give her such other information as the school authorities consider necessary. In addition, the teacher will ask the religion of the child. This has a two-fold purpose. It is required for his entry card, and also the teacher will want to know whether he attends Sunday School. If he has attended Sunday School (Chapel) he will have already gone through a fairly

rigid socialising process, which is stricter than that which is required in his first few years at school. So the teacher will wish to learn whether his reticence is due to shyness or training. The school children are allowed to wander about the classroom, laugh and talk, in moderation. This behaviour is not acceptable in the Sunday School classroom.

After his mother has left, the child may cry, but the teacher will place him beside some children who are playing happily. As soon as the child accepts his new role he is included in the rest of the group of last entry children.

The reception class is conducted within the framework of 'The Ideal Programme', which is laid down in a pamphlet issued by the Ministry of Education (1960) as a guide to teachers:-

Mornings

- 9.00- 9.30 Registration. Morning Assembly.
- 9.30-10.00 Exchange of News. Care of Plants. Personal Hygiene.
- 10.00-10.40 Occupations (play) leading to number.
- 10.40-11.00 Milk. Play out of doors.
- 11.00-11.55 Physical Training or Dancing or Rhythmic work, etc.
- 11.55-12.00 Preparation for going home, or school lunch.

Afternoons

- 1.00- 1.45 Free activities, including drawing, painting, clay and other constructive activities (opportunity for rest).
- 1.45- 2.15 Poetry - Story.
- 2.15- 3.15 Games. Music, including singing, percussion band, rhythmic work, etc.
- 3.15- 3.30 Quiet time for looking at picture books. Preparation for going home.

The aim of the programme is stated to be:- 'To make work something not to be avoided.'

Parents who are acquainted with 'the Ideal Programme' and from their own observations and what their children tell them are convinced that the Ministry of Education knows little or nothing about children - rural children in particular. Many are extremely annoyed with the teachers for following such a programme. e.g. "What do they want to waste time teaching them to grow flowers at school for, when they do it at home?" They also consider the numerous expensive 'toys' which are used for teaching recognition of animals and for 'constructive play' - "a complete waste of money". As local parents take great pride in having their children clean and neatly dressed, lessons concerning personal hygiene are considered insulting. Parents who are interested in academic success blame the new system - chairs and tables instead of desks, 'toys' instead of pencils and paper, which they were used to in their schooldays, for the discontent of the older children and the lack of success in (externally set) examinations. They want their children to learn to read and write, and to be able to 'understand money' as soon as possible. The Ideal Programme and the official aims of the education authorities are frustrated by the conditions under which the teachers and pupils must work. The school buildings are nearly 100 years old (Plate XIa). The classrooms are high, and the central heating system is very inadequate and often breaks down.

During the Second World War two prefabricated buildings were erected on the school field (Plates XIb and XIc). These were intended for domestic science, woodwork and temporary classrooms. When the new secondary school was built in 1955 domestic science and woodwork were no longer required, for the school became solely for primary education. As the 'prefabs' were superior to the old buildings, four of the six classes are held in them. Heating is again the problem, as they are too far from the already inadequate boilers to get much benefit from them, and the main heating comes from one



a. The original buildings



b. The 'prefabs'



c. The children leaving school

electric fire for each classroom. On cold days the teachers and children wear coats, and frequently gloves, and lessons are interrupted at intervals for running around and exercises to maintain circulation. The teachers appear to suffer more than the pupils.

The discontent with the education system shown by the parents and the discontent of the teachers with the conditions under which they must work is reflected on the children. No one appears to like the school in Kirkby Stephen.

The code of social behaviour which the teachers enforce is essentially that which most parents have tried to maintain at home. For infringers of behaviour codes the most usual punishment and apparently the most effective consists in shaming the child and pitting the rest of society against him⁽¹⁾. Every effort is made to make him feel ridiculous or guilty in the eyes of the others. Minor infractions evoke a stream of mocking criticisms from the teacher as she calls on the rest of the class to bear witness to the misbehaviour. For example, 'Look at Simon, silly Simon. Stand on your desk so that everyone can see how babyish you are.' The other children laugh and jeer. But the jeers are not allowed to go on long. If a child begins to cry, the teacher will probably say, 'It's now use crying now, that does not mend matters', but as tears will only distress the child further she will encourage him to dry his eyes, and say to the others, 'That's enough'. The introvert suffers longer punishment than the extrovert, since it only ceases when the child appears repentant or makes an outward show of distress.

(1) The enforcement of discipline in schools is not discussed in the other British studies. However, Wylie (Village in the Vaucluse. Harvard Univ. Press 1957, p.84) describes a similar means of enforcing discipline in the village school in Peyrane.

Only in the case of very serious infractions such as lying or stealing is punishment prolonged, and the misdeed constantly referred to, or else the child is ostracised by teacher and pupils.

Outside school and away from adult supervision the children as a group appear to accept responsibility for maintaining the social code. If a child has been ostracised at school for some misdemeanour he will most certainly have to walk home by himself, as the other children will continue the treatment.

There are rewards as well as punishments in school. Exceptionally good work receives praise from the teacher and a paper star coloured gold, silver, or red to stick on the honour scroll in the assembly hall. This scroll contains the names of all pupils old enough to attend assembly, with columns for every week of the school year. After morning assembly the star winner collects his star from his teacher and sticks it on the scroll. The cleverest children's columns stand out with their lines of stars. The headmaster says this system rewards the pupil and promotes competition. Stars are not awarded for trying, only for success. Children who do not gain stars frequently laugh and jeer at those who do.

Examination of school work shows that there is a large range of abilities within each class. In the third form (7-8 years old) there were children who could not read and could only make a poor copy of the alphabet, and a minority who were fluent in reading the books provided for them.

TABLE VII

Reading Ability

Number reading fluently	2
Number reading fairly well	5
Number reading with difficulty	15
Number unable to read	<u>7</u>
Total number in form	<u>29</u>

Children who made very little or no progress were examined by the school psychologist (from Kendal), and if termed E.S.N. (Educationally Sub-Normal) the parents were recommended to place them in a special school. Most of the parents try to resist this, but their objections are overcome when the local school tells them that the children can no longer attend.

An E.S.N. child is an embarrassment to his siblings and parents. The latter invariably blame the local school. His siblings, when old enough to appreciate the reason for his absence from home, will avoid him in the vacations when the child returns to his home, and their friends are near. An E.S.N. child is pitied by older relatives and some of the townsfolk, but such children are usually thought to have 'bad blood'. Only one such child in Kirkby Stephen is thus inexplicable out of the eleven in special schools.

In the reception class, 4+ to 6 years, and the second class, 6-7 years, little differentiation is made between boys and girls. They sit together in the classrooms, use the same toilets, and play together in the playground. When they move up into the third class a rigid separation of the sexes commences. Boys only sit with boys, toilets for boys are situated across the school yard, whereas those for girls are attached to the main building. The teachers no longer address the pupils as 'children' but as 'boys and girls'. Instead of going straight to their classrooms the 7 year olds and upwards go into the main school building for Assembly, to say prayers and sing a short hymn. 'The remaining instruction will consist of Bible stories told by the teacher (in charge) with occasional reference to other examples of Christian deeds' (Ministry of Education pamphlet 1960). This is followed by general announcements.

As well as these changes taking place at school, the child will experience changes in attitude towards him by his parents and other people. For example, while he was in the first two classes he was always taken to and from school by his mother, unless he lived very near. When he enters the third class he will be judged old enough and reliable enough to go to and from school by himself. While he was under seven he would be expected to remain in the home and go to bed after the evening meal. Now he finds that he is permitted to go out and play with his friends for a short time before bed, which will possibly be an hour later than before. So his seventh birthday is eagerly looked forward to because of the increase in privileges which it brings. Little girls find that they are allowed, within certain limits regarding distance and the nature of the roads, to take out their younger brothers and sisters in their prams. Both boys and girls are now allowed to visit relatives living in the parish some distance from their homes unaccompanied by older brothers and sisters or parents.

It is in the third form that local children first come in contact with another category of children whom they find difficult to understand. These are foster children. Four women in the parish foster children (see Table XII⁽¹⁾) from the age of seven years. These are not local children, being derived from the Kendal to Preston area. The fostering is 'short term', lasting from a few weeks to about two years, or 'long term', from seven until adulthood. Two of the foster mothers take what are termed 'difficult' children. This makes their fitting in to an environment such as Kirkby Stephen, with its mistrust of strangers, doubly difficult. Local children are constantly aware of their parents' and other adults' treatment of incomers, and they practise an even harsher policy towards these foster children. In many ways it is understandable because not only have the local children experienced

(1) p.146.

seven years of socialisation due to living locally, but also they have had at least two years of the social environment of the school. The incoming foster children invariably are of town origin with different backgrounds and different attitudes and patterns of behaviour, and sometimes a different system of education. Local parents are suspicious of them and do not encourage their children to befriend them. So the foster children tend to form a group which consists of a variety of ages, which again is contrary to local practice where friends are usually peers. Another practice, which is the source of adverse comment from local adults and other children, is that these school-age foster children have to attend the local baby clinic periodically to be examined by the visiting doctor from Kendal, under whose care they are placed.

From seven until they are eleven years, the children's area of indulgence is gradually widened and more responsibilities are placed on them by their parents and the rest of the community. The religious education of some children (discussed in detail in Chapter 7) has landmarks. The Roman Catholics are confirmed, and the Nonconformists are enrolled in the Band of Hope. Thereafter the children are eligible for certain social and religious activities with other children outside the parish. The events which are the highlights of the child's year consist of the Sunday School anniversary and Christmas Nativity play (for Nonconformists⁽¹⁾); the Band of Hope Demonstration with its attendant 'Fun Fair' - roundabouts and swings; Christmas, with all its festive activities - presents, Christmas trees and the gaily decorated streets of the town; and the long summer holidays when the children can (if they are considered old enough) bathe in the river, go for picnics with their peers and wander about the fields, moors and dales, and the occasional visits to the seaside. Holidays with their parents are

(1) Methodists.

a rare feature, but day trips to the seaside and the Lake District are common and increasing in frequency.

At the age of eleven the children will make their transition from the Primary to the Grammar School. In this school children are streamed according to ability, determined by a series of five tests which are given to the children in their final year at the Primary School. Those who achieve a combined total of over 300 marks out of a possible 500 are considered as potential A stream pupils. A report on each child, together with his or her marks, is sent to the Grammar School, and about one-third of the total entry are placed in the A form, another third in the B form, and the rest in Q form. If not enough children get the required number of marks, the numbers are made up by taking those who come nearest. If more children than the number of places have suitable marks, the surplus children are relegated to the B form, and the B's with the lowest marks go into the Q form.

B stream children are supposed to do fewer academic subjects than A stream. Boys study wood and metal work, and girls commercial subjects. The Q stream children are purposely not officially called 'C' stream 'so as to dispel the feeling of inferiority'. These are the query children who will be given every advantage to develop their particular skills which may not lie in the direction of academic or commercial training.' (Speech by Chairman of the Governors at the School's official opening, 1955). However these pupils are generally known as 'the queer lot', 'the C stream lot' or 'the thick heads', or by other derogatory terms.

In theory it is possible for children to change from stream to stream as their abilities and desires alter. In fact, except in the second term of the first form, this system is almost completely one-way, i.e. down A to B, B to Q. Only one child in the nine years of the school's existence was able to move up from

the B to the A form, and this after extreme pressure by her parents not only on the headmaster, but on the local education authorities as well. The headmaster explains this inability to rise by pointing out that each stream works from a different syllabus, so that if he moves up in his second or later years, a child will have missed the necessary background.

Parents who do not want a child to go to the Grammar School have two alternatives. The first and most favoured is to enter him for one of the County boarding schools, at Kirkby Lonsdale and Casterton. For this they take a competitive entrance examination in Penrith. As the boarding schools are intended only for rural children who live too far from a local grammar school to make daily attendance possible, a good reason must be advanced in the case of others. The commonest reason given is that the parents are only temporarily in the area and do not wish their child's education to be interrupted when they move. This is usually accepted, even though one may infer from the number of children whose families are still in the town when they have completed their education that it is a necessary fabrication.

The County boarding schools require the parents to provide a uniform for the child and pay for all expenses other than tuition. This amounts to about £3.10.0d. per week (excluding uniform).

The second alternative is a fee-charging private school. Here the minimum fees exceed the County boarding schools by at least £3 per week.

Some local children go to minor public schools, but these enter preparatory schools at about seven years old.

TABLE VIIIDestined school for Kirkby Stephen Primary educated children aged 11 years

<u>Year</u>	<u>Local Comprehensive</u>	<u>County Boarding</u>	<u>Private</u>	<u>Totals</u>
1963	23	3	5	31
1964	23	2	4	29
1965	20	3	2	25
1966	21	2	3	26

Many parents who would like to send their children away to school for educational and prestige reasons⁽¹⁾ find the fees too high, or more disappointingly their children may not pass the necessary entrance examinations.

By the end of their final term in the primary school all the children entering the Grammar School know which stream they will be in. Also the Q stream know that their stay at the school will not last longer than four years. The B stream can estimate their stay to be anything from four to six years, but for the A stream the date of the end of their formal education is uncertain. Length of stay will depend upon passing examinations, and the ability to remain in the A stream, as well as parental and personal desires.

Just as when a child reached Primary School age its parents and the rest of the community considered that it was 'old enough' to take on other obligations such as helping its parents, the Grammar School child is considered old enough to accomplish more difficult tasks about the home or farm; going on errands which involve long walks or bus journeys to nearby villages and towns;

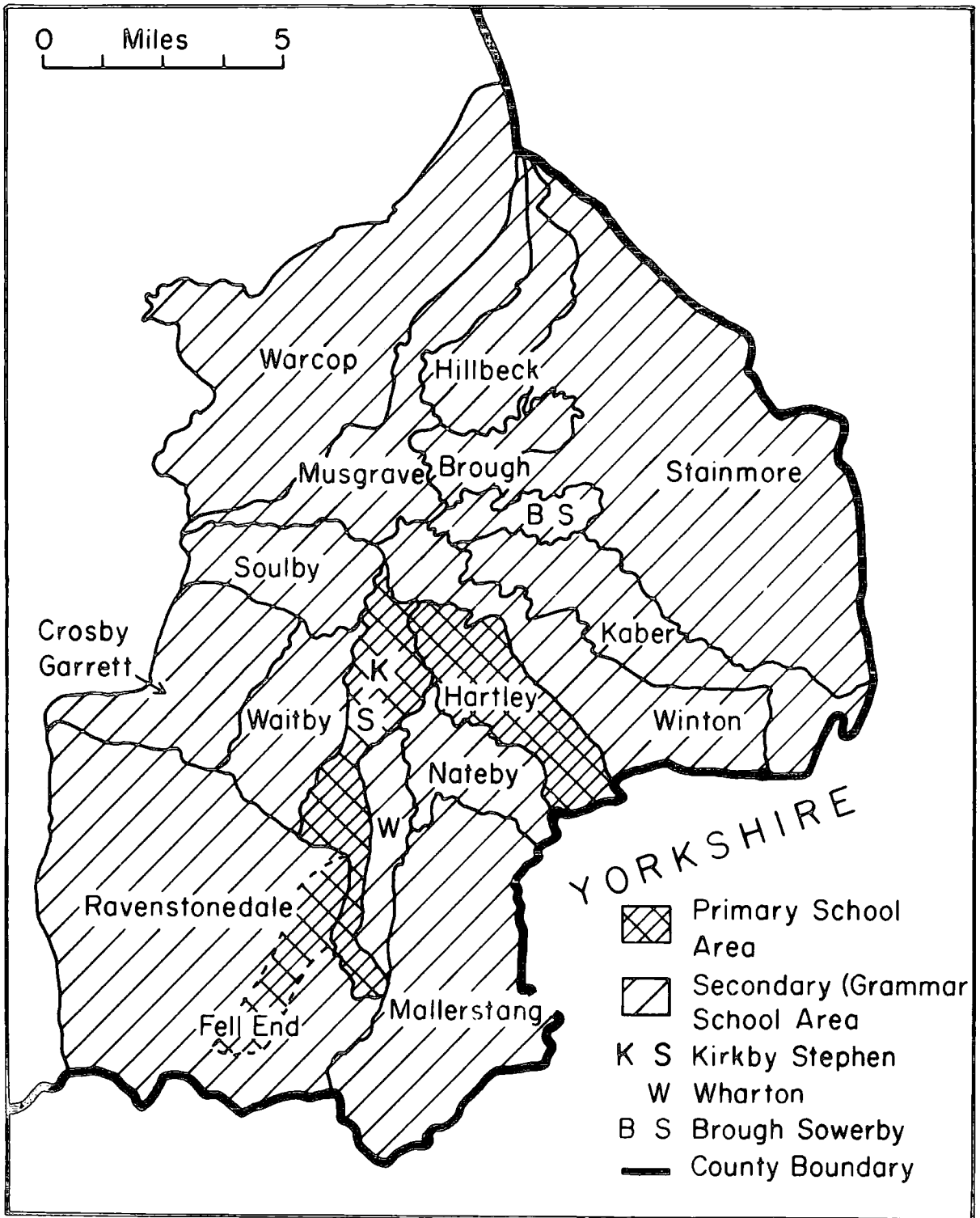
(1) Incomers of short duration usually state proudly that they send their children away to be educated 'properly'.

being responsible for the behaviour of younger brothers and sisters in the absence of their parents, and in the case of girls helping to cook meals and bake food. As well as being obliged to do things which they may not wish to do were they given a choice, they also have privileges which were denied them when they were younger, such as accompanying peers to the swimming baths at Appleby; being able to go with peers and older children on hikes across the moors; being able to exercise a choice, even if rather limited, of the type of clothes to be worn outside school.

Grammar School pupils are expected to wear the official school uniform, though greater emphasis is placed on having the correct uniform by the A stream. Pupils in the other forms make slight changes in the uniform by wearing different coloured blouses or skirts and adding badges, or only having part of the uniform in order to make it more acceptable to their individual tastes. So it is possible for an outsider to distinguish between the A stream and other streams by dress. This is another fact used by those who maintain that the A stream children should be in a separate school, e.g. "As well as doing different lessons, they even look different from the rest of the children."

Parents are not required to attend the school with their children on the first day, as when they started at the Primary School.

The first day can be bewildering for the new pupils. The grammar school is vast compared with the primary school. It is a modern streamlined building, and has a staff of about 20 as compared with the primary's seven. They meet children whom they have probably never seen before. The Primary school take children only from Kirkby Stephen, Hartley (rarely more than two) and the scattered farms of Fell End (Map VI), whereas the grammar school



Map VI. Primary and Secondary (Grammar) School areas

draws its pupils from a large area of North Westmorland (Map VI). Only one teacher is considered local, and she was on the staff of the old grammar school. The others have made their homes mostly outside the parish, and their families are largely unknown to the rest of the children. Again, the turnover of staff is large; only four teachers have been at the school for more than three years, which suggests to local people that it is unstable and the interests of the pupils are not a primary consideration.

Friendships made in the primary school are frequently severed by the streaming process. A number of new subjects are introduced: French, Latin, Chemistry, Physics and Biology for the A stream, and Rural Science, General Science, Domestic Science (girls only) and Metal Work (boys only) for the B stream. The commercial subjects are introduced later. The Q stream has Domestic Science for the girls and Metal Work for the boys.

Parents of A stream children are usually pleased at their children's selection. Parents of B stream, unless they feel that their children were A stream rejects, are usually satisfied but not proud. The Q stream children's parents either take the situation for granted or else complain that the teachers have been prejudiced against their children, due to their 'not being clever', 'living at x (address)', 'having no father at home', etc..

Few parents are satisfied with their children's education, particularly those of A stream pupils, who think their children should be able to offer more subjects at O and A level examinations.

Due to the declining population in North Westmorland, the school originally intended to take about 650 pupils now has fewer than 430. If there are few pupils for a given subject, the teachers think it is not worthwhile teaching it and it is dropped from the syllabus. Pupils are limited to two 'A' levels in any

sitting. Parents realise that this prejudices their child's chances of obtaining a university or college place.

The great emphasis on commercial subjects in the B stream is not in any way related to the number of jobs available in the area, and this causes both parents and children to think that striving for commercial qualifications is in some cases "a lot of wasted effort". The Q stream pupils and their parents often express the feeling that school in general for teenagers is a waste of time. There is comparatively little effort to instruct the children in matters of local interest, as Williams found to be the case in Gosforth (p.60).

The person who gets the major share of the blame for poor results is the headmaster. When he gave his report on the School Speech Day in 1964 and stated that 'of the total subjects entered in the General Certificate of Education only 37% received even the minimum pass mark', the fault was regarded as his, and his alone. In defence, the headmaster, in a speech to parents and invited guests at the Speech Day in October 1964, said⁽¹⁾:

"I do not think that we have in this school, this town, this district, enough of the aspiration and enthusiasm of youth, enough ambition, enough thirst for knowledge, enough real love of reading, enough conviction and confidence that we are really going to do things in the world."

Of out-of-school activities run by the teachers:

"I could wish that more of the pupils took advantage of them. There are some who take no part in Saturday games, nor in the model railway club, nor the metalwork club, nor the country dancing, nor the gym club. And why is it that many children of rural background, who have no Young Farmers' Club in their villages, do not show at least some interest in the school Y.F.C.? And how sad it is that even one or two children, when picked to play for a school team, cannot or will not turn out, and let their team and teacher and school down."

(1) Reported in the Cumberland and Westmorland Herald, 24 October 1964.

Parents and the rest of Kirkby Stephen people do not refute his comments, but they puzzle them. For they cannot understand why the children should want to remain on school premises after school hours and consider that the recreational activities referred to by the headmaster should not be run under the auspices of the school. His published remarks are taken as a further indication that he and the rest of the teachers do not understand local people. The education system in general is taken to be urban orientated, not rural.

During a child's stay at the Grammar School, parents can witness some of his progress and achievements. Gymnastic displays, plays and concerts are held. In 1965 school activities were geared towards raising money for the proposed swimming pool to celebrate the School's quartercentenary in 1966. Apart from the garden party and the auction the activities were only patronised by the school governors, certain specially invited guests, and the parents of children actually taking part. Parents of other pupils were conspicuous by their absence. This was taken by the teachers as a further sign of apathy towards the school, whereas the parents saw no reason why they should attend if they had no interest in a particular activity.

The garden party was different, because a collection of goods had been made, and the list published, and the goods were for sale. There was a return for money spent. The auction had a very large gathering, chiefly because auctions are a recognised local form of entertainment (see Chapter 6).

The ending of school days, whether at 15, 16, 17 or 18, marks the end of childhood. If a young person is still at school he or she is considered to be a child. If at the same age they have

left school and are working they are considered young adults. This creates anomalies in dealing with parents and other adults, for a younger brother or sister who is no longer at school may be treated as more mature by them than an elder brother or sister who has remained at school.

Young Adulthood

With the termination of school days a new life phase begins. It is locally recognised that the young person has the potentials of adulthood, but neither the age nor experience necessary to be considered fully adult. The most obvious start to this new phase is for the young person to find a job. This procedure is followed by the majority of young people in complex societies. In Kirkby Stephen this is more difficult than is usual in urban environments, because opportunities for employment are limited and established ways of obtaining employment bring into play other factors than mere willingness to work. The usual way to obtain local employment is for the father or mother to approach the prospective employer. This implies some kind of social relationship between parents and employers; the parents as well as the child must be acceptable to the prospective employer. During the fieldwork employers frequently explained that they would not take 'so and so' as "they came from a bad lot"; or, e.g. "she seems a nice enough girl but I have my customers to think of and you never can tell how that sort will turn out" (father frequently changed jobs).

An employer is expected to give first preference to the children of his friends, who are usually members of his religious sect, which creates a double bond. There are several cases where the boy or girl has proved unsatisfactory, and the employer has

not wanted to create a rift between himself and the employee's parents by dismissing him.

In seeking a job the opinion of the school is rarely asked. The headmaster is only supposed to be of some assistance if the young person intends to go to college or university. The jobs which are sought are not necessarily related to the school streaming system, for several reasons. First, as mentioned earlier, the social relations which a child's parents have with his prospective employer may result in the latter employing a child with lesser educational achievements than he would have preferred. Secondly, the variety of jobs available locally is very limited, therefore if a child has commercial certificates but no job is available, then she must take one not requiring specialist qualifications. And thirdly, many parents are reluctant to allow their children to leave the district, and some apply emotional and financial pressures to prevent them going away to train for professional posts. This pressure is applied more often to girls than to boys. Where it is applied in the latter case it is where the boy will inherit a business, or more likely a farm. A farmer is expected to employ his own family, at least temporarily, which is in keeping with farmers generally, northern ones in particular. A landowner can offer his eldest son (and subsequent children, if he is wealthy) a job with the prospects of regular employment and eventually obtaining the home farm. A tenant farmer, even with a small farm, can usually do with an extra pair of hands. Only in very rare cases will a boy be thought 'too clever' to become a farmer. This excuse was never put forward for an only son. Intelligence is thought to be an asset because a farmer has to complete so many official forms. One farmer told me, "If yer good at figures yer

can save a fortune by not having Reilly's" (a local firm of accountants who deal principally with farm accounts, and who spend a good deal of time deciphering and explaining Government forms to farmers). If the home farm cannot employ second and subsequent sons, other farmers will be approached. A farmer will engage another farmer's son before anyone else's, because he will know that a farmer's son is trained in the local methods. Daughters of farmers can also expect to work at home or on a neighbouring farm.

As stated in Chapter 2, it is not customary for farmers to pay fixed wages to unmarried sons and daughters. Commonly they give them pocket money and pay their 'stamps' (National Insurance).

Twenty-seven farmers in Kirkby Stephen and the adjoining parishes of Nateby, Hartley and Waitby pay their unmarried sons, aged 15-41, in the following manner:-

TABLE IX

Earnings of Farmers' Sons

	<u>Total No.</u>	<u>Kirkby Stephen only</u>
Pocket money £2.0.0d.	6	3
Pocket money £5.0.0d.	8	1
Pocket money plus bonuses	8	-
Farmer paying son a fixed wage	1	-
	<u>23</u>	<u>4</u>

Sixteen farmers' daughters (three in Kirkby Stephen) received sums above £1.2.0d. All received bonuses. These are lump sums, usually paid after haytime, the sheep sales (not the Great Sales) and Christmas. Haytime is a period of intense activity; at the sheep sales cash payments are being made to the farmer; and

Christmas is an established holiday and period of social activity for which clothes are usually bought. The exact amount of the bonuses was only divulged by three boys and two girls. The boys received £10 after 'hay and the sales' and £20 at Christmas. The girls received similar amounts after haytime and the sales, but £5 and £10 at Christmas. All five young people believed that others received more from their parents. Sums ranging from £20-£50 were estimated.

It is usual for the boys and girls who receive pocket money to have at least some of their clothes provided by their parents. A boy's mother buys his underclothes and 'work' clothes.

The farmer's son receiving a fixed wage, which is equivalent to the National Minimum Farm Labourer's Wage⁽¹⁾, has £3 deducted by his mother for his 'keep' (board and lodging). No additional bonuses are paid, but when he uses the family car he can have the petrol charged to his father's account. This farmer's son is aged 23, and his father deals in cattle as well as farming.

Compared with other boys of their age farmers' sons do poorly as regards cash payments, but for the first few years they do not seem to be dissatisfied. Dissatisfaction comes with age and courting. In many cases, particularly where the farm is less than 100 acres, the farmer cannot afford to pay his son much more than he does. So when a boy begins courting he usually begins at the same time to look for another job or an additional part-time job which will almost certainly be on another farm, not only because this is familiar work, but also because it has its peculiar pattern. The work day is longer than in other jobs, but there are frequent breaks, and provided that the task in hand is done to his father's satisfaction a boy can, within certain limits, choose his own pace.

(1) At this period £11.8.0d.

Two boys who gave up farm work and went to the Express Dairy at Appleby both said they returned to farming because "the factory wanted you to keep on and on, working like a machine", and "the pay was good, but the way you had to work nearly drove you daft".

Other fathers who can provide employment for their sons and daughters are the shopkeepers and the garage owners. But of eight of such men with families of suitable age, only one employs his own son. The reason may be that these people tend to educate their children away from the town, and the higher education they receive fits them for occupations unobtainable locally; also that these sons and daughters wish to obtain more money than the local employees. It is generally understood that employers' families are paid at the same rate or even lower than non-family employees, as they are on farms.

It proved difficult to obtain accurate information regarding the types of employment obtained by children on leaving school. Although there were constant references made to the shortage of local employment and the necessity for children to leave home in order to work. So I decided to send out a questionnaire to be filled in by each of the 63 children who left school in July 1965. I waited until the following December to do this in order to give them time to obtain posts. The questionnaires (Appendix) were designed to discover what type of occupation they took up and some of the difficulties which they experienced. They were deliberately designed to ask as few questions as possible, and I made it known that I would collect them myself, so I hoped to obtain supplementary information verbally. Sixty-one questionnaires were partially completed (a local habit when filling in all official forms) and all the families, including the two who failed to complete the form, were visited and interviewed. The operation was very successful. Many ex-pupils and their parents seemed to welcome the chance

of stating what they considered to be the inadequacies of the school, and the lack of opportunities for young people in the area. 'They' were blamed. 'They' in this respect were the County Council.

The results of the questionnaire are summarised in Table X, p.120, but in many cases the figures need further explanation before they become meaningful. Farming can be divided into two categories: those who worked on the home farm and those who were employed on other farms. Out of the total of 11, 7 boys and 1 girl were in the first category. From conversation with the parents, it was evident that only two of the boys were needed at home on a full-time basis. The other five boys and one girl had stayed on the home farm because there was work for them to do at that season. It was intended that their services should be lent or hired out at a later date. All the children taking up farm work were sons and daughters of farmers, and only one had ever considered doing a different type of job, but said "What else could I do? I was C (Q) stream at school, so that only leaves Wet Sleddale (labouring on the dam) or the Carpet Factory (at Kendal) and who would want that?"

Eleven girls left school with commercial qualifications and C.S.E. or G.C.E. certificates, but although all wanted to work in North Westmorland, only one found employment. Six others left the area, four 'without the blessing of their parents' and two to work and stay with relatives in Carlisle. Two of the rest remained at home unemployed and the remaining two took alternative forms of employment, one as a shop assistant, the other as a cafe waitress. Those working in hotels and cafes tend to find themselves unemployed in the winter, and at this time help their mothers or other relatives with domestic chores.

TABLE XOccupations taken by Kirkby Stephen School Leavers, July 1965

<u>Type</u>	<u>Boys</u>	<u>Girls</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>% of pupils seeking employment</u>
Farming	9 (7)	2 (2)	11	17.5
Clerical	2	6 (1)	8	12.8
Garage workers	6 (4)	-	6	9.5
Teacher Training Colleges	2	3	5	7.9
Hotels and Cafes		4 (2)	4	6.3
Shops	-	4 (3)	4	6.3
Universities	3	-	3	4.8
Nursing	-	3	3	4.8
Engineering apprenticeships	3	-	3	4.8
Technical College (full-time)	-	2	2	3.1
Joiners	2	-	2	3.1
Hairdressing	-	1	1	1.6
Police	1	-	1	1.6
Banking	1	-	1	1.6
Physiotherapy	-	1	1	1.6
Laboratory	-	1	1	1.6
Bricklaying apprenticeships	1 (1)	-	1	1.6
Weaving apprenticeships	-	1	1	1.6
Unemployed (December 1965)	2	3	5	7.9
	32 (12)	31 (8)	63	100.0

Numbers in brackets refer to employment within the parish -
20 out of 63.

Of the six boys taking up employment as garage 'mechanics' (proprietor's term) and the bricklayer, none was serving a trade apprenticeship. Their employers did not wish them to do so because this would have necessitated their attending the Kendal Technical College one day per week and consequently losing working time. This lack of registered apprenticeships is beginning to cause concern. Several boys who underwent the local 'training' and afterwards left the district found that their 'training' was unacceptable. Registered apprenticeships are not attractive from the money point of view. Three boys obtained registered apprenticeships at Lancaster and Blackburn. Unfortunately the training allowance paid to these boys amounted to less than their board and lodging, therefore each of the boys had to be subsidised by their parents to the amount of thirty shillings to two pounds per week.

The girl who became a weaving apprentice had been in the A stream at school and considered very intelligent. Unfortunately she wished to become a nurse. However her parents (hill tenant farmers) strongly disapproved of what they told me to be "a new fangled notion", and as soon as possible removed her from school and sent her to work at the Carpet Factory. They were delighted with the amount of money the girl could earn - £11 per week including overtime - and used this to increase their very meagre income. The fact that the girl 'hated' the work and was very depressed was dismissed by her parents as something she would 'get over'.

Attitudes towards employment varied, but it was quite evident that it was a source of friction in many homes. Many local parents considered that it was their right to decide the type of occupation to be taken up by their child, and many children resented it. The school was known to encourage children to seek work outside the area, and this prejudiced parents further against the school.

When parents stated as a reason for not wishing their children to be employed outside the area, "once they go away to work you've lost them for ever", there was found to be some truth in the statement. Except at Christmas time, weddings and funerals ("Though I'm ashamed to admit it, when her Great Aunt died she never came near. Not but there's many like her", said one woman whose daughter worked in London), the young people, unless within easy travelling distance, seldom come home other than for the occasional weekend. Even the University or College students rarely spend more than two weeks of their long vacation at home.

Those who work in the locality can be expected to marry and bring up their children within sight of their parents. The parents of Q stream children have greater expectations of this than others. The five children still unemployed nearly six months after they left school were all Q stream and were encouraged by their parents to remain at home "until something turned up locally". None were opposed to this. The girls could have obtained jobs at the local knitwear factory and the boys could have found employment on the County Council road scheme, but both the children and their parents considered these low-prestige jobs not suitable.

Jobs are categorised as follows:-

TABLE XI

Local types of employment open to school leavers without certificates, in order of social prestige

<u>Boys</u>	<u>Girls</u>
Farms	Shop Assistants
Joinery	Hairdressing
Builders Merchants (store workers)	Farm maids
Quarries	Domestic work
County Council labourers	Bakeries
County road work	Hotel work
Carpet Factory at Kendal	Cafes (waitresses)
	Carpet Factory at Kendal
	Local Knitwear Factories

Yet there were adults in the community who held jobs which are low on this table who appeared to enjoy higher status than some who occupied jobs above them. General exceptions being farming and factory jobs. Factory work's low prestige is frequently attributed to the 'inhumanity' of the work and the lack of contact between employer and employee.

All working youngsters, receiving wages rather than pocket money, are expected to contribute to their upkeep at home. The majority of the girls give all their wages to their mothers, who decide how much to return for pocket money. Boys seldom give up all their wages, but they are expected to contribute towards their upkeep. It is usual for parents to be asked to help out with money at holiday times and before Christmas.

Young persons who work away from home are not expected to send money home. This is another freedom obtained by going away.

Leisure

Both young people and adults often complain that "there is nothing to do on a night for young ones." In fact, activities designed for young people are organised on most evenings, but few take part in them.

The non-denominational associations such as Guides, Scouts, Young Farmers' Club, the Youth Club, the newly formed (1965) Wharton Boys' Club and those activities run under the auspices of the Grammar School are very poorly patronised. The Girl Guide and Boy Scout movements cease to attract young people after they have left school. The Young Farmers' Clubs in the villages outside Kirkby Stephen draw members away from the Kirkby Stephen branch. Former members say "there was too much interference from the school, and nobody could agree on a programme". (This branch is organised by one of the masters from the school.)

The Youth Club has a fluctuating membership. In 1965 there were seven members who irregularly attended, to play table tennis, darts, or watch the occasional television sports programme. There was a flood of new members at the end of November each year because two attendances were essential before tickets could be obtained for the Christmas dance, a function which drew about 50 young people. After the dance the majority let their membership lapse until the following November, in spite of several visits by the County Youth Club Organiser from Kendal.

During 1965 another youth club came into being, sponsored by the Church and named the Wharton Boys' Club after the founder of the local grammar school. This club, in spite of its name, was intended for both sexes. It met in the same building as the Youth Club, though on different nights; it had a coffee bar, which was to be run by two mothers (selected by the vicar) on a voluntary basis. It did not attract Nonconformists as it was considered by the youngsters to be for Anglicans only, though this was not the intention of the organisers. Nonconformist parents and others objected to the club opening on a Sunday. Although it remained open throughout 1965, there were seldom more than five members in the place on any club night, and several times no one except the coffee bar helpers turned up. Young people who ceased to attend complained of too much interference from adults - "always telling you that you should be playing games not just sitting around". The youth of Kirkby Stephen, like the youth of Gosforth (p.61) are 'markedly apathetic and even hostile to 'clubs', a phenomenon found in other rural areas⁽¹⁾.

(1) Bracey, H. English Rural Life (Routledge and Kegan Paul 1959).

The only evening pursuits organised by adults that Kirkby Stephen young people will attend with any regularity are the Chapel Bible Studies, Band of Hope, etc. Participants even in these tend to drop off after their late teens. An exception to this are the Chapel 'Socials',⁽¹⁾ held throughout the 'Circuit'⁽²⁾ (Map VII). These are very popular with all age groups, in particular with teenagers and young adults. To be old enough to attend a 'Social' is an important landmark in a teenager's life. Shortly after a child has been officially admitted to membership of the Methodist sect (Chapter 7), he or she can look forward to being allowed to attend Socials. Due to opposition by many Non-conformists to dancing, the social replaces the dance as a premier occasion in young people's lives. Socials warrant new clothes, provide the chance to participate jointly in something with other young people, both locally and in the Circuit. As will be described in detail later, the Socials take the form of concerts, with musical items, recitations, community singing, games and an elaborate supper. One can join in or just watch according to fancy, which appeals to the young. The other sects, including the Anglicans, have nothing to compare with the Methodist socials.

Apart from these occasions, leisure time for the youth of the community is chiefly spent in their own company. (This has been found to be usual both in the Welsh and English community studies.) Boys go for walks through the lanes of the parish or along the river banks, or kick a football about in one of the fields. Girls also go for walks, but not as frequently as the boys do. The greater part of their free time is spent in and around their homes and those of their friends.

(1) See also Chapter 7.

(2) Map VII is between pages 211 and 212.

Many of the young boys eagerly await their sixteenth birthday when they can learn to drive a motor-cycle. These cycles are rarely new, but are well looked after and polished to look as new as possible. To own a motor bike is to have a degree of emancipation that hitherto has been impossible. Neighbouring towns come within feasible distance, but what is considered more important at this age, one can go to village dances beyond walking distance.

Few adults appreciate this 'motor bike phase', as it is known locally. It is generally held by the people living in the town that motor bikes are noisy, dangerous things. No one living along the main street can fail to be aware of a new purchase, for its owner will ride his newly acquired vehicle up and down the main street, and round the alleys, followed or led by his similarly mounted friends. Tiring of this route or warned off by the local police, the motor cyclists will ride out of the town, and on to the new stretch of road to the north (the only wide straight road in the parish) and 'try her out' to see how fast the bike will go. Frequent minor accidents occur. It is generally accepted by the local people that all young boys 'go through a wild phase', and the motor bike phase is part of it.

The motor bike phase dies out at about the age of 21 years, when the boy has usually saved enough to purchase a used car, or more frequently a van, or is permitted to borrow his father's. A large field of activity is now open to him. His social circle widens, with the new places he can frequent, and he acquires a group of 'hangers on' who want to share his transport. He also has a more satisfactory means of going courting. He can convey his girlfriend to dances, and take his car to a secluded spot where he can continue his courting unobserved. One seldom sees unmarried couples going for walks together. Courtship is a private matter which has no public expression, as Rees and Emmett found to

be the case in Wales.

A boy who cannot purchase a car is dependent on the goodwill of his friends. Few parents will let their daughters ride on the back of a motor cycle, so the friend who owns a car must be prevailed upon to have at least two extra passengers. When the owner or driver of the car starts to court seriously, he will of course want it for his own use.

Chapel functions and dances are the two places where the local boy or girl can expect to find their friends of the opposite sex and ultimately marriage partners. It is not essential for young people to have partners when they first go to dances. Frequently a group of girls will prevail upon one of their fathers or an elder brother to take them, and collect them at the end of the evening. A group of boys will go together either by car or on motor bikes. To go to a dance does not necessarily mean that the person is actually going to dance. Girls constantly complain that boys stand together at one end of the room for most or all of the evening without dancing. This is very usual in other rural areas. Since social convention requires a boy to ask a girl to dance, a girl without a partner depends on being noticed by unattached boys. The boys clearly enjoy this situation, and may tease a girl by constantly making as if to ask her to dance, and then ignoring her.

Once a girl has a boyfriend and dancing partner, she can reasonably expect to dance most of the evening, as not only will her particular friend dance with her, but so will his friends. However, when the friendship becomes a courtship, the girl will expect her boyfriend to dance most of the dances with her, but only after they are formally engaged will the couple restrict their dance partners to each other.

There are only two dances a year in Kirkby Stephen, one at Christmas, organised by the Youth Club, and one in August organised by The British Legion. But village dances are held about twice a week. Friday is the most popular night, because the dance can go on after midnight, which is not permitted on Saturday night because of the sabbath.

Courtship and Marriage

The term courtship, as locally used, indicates that a boy and girl have been seen alone together on several occasions, perhaps in a car or at dances, and one or both have indicated that they are contemplating marriage.

It is considered better for a boy or girl to have several friends of the opposite sex so that they can draw comparisons. One broken marriage was attributed to the fact that "She never went out with anyone else, so she had nobody to compare him with to see how he shaped up".

Courtship begins at about 19 for boys and about 16 for girls, where they both live and work locally. Local courtships frequently last at least two years; if the friendship has commenced when the girl is 15-16 years, her parents are unlikely to let her marry before she is 18. It is unusual for boys to marry before 21.

It is accepted that young people in love should wish to marry, but romantic love is never given as the reason for marrying by the parents of the young couple, e.g. "He is doing very well for himself, and will be able to give her a good home", also "He comes from a good Christian family, and works very hard". Not only has the boy or girl to be suitable, but also their family should be satisfactory. Unsatisfactory families have members who suffer from insanity, malformation, or are childless, which are considered hereditary by most local people. Criminal tendencies are frequently

stated to be due to 'bad blood', which again is inheritable.

Not all parents are happy about their child's choice of partner, but unless they have a very strong objection based on a believed hereditary defect, the marriage is permitted, though the parents tend to delay permission as long as possible, so that the young people will have a chance to change their minds and, it is hoped, meet someone more pleasing to the parents. Marriage in the face of strong objections results in a severance of kinship rights and obligations.

Various individuals live in Kirkby Stephen whose parents forbade their marriage, and who have remained single. But these people are over 30 years of age and considered to be more amenable to their parents than are members of the present generation. There is no shame felt by older people for the unmarried state, but for young people, especially girls, the early acquisition of a partner is a matter of pride.

During the courtship phase the young people seldom visit each other's homes unless their parents are particularly friendly. The courtship phase ends with the official engagement. After that the couple are never referred to as courting, but always as 'engaged'. No one is engaged until the female partner has a ring. This ring, which has been purchased in Carlisle, Kendal or Darlington on a special outing, is proudly displayed to relatives and friends. Even casual acquaintances should show polite interest by asking to see it.

After the ring has been purchased, a notice of the engagement will be put in the local paper. This notice is not considered sufficient information for first degree relatives, who should be visited by the newly engaged couple, or if this is impossible, the mothers of the pair will write and inform them of the event. The engagement period usually lasts for about a year - anything

less than six months is considered undue haste - but it may last longer if the boy is seeking new employment. During 'the wait to get married', as it is known locally, both boy and girl will seek ways of earning a little extra money. The boy may help out on the farms in the Eden Valley, and the girl work part-time at one of the cafes, hotels or shops which open late in the summer season. It is usually difficult for a girl to find a part-time job.

When engaged, fewer outings than before are undertaken by the couple, due to the fact that they are saving. Girls will make wool rugs and embroider table cloths and pillow cases for their future home. These are usually on show alongside the wedding gifts. Boys, if skilled, or at least keen, will make small tables, shelves, trays, etc..

In this area it is extremely rare for an engaged couple to go away on holiday together, even to relatives. The only couple who did so during the fieldwork period were criticised for their foolish behaviour, and their parents came in for even more reproach 'for inviting the couple to do wrong', i.e. have intercourse. It is also thought not a good thing for the couple to spend too many evenings alone in each other's company. Rarely will parents be so considerate as to allow them to spend the evening in a room separate from the rest of the family.

The girl is expected both by her parents and those of her fiance to remain a virgin until she is married. Unlike Williams' findings in Gosforth (p.65), the girls of Kirkby Stephen have to bear the onus for pregnancy. "Boys tend to be a bit wild, so it's up to the girl to say no." "If she's been brought up properly there is no excuse", and "Boys only take advantage of a girl who is willing." If the pregnancy does not result in marriage (only two such cases were known to occur during the fieldwork period) the girl is treated as an outcast in this community. Her close

kin all share her shame and will find themselves ostracised by other people until at least after the birth of the child. Then the mother and her illegitimate child bear the major share of the shame. The mother's friends will not accompany her as she pushes the pram through the town, as happens in the case of a married girl. Parishioners will turn aside rather than address her in the street. There are no parades for illegitimate babies, and few would admire them in public. Extra-marital pregnancies can result in life-long estrangement in some families between the girl and her parents, a lasting disruption in kinship relations between the girl's family and the rest of the kin-group who have openly reproved the girl and her mother (for not rearing her daughter in the correct norms), and suicide on the part of the pregnant girl. If the parents have hitherto encouraged their daughter to remain in the parish, she may now be actively encouraged to leave and seek work and a husband elsewhere. Only marriage is looked on as the solution for her problem. Sometimes parents will take their daughter's illegitimate baby and rear it, believing that unencumbered with a child their daughter will more easily find a husband. It is frequently stated that 'the innocent child' is the main victim in extra-marital relations, but from observations the mother and her parents suffer more at least in the child's early years.

Kirkby Stephen is by no means unusual in its attitude towards illegitimacy, e.g. Rees tells us 'In Llanfihangel, all extra-marital pregnancies were considered improper and extremely unfortunate unless the situation was saved by marriage.' (p.88).

If a girl becomes pregnant before the intended marriage date then the wedding preparations are hastened and the date brought forward. For girls who conceive without being engaged, every effort is made to encourage the boy to marry her, even if parents have hitherto been unhappy about the friendship.

Weddings are major social events. They reinforce kinship ties by bringing the family together to celebrate the marriage. As large families are admired in this community and united families have high status, weddings are times when the size of the kin group can be displayed in public for approval, either by their appearance at the wedding and/or sending presents. It is acknowledged that many families cannot afford to invite numerous guests due to the cost of the wedding breakfast, which is traditionally paid for by the bride's parents. It is usual to invite relations of first and second degree to the parents. Cousins of the bride and groom are only usually invited where a large number of guests is encouraged, or the family size is small. Some people compromise by inviting one cousin from each family - usually a girl. Friends of the parents are given preference over friends of the bride and groom, though a small number of the latter are always invited. It is essential for the young couple to be on good terms with as many of their kin group as is possible by constantly visiting them throughout childhood and performing small services for them, and to have the good will of the immediate neighbours and many other parishioners, including their employers, if they wish to benefit materially from their wedding. For this is the second occasion, and the last, save for the funeral wreaths, when they are the recipients of multitudinous gifts. It is customary for major presents to be given by the bridegroom's parents. In the case of farmers, stock or its money equivalent and a cheque are usually given. It is considered 'only right' that they should be generous 'because they haven't borne the cost of the wedding'.

For the girl 'who had to marry in a hurry' the marriage ceremony used to be very simple, and the wedding arranged for early on a weekday morning, before many people were about to 'view her shame', so there was no gathering of kin and friends and few, if

any, presents. Within the last decade the pregnant bride has had her lot greatly improved. With one exception, her wedding varies very little from that of her more fortunate sister. The exception is that she is not expected to wear a white dress. A white dress is the symbol of a virgin. The townsfolk and the clergy object to pregnant brides wearing white. Only one bride during the fieldwork period was known to have worn white although pregnant, and this brought both the girl and her parents into conflict with their relatives, neighbours, and the clerics, who all claimed that the girl and her parents had 'behaved shamefully' or had perpetuated a fraud.

The bride, however, is permitted to wear a bridal gown, but it must be coloured. So it is possible to see a bride being married in a bridal dress, with train and veil tinted blue, pink or gold, complete with bridesmaids dressed 'as for a normal wedding'. This way, as one woman explained to me, "You can give your daughter a good wedding; invite your family and friends, and receive presents, at the same time being able to hold your head up high, as you know that you're not deceiving anyone." Certainly this occurs.

In spite of this charade people still adversely comment on the pregnant bride. No girl would consider wearing a coloured wedding dress if she was not pregnant.

For the white wedding preparations are made for months in advance. What the bride and her bridesmaid and her mother and the groom's mother will wear are constant topics for conversation.

About three months before the wedding the engaged couple visit their appropriate chapels or churches to arrange a wedding date, and in the case of the Anglicans give notification for the publishing of the banns of marriage, as required by law.

When the day for the wedding is fixed, the next step taken by the bride's mother is to arrange for the reception which follows the marriage ceremony. Wedding receptions are mainly held in the two local hotels, but if either or both of the families are members or supporters of the Temperance Society, then the reception will be held either in a cafe or outside the town in one of the village halls. It is difficult to arrange caterers for the latter, so the majority of Temperance weddings take place in the Fountain Cafe in the Market Square. Unfortunately the only room available for over 50 guests (usually weddings vary from 60-180) is the Snack Bar, which is at street level, and has large windows through which the proceedings can be watched by the uninvited. Many brides have shed tears over 'the shame of the Snack Bar'.

After the wedding reception is booked, the invitations can be printed and sent out by post, even if they only go to the house next door. A wedding is a formal affair and people are formally invited.

The bridesmaids are chosen from sisters of the bride and groom, and failing these, first cousins or friends of the bride. Relatives take preference over friends. It is an honour to be chosen to be a bridesmaid, so conversely insults are felt by those who are passed over. The best man is preferably an elder married brother of the bridegroom. Failing this, a younger brother or peer, but not a relative of the bride.

Whatever the social status of the bride, or the finances of the bride's parents, she will have a dress which compares favourably with any seen on a magazine bride. No matter how plain she usually dresses, in her bridal gown she is expected to "look like a princess", as one person expressed it. Long trailing veils of tulle, held in place by tiaras of paste 'diamonds' and 'pearls' are the most common

headdress. The average bridegroom wears a dark grey lounge suit. Morning suits are rare.

In addition to the expense of the wedding, the bride's parents usually redecorate and sometimes refurnish part of their home, as the wedding presents are displayed to guests and interested people in the home of the bride. Therefore the house as well as the presents are on show. As this is an expected procedure people usually delay sending presents until the week before the wedding so as to allow the house to be put in order to receive them. If the house is large enough, presents are displayed in the 'best' bedroom, otherwise in the sitting room.

As stated earlier, presents are sent by everyone invited, and are also expected from neighbours and close acquaintances. The greater a person's wealth, or assumed wealth, the more valuable the expected present. Presents cause embarrassment as well as pleasure. If they are too opulent they bring forward remarks such as, "Oh dear, she will expect something equal to it when her daughter marries", or even "just flashing their money about". Poor quality presents, especially from relatives, again embarrass, as it is hoped that relatives will send the type of present one is proud to display. It is up to the bride's mother to arrange the presents so that each is shown to advantage, and that all the cards accompanying the presents are placed so as to be easily read by the guests.

During the week before the wedding the bridegroom's parents traditionally visit the bride's home, in theory to finalise last minute arrangements. In practice conversation tends to be difficult as any arrangements have been settled long before this time. In many cases this is the first time they have visited the bride's home, and a certain embarrassment is felt by them. Even if they

know, and have previously used, each other's Christian names, they will tend to address each other formally as Mr. or Mrs. X.

On the night before the wedding the prospective bridegroom spends the evening with his friends. They may drink and tease him, but rarely are jokes played at this stage, and for the boy to get drunk is regarded as a great disgrace.

Traditionally on the morning of the wedding the bride and groom do not meet before the ceremony. The groom and best man, whose role is to aid the groom and attend to the church arrangements such as paying the vicar and verger, are the first to leave for the church, usually half an hour before the wedding. Next the ushers arrive at the church. The ushers are usually two members of the family of the bridal pair or their close friends, who are collaterals. Their role is to meet the cars, and show guests to their seats - the relatives and friends of the bride to the left side of the church, and those of the groom to the right side. Parents and close relatives sit at the front of the church on the appropriate side.

Guests arrive, and just before the scheduled time of the wedding the bridesmaids come to the church in the bridal car, which returns to the house to pick up the bride's mother, and finally the bride accompanied by her father, but if he is deceased, a brother of her father or mother is considered suitable to replace him.

Inside the church the groom and his best man stand to the right of the aisle, to meet the bridal procession.

The service, conducted by the clergyman, will be according to the rites of their particular church, though in form Anglican and Nonconformist are similar.

After the service, the register is signed in the vestry, in order officially to record the wedding, and the bride is presented with the marriage certificate.

After this the bridal procession leaves the church or chapel, and have their photographs taken outside the building. These photographs are considered to be very important, so a nice day is eagerly hoped for so that the photographs will be clear. Throughout the lives of the bridal pair, and their parents, the wedding photographs will be frequently brought out for viewing by relatives and friends.

When the photographs are completed, the party moves off to the waiting cars. If the wedding is at the parish church local children tie the gates with string (Plate XIIIa) and only untie them after the best man has thrown handfuls of pennies to the waiting children (Plate XIIIb). This rite is practised in many rural areas throughout Wales and Northern England.

During the pause in the procession, friends and relatives pour confetti over the heads of the bridal pair. Cars trimmed with white ribbon convey the bridal party and their attendants to the reception. It is usual for guests to walk.

At the reception the bridal pair with their parents will stand to greet the guests. After everyone has entered, the bridal party plus their parents seat themselves at the table which is adorned with the wedding cake. This cake is elaborately iced with white icing and usually consists of three tiers. The rest of the guests are seated at tables leading off from the bridal table. All places bear the names of the guests, and the closer the relative the nearer to the bridal table he or she is placed. The bride's relatives are given preference over those of the groom, but ideally guests of either side are seated together to 'get



a. The children tying up the gate



b. The best man paying the ransom

acquainted'. The clergyman who conducted the ceremony usually sits at the end of the bridal table.

After the meal, which is usually a formal luncheon, the wedding cake is cut by the bride and groom, and wine or soft drinks only are given out for the toasts.

Speeches are made by the bride's father, the groom and the best man. The bride's father thanks everyone for attending and states how pleased he is with his new 'son' (the bridegroom). The groom thanks the bride's parents for allowing him to marry their daughter, and thanks the guests for 'the wonderful presents'. The best man states how proud he is of his friend (the groom) and how delighted he and the bridesmaids are to attend the couple's wedding. All speeches contain anecdotes referring to the earlier life of the bridal pair. Toasts to the bride and groom, bridesmaids and parents, are drunk, and then the minister will be called upon to say a few words. Several other male guests may get up, say extempore prayers of considerable length, and make speeches containing advice for the bride and groom and also other married couples present.

With the conclusion of the speeches, the bride and groom will return to the bride's home to change into their 'going away outfits'. Then they will return to say farewell to their relatives and guests, and also for the bride to display her 'going away' outfit, which will be described in the local paper along with her bridal gown. Honeymoons, even if they only result in the couple going away overnight, are always taken. Everyone who has been married since the Second World War claimed to have had a honeymoon. Among the much older members of the community, a honeymoon, even if this meant just going to the home of a close relative overnight, seems to have been usual. Yet few couples ever go away on holiday together in

after years of their married life. Popular places for honeymoons are northern seaside resorts or Scotland. When the bridal pair leave, always by car, it is the custom for the groom's friends to have decorated it with messages written in lipstick such as 'Just married' or 'Honeymoon Ahead'. Old shoes are tied to the bumpers and usually pennies are placed inside the wheel discs to make a rattle. It is also customary for their friends to follow them part of the way by car to the sound of horns, and with passengers leaning out of the window and shouting and ringing bells.

A phase in the young people's lives is now completed, and when they return to the community they will have new roles to assume, and the attitude of the rest of the community will have changed towards them. They will no longer be regarded as young adults but now as married people with all that the term locally implies.

Marriage is expected to last until death. During the survey period there were no divorced persons living in the community nor were there any divorces pending. Infidelity is relatively unknown. This does not mean that all marriages are stable. Four couples separated between 1963 and 1967, and several others were expected to do so in the near future. But it was not expected that these separations would end in divorce. Divorce is sometimes mentioned as one of the hazards of town life. Divorce is considered by religious-minded persons as breaking a promise to God. People constantly refer to a woman in the next village who frequently visits Kirkby Stephen as 'that divorced woman'. The fact that she divorced her husband for adultery and, as far as is known, leads an exemplary life, makes no difference, for she must share her husband's 'sin'. Various reasons are given for this attitude,

chiefly that she must have been an inadequate wife if she could not maintain a stable marriage. In addition, divorce is, as Emmett found in Llan (p.117), 'a public admission of failure'.

The expectations from marriage do not seem to be of long-lasting bliss and amiable companionship. People expect to be what is locally termed 'comfortable'. By this they usually mean that their partner should be good natured; the husband should have a stable job which pays enough for his family to maintain an adequate standard of living; the wife should be able to care for the home, feed and clothe her family and rear her children according to prescribed norms. If this is seen to occur then the rest of the community consider the marriage to be 'satisfactory'. The majority of Kirkby Stephen marriages are 'satisfactory'.

Establishing a Home

When a newly married couple return from their honeymoon, it is usual for them to take up residence with a relative before setting up home for themselves. Several reasons are given for this procedure. Examples are: "We wanted to keep her at home a bit longer" (girl's mother); where the boy is a farmer's son or works for a relative and lives in his household, it is considered tactful to delay the increase in salary necessitated by setting up an independent household until a child is born. (In this case any of the bride's clothes are expected to be purchased out of her pre-marital savings or gifts from her parents, though the groom's father will be expected to feed his son's wife.) Where the boy is employed locally in an unskilled low-paid job, sufficient money has not been amassed to purchase the necessary furniture for a home - "They are staying with us until they get saved up a bit", was a frequent remark; and even if the bridegroom has 'a job with prospects', or has married

'late',⁽¹⁾ and has a certain amount of capital, the housing shortage often prevents him from setting up home at once.

This last reason may seem to be paradoxical. The parish contains a number of empty houses, including nine out of the thirteen railway houses at Kirkby Stephen West Station, and 31 in the town. These houses are a bone of contention to many Kirkby Stephen people. True, some of them are derelict, but others, although they have been condemned by the Council on account of their siting, are as structurally sound as the occupied properties that they adjoin. One woman, who had a married daughter 'living in' and another due to be married, owned one of these alley cottages, or 'yard houses' as they are referred to locally, and was exceedingly angry at being unable to let it to her daughter - "They (the Rural District Council) claim that it hasn't a bathroom - well they can bath here ... and how many of them (the councillors) had a bathroom when they were young? They said it is stuck in a passage with no sunlight, and looks on a blank wall (actually 8 ft. from the window and about 6 ft. higher than the house) - and what does that matter? Who wants to spend the day staring out of the window? It's damp - so are most of the old houses in the town, and no one's worried about that 'til lately." No local person has been able to find out what the railway authorities intend to do with their empty houses.

For young people to buy a house they must either obtain sufficient money from their parents to do so, or get a loan from a Building Society. The former depends of course on the financial situation of the parents and their willingness to assist. The

(1) Anyone marrying over the age of thirty is considered to have married 'late'. The average age on marriage for first marriages for the years 1960-1966 was 26 years for males and 23 years for females.

latter, unless the husband is in a profession, is difficult if not impossible, due to the insecurity of employment or to the low wages which the Building Societies take into account in deciding upon making a loan.

Houses are seldom available for rent. Of the 552 in the parish, 124 are Council houses, 312 are owner-occupied or owned by a relative⁽¹⁾ and 16 are rented from landlords in the parish.

Council houses are not allotted to newly married couples, and the number of applicants who justify having a house, in the eyes of the Parish Council, always exceeds the number available.⁽²⁾

When the newly married couple takes up joint residence in the town or district, with the exception of the farming families, it is usually uxorilocal. It is considered more suitable for a girl at this stage of her life to share a home with her mother than with her mother-in-law. But overcrowding sometimes makes this difficult, so a number of other solutions may be tried. The sitting room may be turned into a bedroom for the couple, or another relative who has a room available for the couple to sleep in is approached. The next choice to 'living with mother' is 'living with grandmother'. The principal drawback to moving in with a grandmother is that she will probably not feel able to tolerate the great-grandchildren, and if she is old, her methods and ideas will be different from those of her granddaughter.

If the boy's mother has room available the couple may be obliged to live with her. Most people do not think this arrangement satisfactory⁽³⁾. When, of necessity, it occurs, the girl

(1) For which rent may not be requested, or else be only nominal.

(2) See Chapter 5.

(3) However it is usual for a woman to make her home, or share her home, with her parents-in-law if the latter become infirm. (See Chapter 8).

usually spends the greater part of the day with her mother, returning to her mother-in-law's in time to help to prepare her husband's evening meal.

When couples 'live in' separate eating and living arrangements are not provided even if there is room available. The financial running of the household is in the hands of the girl's parents. The daughter's husband gives an agreed sum out of his wages each week to the girl's mother to pay for the food he and his wife eat. It is also usual to purchase small gifts for the house, such as electric fires, garden tools, etc.. The wedding presents are stored for future use in their own home. It sometimes happens that the couple never find a home of their own, and when they die the presents are still in their wrappings unused. (1)

After the birth of the first child the couple begin to look seriously for a home of their own, either in the town or in one of the villages close by. If they are unsuccessful, they tolerate the existing arrangements until either their family increases further, or their position in their relatives' home becomes untenable, or if it is a Council house, the house is overcrowded. After the birth of a second child relatives and other townsfolk will constantly remind them that "it is time your parents had their house to themselves", or "isn't it time you started looking for a house of your own, as you won't always have your mother to rely on", "your husband must be a poor sort of chap if he cannot provide a home for his wife and family", and "what's the matter, won't your wife leave her mother?"

Usually the young couple first attempt to rent a house from relatives or friends of their parents if such a house comes available.

(1) These unused wedding gifts are frequently sold in the auctions following the deaths of the owners.

This creates another social problem - if a house is available, who is entitled to it? Close kin usually have the first claim, but if no applicants are included in this category, then the question arises who should have it so as to minimise any future criticism? Enmity is easily aroused. The increased family may entitle the parents to apply for a Council house. If this fails, the husband may have to look for a job and accommodation outside the area. Some parents said of their own married children: "They wouldn't give them a house so they had to leave."

From Table XII: (the Composition of Households) it can be seen that whereas the married couple usually establish a separate household, this is not always the case. If they do, the type of house will probably be like their parents'. The children who have been reared in Council houses may aspire to a similar type of house, with the one proviso that the house shall be on the West Garth housing estate rather than The Crescent. This was emphasised by all the courting couples on either estate. One family, in which the wife had been brought up in West Garth, only accepted a house in The Crescent after their third child was born and her parents were threatened with eviction for overcrowding. They did not accept the situation and sent numerous letters and applications to the Parish Council to be rehoused in what the husband stated to be 'a better class area like West Garth, where my wife was brought up'.

The ideal is for the young couple to buy a house. To own a house, even a poor one, is a sign 'that you are sensible with your money'.

When buying a house, whether newly married or not, it is considered preferable to live on the outskirts of the town, in particular on South Road. There are however two movements taking

TABLE XIIComposition of Households

	<u>No. of Households</u>	<u>Total No. of Persons</u>
<u>1 generation households:</u>		
Hu + Wi	131	262
Bachelor	4	4
Spinster	28	28
Widow	62	62
Widower	12	12
Wife (separated)	2	2
Husband (separated)	2	2
Bro + Bro (Bachelors)	1	2
Bro + Si (Bach + Spinster)	3	6
Bro + Si (Bach + Widow)	1	2
2 Bros + 1 Si	2	6
Si + Si (Spinsters)	3	6
Si + Si + Si Hu	1	3
Hu + Wi + unrelated Bach	2	6
Si-in-laws (Widow + Sp)	2	4
Si-in-laws (Widows)	1	2
2 unrelated Spinters	3	6
Bachelor + Housekeeper	6	12
Bachelor + 2 Housekeepers	1	3
Widower + Sp Housekeeper	3	6
Widower + 2 Sp Housekeepers	1	3
Widow + unrelated Bach	1	2
<u>2 generation households:</u>		
Hu + Wi + 1 child	72	216
-do- + 2 children	73	292
-do- + 3 children	41	205
-do- + 4 children	8	48
-do- + 5 children	5	35
-do- + 6 children	2	16
-do- + 7 children	1	9

	<u>No. of Households</u>	<u>Total No. of Persons</u>
Hu + Wi + So (married but separated)	1	3
Hu + Wi + Da (married but separated)	1	3
Hu + Wi + Hu Fa	1	3
Hu + Wi + Wi Fa	1	3
Hu + Wi + Hu Mo	1	3
Hu + Wi + Wi Mo Si	1	3
Hu + Wi + WiSi + WiSiDa	1	4
Hu + Wi + 2 c + Wi Si	1	5
Hu + Wi + m.Da + Da Hu	1	4
Hu + Wi + 1 c + unrelated Bach	1	4
Hu + Wi + 2 c + unrelated Bach	1	5
Si + Si + Br So	1	3
Widower + child	2	4
Widower + 3 children	1	4
Widow + child	17	34
Widow + 2 children	2	6
Widow + Si So	1	2
Widower + Widowed Da	1	2
Widower + m. So + So Wi	1	3
Widower + m. Da + Da Hu	1	3
Widow + m. So + So Wi	2	6
Widow + m. Da + Da Hu	1	3
Widow + Da + unrelated Bach	1	3
Spinster + child	1	2
Wife (sep) + 1 child	2	4
-do- + 4 children	1	5
-do- + 5 children	1	6
Wife (sep) + 3 foster children	1	4
Widow + 3 foster children	1	4
Widow + 4 foster children	1	5
Spinster + 2 foster children	1	3
Hu + Wi + 4 unrel. (1 Sp + 3 Bach)	1	6
Widow + 3 unrel. (Hu + Wi + Ch)	1	4

	<u>No. of Households</u>	<u>Total No. of Persons</u>
<u>3 generation households:</u>		
Hu + Wi + ch + Wi Fa	1	4
Hu + Wi + 2 children + Hu Fa	1	5
Hu + Wi + 2 sons + Da (sep) + gd ch	1	6
Hu + Wi + 1 ch + gd ch	3	12
Hu + Wi + 2 ch + gd ch	1	5
Hu + Wi + 6 ch + gd ch	1	9
Hu + Wi + m. So Wi + gd ch	1	5
Hu + Wi + 1 ch + m. So + So Wi + gd ch	1	6
Hu + Wi + m. Da + Da Hu + 3 gd ch	1	7
Widower + m. So + So Wi + gd ch	1	4
Widower + So + Da (sep) + gd ch	1	4
Widow + widowed Da + gd ch	1	3
Widow + So (sep) + 2 gd sons	1	4
Widow + Da (sep) + gd Da.	1	3
Widow + gd So	1	2
Hu (sep) + Bro Da (sep) + Bro Da's 2 ch	1	4
Wi (sep) + Hu Bro + 3 So + 1 Da	1	6
Sp + Bro Da + Bro Da Hu + gd ch	1	4
<u>4 generation households:</u>		
Hu + Wi + Gd So + Gd So Wi + Gt Gd Ch	1	5
<u>Old Peoples Home (Christian Head)</u>		
Hu + Wi + Ch	1	3
39 unrelated + 1 Hu + Wi	1	41
	<hr/> 552	<hr/> 1564 <hr/>

place. Young adults, mainly by choice, move to the outlying parts of the town and parish, leaving the older people concentrated in the inner section of the town⁽¹⁾, and when they in turn become old they return to the inner section of the town so as to be nearer the shops and other facilities.

The arrangement of rooms in the local houses, whether large or small, privately owned or council tenanted, is similar. The sitting room is in the front of the house and the living room and/or kitchen in the back. Even in the largest houses there is one room, frequently termed 'the front sitting room'. This room is the show case for family heirlooms⁽²⁾, treasures, photographs, souvenirs of visits, and the best of the furniture, carpets and curtains. It may be used for family gatherings at Christmas, always at funerals, and for weddings and christening parties and when entertaining visitors. As a rule the family do not sit there. With young people, constant use would wear out the furnishings which they hope to preserve for a long time, and also it is necessary for children to be under constant surveillance in case they handle and damage delicate treasured articles⁽³⁾.

The largest front bedroom, if not needed to accommodate members of the family, will be the 'best bedroom'. Like the sitting room below, it will contain furniture superior to that of

- (1) Cf. Rose and Peterson 'Older People and Their Social World' (Davis, Philadelphia 1965), p.5, observed this phenomenon in the American towns which they studied.
- (2) This is usual in rural communities and in urban areas where there is a history of long residence - Rees A. 'Life in a Welsh Countryside', p.46, also Mogeey 'Family and Neighbourhood' (Oxford University Press 1956), p.23, and Williams 'Gosforth', p.36.
- (3) Cf. Seeley J.R., Sim R.A., and Loosley E.W. 'Crestwood Heights' (T. Wiley & Sons Inc. 1963), p.53, where a similar situation occurred in an entirely different community, Crestwood Heights being a suburb of a large American city, and its residents are predominantly executives of large national and international organisations.

other bedrooms. The wardrobe will contain the best clothes of the family. The dressing table drawers will contain treasured hand-crocheted mats, and the 'best' bedlinen. Also in here and in a chest will almost certainly be wedding presents, which are considered unsuitable for general use.

The room which is the social centre of the house is the kitchen/dining room. Most of the houses have a small scullery, leading off this room, which contains the sink and the gas or electric oven. Until recent years the living room contained a large iron cooking range with a water boiler at the side. These have been largely replaced with tiled fireplaces. However, several still remain, and are carefully black-leaded and the metal parts polished.

The Council houses in the Crescent and West Garth, particularly the latter, were not designed for this manner of living. Some of these Council houses have no separate scullery, and therefore all the necessary items for cooking, washing and cleaning are in one room. The architect intended the family to live in the fairly large sitting room with dining annexe, and to use the kitchen only for meal preparation and washing. This arrangement does not suit all the families, and many 'have compromised with difficulty'.⁽¹⁾ The relatively small kitchen has no built-in heating, so electric or gas fires are installed. A shelf may be put up to hold those articles which they have been accustomed to place on the mantelpiece, such as a clock, a tea caddy, bills, letters, a pot containing loose change, matches, and ornaments, such as a fancy vase, egg-timer, or brass bell. The inhabitants of larger houses use their

(1) Cf. Mogeys. 'Family and Neighbourhood', pp.24, 25, where the people who moved from St. Ebbs to Barton found the Barton houses unsuitable for their way of living. They made adjustments in the form of movable screens, but these were not wholly successful.

dining rooms as living rooms rather than the kitchens.

Few, if any, of the locally born people amass contemporary goods, with the exception of a businessman who became rich through his own endeavours and purchased a large modern house and filled it with contemporary furniture, fittings and ornaments. No one openly expresses envy of his possessions, which few have seen in situ. Purchasing contemporary goods on a large scale is taken to be a sign, not only that a person has 'money to burn' but also that one's predecessors had not enough forethought to collect suitable articles to pass on to their descendants. Incomers who have similar goods are considered in the same light.

Owen (1962) advances an interesting theory for a similar abhorrence to amassing possessions in Glan Llyn (p.283), namely that this attitude is due to the Christian ethic which lays emphasis on thrift. I consider it highly possible that this theory could explain the Kirkby Stephen attitude. For here, as in Glan Llyn, religious, particularly Nonconformist, ideals are considered important in the social sphere. This will be discussed in greater detail in a further chapter.

A maxim which is told to all brides is that "a good wife has a good husband, a good home and good children". Therefore the onus is placed on the wife and mother. She, not her husband, will have to face public censure if she does not measure up to the ideal 'good wife'. On hearing this maxim expressed and seeing women trying to put it into practice one is able to understand partly, even if not fully, why it is considered by the majority of the community that married women should not go out to work; why women pay so much attention to their homes; and why they consider it necessary for their children to be 'socialised' as soon as possible.

In addition to the gaining of a spouse, the opportunity to have children and establish a home, marriage brings with it other rights and obligations, for it increases a person's social contacts. This is due to the fact that a person's spouse has his/her own relatives who marry, have children, grow old and die, and these stages are marked by social ceremonies which the young married couple will have the opportunity of attending together. Marriage establishes bonds between families even though in this society they may be tenuous if the spouse dies. It is from relatives by blood and by marriage that a person first seeks assistance. Conversely, marriage can be seen as creating obligations; the nearer the relative in local kinship terms the greater the obligation to fulfil their needs. This is one reason why the community consider it better for a couple to marry young, for "if you wait until your thirties or forties, you start straight away having to look to (care for) your husband's and your own old relatives, instead of being able to spend all your time looking after your own family", as one woman who married 'late' explained it.

Other social opportunities occur as one grows to maturity. Membership of organisations for which one was ineligible in one's youth is now available, e.g. sports associations and evening classes of a practical or cultural nature. In the religious sphere, if the young adult has been a practising member of his religious sect (other than Anglican or Roman Catholic) by the age of 21 years (which here is considered the minimum age of adulthood) he can 'proclaim his faith' (preach) before fellow members, assist at services, and have a voice in the organisation of that particular sect's sacred and secular activities.

Growing up in this community can be viewed as a progression, on the one hand, of opportunities for social interaction and social advancement, and on the other, of obligations to one's kin, both

consanguinal and affinal, to one's sect and to the community at large. The limits on one's interactions with other adults are set by social differentiation and stratification rather than by legal authority.

Chapter 5

SOCIAL DIFFERENTIATION AND SOCIAL STRATIFICATION

The child growing to adulthood, and the incomer to the community, each becomes gradually aware of the social differentia which exist in the society, the way in which society is stratified, the status assessments made by the community and the way in which prestige can be achieved.

Throughout this study I use certain terms which have been given a variety of definitions by social anthropologists and sociologists among whom there is no general agreement. Therefore I shall define what I mean by these terms which occur in the text. 'Class' is used in the Marx/Frankenberg (1965 p.255-257) sense to denote power economic 'classes' which existed in rural England in earlier centuries. These were threefold: those who lived on rent or capital, those who farmed on their own account, and those who worked for wages. 'Status', as defined by Goldschmidt⁽¹⁾, as the position of a person vis a vis others. 'Status groups' in the Weber⁽²⁾ sense - strata distinguished by the degree of social honour accorded to them. These status groups restrict social intercourse between each other, outside economic activities, and each stratum has a culture or distinct way of life. Prestige is the social honour an individual enjoys by virtue of his performance in one or several roles. (This definition of prestige corresponds to 'esteem' as used by Davis⁽³⁾). I do not use 'esteem' because it is not a term used in Kirkby Stephen as is 'prestige', and I became

(1) Goldschmidt, W. 'Understanding Human Society' (Berkeley, 1964).

(2) Gerth, H.H. and Wright Mills, C. From Max Weber (Routledge and Kegan Paul 1948, p.186).

(3) Davis, K. 'Conceptual Analysis of Stratification', Amer. Sociol. Rev. 7 (1942) pp.309-21.

accustomed to use the word and their interpretation of it.) 'Values' is another term which I take from Goldschmidt. He defines it as those individual personal qualities which are considered to be desirable by people in a given culture. The characteristics of the value system will generally reflect certain basic needs of the social system in the context of its environment and technology. Values are sought for and possessed by individuals, and the possessor of them is 'a good man' in the society.

The methods which I used to obtain my information were similar in some respects to those used by Williams at Gosforth (pp.210-214) and Littlejohn at Westrigg (p.76). I held conversations with parishioners and listened to their conversations with one another in the expectation of hearing words which implied a conventional classification of persons. I attended many religious services at all the places of worship of the various sects and where possible also their secular activities; non-sectarian recreational organised activities, such as evening classes (W.E.A. and Extra Mural), sports events, youth clubs, dances; the majority of the fortnightly-held Magistrates' Courts; the Parish Council and the Chamber of Trade and any public meetings. I visited the local farmers and landowners and the sheep and cattle ordinary auctions, and the 'Great Sales'. I became the official tea-server to mothers at the Baby Clinic and did several weeks, at spaced intervals, 'helping' the primary school teachers with their classes, and made several visits to the Grammar School. In addition I made detailed land use maps of the parish, and this gave me a locally accepted reason for walking the streets, lanes and fields so that I could observe the houses and the people's daily activities. Unlike Williams, I did not attempt house-to-house interviews, primarily because from what I observed and learned from the experiences of others, I was unlikely,

particularly at that stage in the fieldwork, to be admitted or given the required information. Neither did I ask people to 'explicitly divide the population ... into several social class categories, which cross-cut the whole community and distribute people into superior and inferior general social strata', as was suggested by Lloyd Warner⁽¹⁾. (A method also tried by Williams (Gosforth, pp.211-212).) The reason for this was that, as I shall describe more fully later, local people are hesitant about attributing high or low status to kin or kin of friends and neighbours because of the possible consequences for themselves if it became known in the community. Also in the presence of outsiders there was a tendency for local people to present a united front, a community sense of loyalty.

From the information I obtained from the various sources mentioned above, plus the Rating Schedules for all property and list of the owners of all the local property and land (where ratepayer and owner were not identical), and what I could learn from the local papers (Cumberland and Westmorland Herald and Westmorland Gazette, 1964-66) about local wills and their beneficiaries. I used the following criteria as indices of social stratification:- occupation, source of income, income (where possible), education, local kin, friends, participation in secular and non-secular activities, membership of the Temperance League, roles of authority, place of birth, approximate age, house type and house situation of the members of the community. The purpose of this exercise was to seek for the existence of classes and status groups and to test whether the status estimations, if any, made by the

(1) Lloyd Warner, W. 'A Methodology for the Study of Social Class' (in Fortes, M. (Ed.) Social Structure (Oxford, 1949) pp.2-17.)

members of the community about one another could be correlated with factual information obtained for some or all of the points listed above. My findings I looked at in relation to the English community studies by Williams -Gosforth and Ashworthy - and the English/Scottish borderland parish of Westrigg as studied by Littlejohn. I selected these three studies rather than any of the Welsh ones, even though there were many similarities between Kirkby Stephen and, for example, Aber-porth (Jenkins 1962) Glan Llyn (Owen 1962) and Llan (Emmett 1964), because I wished to compare Kirkby Stephen with communities where the native social system was not influenced strongly by an alien culture with a different language. The aim in comparing communities is to study the differing factors involved in relation to each other. The importance of the use of comparative material in social anthropology is, among other things, that it can provide the student with something approaching an experimental situation such as that used in the natural sciences. The cases selected for comparison should therefore be similar in essentials.

From the very beginning of the fieldwork and from historical material (see Chapter 1), it is quite evident that there existed, and to a minor extent still exists, a class system which in former times corresponded to Marx's conceptions of class as based on power/economic divisions. These classes were, in the Kirkby Stephen situation: those who lived on rent or capital - the nobility, those who farmed on their own account - the yeomen, and those who worked for wages - the serfs. The people in the latter category are now described as 'the rest of the people', 'the people here', or 'us'. This tripartite division still has social connotations. Additional support for the local interpretation of these divisions comes from the fact that they are recognised by people in the neighbouring parishes and throughout a large part of North Westmorland

and the North West Yorkshire Dales. This statement applies particularly to the yeomen class. It is a word in every-day use, and it is used to enhance the description of anyone in this recognised class whose activities are considered newsworthy by the local press.

At the commencement of the fieldwork there were only two members of the 'nobility' who were connected with the parish, and only one yeoman (though female descendants of two others live in the town). Their paucity of numbers does not mean that they cannot be used to constitute classes, neither does the fact that there are members of the third class who, solely by economic evaluations (based on ownership of land and property and inherited wealth), can be placed in a higher category, alter the social fact that they are conceived as members of different classes. Also, what I contend to be more important, their recognised existence causes members of the third class to be reluctant to consider any member of their class to be socially superior to another.

The first two classes need only be briefly described, since their significance for this study has already been indicated. Of the two women still representing the nobility, one died shortly after the fieldwork commenced. The remaining woman is elderly, but is prominent in the Anglican church and is a member of the Kirkby Stephen Magistrates' Bench. Her social circle extends outside the district. Local people are not entertained in her house except at a Christmas sherry party to which certain members of the professions who practise in the town, several yeomen who live in the vicinity and some of the clerics (Anglican only) from the adjoining ecclesiastical parishes are invited. Neither does she accept local hospitality, which is rarely offered. Her friends and relatives from outside the district visit her regularly, their presence being known to the local people either by announcements in the local papers

or by her bringing them to church with her on Sundays. Even non-church goers are aware of their presence when they see large, usually chauffeur-driven, cars which bring them to church or take them (usually mothers or nannies and children) shopping in the town. Apart from the interest their presence may arouse, they have little contact with the rest of the parishioners, though some of the servants are of local origin. Miss Z's principal unearned income is derived from non-local sources. No other local family entertains the same class of people, orientates their interests outside the parish to the same extent, nor do they believe themselves to originate from the nobility. The other two classes cannot attain membership of the nobility because they believe it to be determined by birth. (Life peerages, of which one example is known to local people, though he is not resident, are considered something of an anomaly. Local people do not classify them with the nobility.)

Yeomen also constitute an hereditary class. The term 'yeoman' goes back before the agricultural revolution, when it meant a freeholder owning and farming his land by hereditary right. Parson and White's Directory and Gazetteer of Westmorland (1829) p.549, lists five yeomen resident in the parish of Kirkby Stephen, and Bulmer's Directory (1885) p.218 mentions four. Only one of the male descendants of these yeomen is resident in the parish at the present time, though female descendants of two of the yeomen Bulmer referred to live in the town, but they no longer own land apart from that around their own houses.

What is the significance of being a yeoman? The local yeoman is a professional man as well as a landowner, but most of his land lies outside the parish and he no longer farms it himself. He adds the title 'Yeoman' to his name on official documents. In fact, he rarely signs his name without adding 'Yeoman'. He is recognised by

local people and by other yeomen outside the parish as 'one of them', and as such is 'a gentleman'. Within a radius of six miles there are nine other yeomen. These ten men meet several times a year at one another's homes for meals, social intercourse and the discussion of problems of common interest, such as land holding, grouse rearing, etc.. Two yeomen and the wife of another sit on the local Magistrates' Bench. These yeomen are considered superior in rank to the rest of the local people and on average own more land and have larger houses. However, the largest landowner in the parish is not a yeoman, nor accorded the same status.

In social relationships the yeoman is more prominent in local affairs than Miss 'Z' of the nobility. Also he has much more social contact with the third class - the rest of the people. He has professional colleagues in the parish and neighbouring parishes, with whom he has shared interests both business and pleasure. His education was completed at Cambridge, but his early schooldays were spent with local men, and his children began their education in the local school. In leisure time activities he is an official on some committees and a non-committee member of others. His activities in this respect are not superior to other men's, that is he cannot be said to be nominated to positions of authority due to his rank of Yeoman (with the possible exception that he is Clerk to the Magistrates). He is an Anglican, but gives financial support and assistance to the Brethren as well, possibly because an ancestor of his helped to found the movement in Kirkby Stephen and built the Gospel Hall, the Brethren meeting place, on land near his manor house. In his social relations with local people he differs little from some of 'the rest'. However the fact remains that he is in a class apart and that class enjoys higher status. Whatever the behaviour of a yeoman, and some outside the parish have offended local norms, the class of yeomen is held in high regard and considered

an honourable estate, although no one seemed able to give adequate explanation for this status.

In my view this high status is the result of a number of factors. Yeomen are associated with land ownership, which has a value independent of money income. They have been long associated with the area, which has high social value. All yeomen in the vicinity have connections with the Nonconformist sects, which again are held in high regard by both members and non members. The members of this class who are either resident in the parish or neighbouring parishes have, as far as is known, maintained their class by endogamy - "Yeomen marry yeomen". They are set apart from 'the rest' because they are not linked to anyone by kinship. (This also applies to the nobility.)

From the description of nineteenth century Ashworthy (Williams p.195) it seems that a similar hereditary class system existed there, though Williams divides what I call the third class in Kirkby Stephen into a further four subdivisions defined by nature and source of income. It is quite possible that a similar situation existed in Kirkby Stephen in the past. Present day Ashworthy has neither nobility nor yeomen; the former class 'disappeared' in the 1930's, and the yeomen a decade earlier. We do not know what happened to Gosforth's yeomen as their existence is not referred to after the first World War (p.117). However, Williams does mention the concept of 'the old standards' in relation to social classes. He says (pp.109-110), "The people to whom 'the old standards' are ascribed are generally those whose families have lived in Gosforth for generations, even centuries." These are not confined, he states, "to one social level, they are to be found mainly in the Medial and Lower-Medial classes, and never in the Lower-Upper class. Being of the 'old standards' implies high rank within a class ..." and Williams concludes with the interesting statement, "there is a

strong suggestion that these families are in some way outside the normal working of the class system", and quotes "that make o' folk is different from the rest of us". The latter statement is similar to what most people in Kirkby Stephen say about the yeomen class. I consider it possible that the 'old standard' people held similar rank to the yeomen in former times.

Gosforth has its 'Upper-Upper' class, but whether they would rank with the 'nobility' of Kirkby Stephen in the same situation is conjectural, and not as important as the function they serve in the class system which is similar to the nobility of Kirkby Stephen. They are at the top of the class system. There appear to be no classes which correspond to the nobility and the yeomen in the Westrigg situation, where Littlejohn's parishioners awarded top class status to 'the gentleman farmers' - the farmers who owned large farms and were regarded by 'the working folk' as 'people who do not need to work to make their farms pay' (p.80). The nobility broke their association with Westrigg between the first and second World Wars.

It is the third class of the Kirkby Stephen tripartite system which is the main concern of this chapter, and to whom I apply theories of class and status group formation in order to identify the way in which prestige is achieved and the local value system. This class comprises practically the total population of Kirkby Stephen. Such a class as defined in Kirkby Stephen would also include the total population of Ashworthy and Westrigg, and possibly that of Gosforth. In the latter case, however, one is uncertain of the origins of the Upper Upper class. The way in which the people of Gosforth and Westrigg regard their society differs considerably from that in Ashworthy, 'where people think of themselves as social equals' (p.199) and where 'there are no well-defined groups of people

whose behaviour sets them apart from others in social status'. Gosforth had a highly developed social class system where people 'believed themselves to be split up into seven social classes' and 'each class is thought by members of other classes to have special attributes and modes of behaviour' (p.86). Williams uses 'class' as equivalent to Weber's 'status group' for the very good reason that Gosforth people use the term 'class'. In Westrigg Littlejohn found three classes which he termed upper middle, lower middle and working class, or in the terms used by some of the local people, 'top lot', 'middle lot' and 'bottom lot' (p.80) and that 'the classes are viewed as superior and inferior to each other is soon apparent in conversation, and each had a separate culture' (p.81). At the beginning of the fieldwork in Kirkby Stephen it seemed highly possible that the situation here resembled that of Ashworthy rather than Gosforth or Westrigg. Local people appeared to be annoyed or perplexed at remarks made by incomers such as, e.g. "I don't allow my children to play with Council House children"; "My son is a solicitor so he has a lovely house in the high class part of ---"; and "Can you tell me what sort of organisations one should join here if one wants to meet the right people?" Also local people said of themselves - "there's good and bad in all families here, as I expect there is everywhere else"; "we're all the same here, though money comes easier to some than to others"; and "here, no matter what your job is you've got to work hard and then probably only just keep your head above water." On the other hand, as has been stated already, people readily differentiated between farming and all other occupations, implying that farming was superior; between any other occupation and factory work, the latter occupying the bottom state; 'business' - which included the occupations of professionals and non-professional people who owned the larger shops and businesses, and other occupations, including teaching, awarding

higher status to the former. People also differentiated between the two council estates, the extremities of the town and the town centre, according some areas higher status than others. Also they made references to people who came from 'a good home', 'a good family', 'let the place down', or were 'best left alone'.

Though local people rarely used the word class except in the sense of the hereditary classes, incomers used it invariably of occupational groups - 'the professional classes', 'low class occupations', 'working class people'. The applied this last term to manual workers.

In attempting to study the social class situation, I commenced with the premise that status groups did exist, and selected various criteria from my log book to establish the fact. Firstly, I selected the three criteria suggested by Cole⁽¹⁾ - occupation, income and education - and examined them separately and collectively. This proved illuminating, but did not produce status groups which satisfied Weber's definition. For example local people accorded high status to farmers, and this was even extended to farm workers. This contrasts markedly with the situation in Westrigg, where the difference in social standing between the farmer and the farm worker is very evident. In the parish of Kirkby Stephen farmers do not have a distinctive style of life. They do have a wide range of incomes and education. The contents of their homes differ remarkably and bear little relation to their incomes. Their children all attend the local schools. Some leave at fifteen and a minority have further education even to post-graduate level.

The business people have, collectively, larger incomes than

(1) Cole, G.D.H. Studies in Class Structure (Routledge and Kegan Paul 1955).

persons in other occupations, including the majority of farmers, but the range of incomes probably extends from £500-£5,000 (before tax). Their style of life sets some of them apart from others, in that they have obviously more material possessions, but live lives which appear to bear little relationship to their wealth, or assumed wealth. Their houses vary little in size or type from persons in other occupations, and some live unpretentiously above their businesses. There is little difference in the education of their children. A minority of professional people educate their children outside the parish, and many, but not all, of the 'business people' have one child away at school. But there were small shopkeepers, lower-paid clerks and manual workers who had their children educated away from the parish. This at first seemed surprising, as boarding school fees are high and the incomes from their parents' occupations small. However, it was general knowledge in the parish how they achieved this and why. It was not only that they disapproved of the education provided locally, though they gave this as one of the reasons, but the majority of the children had been selected for the ^B stream of the local Grammar School, and their parents claimed to be averse to 'commercial education' - "it's no use here" (few jobs available) and "what's the use of typing certificates without 'O' levels as well?" Also several stated that their businesses were "too small" or "not good enough" (meaning lucrative) for the children to take over. However the number of people who sent their children away was a minority of the total population, and included incomers: the main reason for it was to fit them for a non-local occupation. The money to pay for school fees, where it could not be met out of the earned income of the parents, came from a variety of sources, but mostly from 'hidden income'.

'Hidden income' is a term used locally to denote money which is not earned from the principal occupation of the head, usually father, of the family. That many families had 'hidden income' was obvious from their way of life. For example, a Council manual worker who earned under £11 per week went to work each day in a car of recent vintage. The car probably cost about £3 per week to run and garage. Also he lived in a substantially-built house in a socially preferable part of the town. Few wondered how he managed it, because nearly everyone knew that "his aunt left him the house, and his wife has a bit of money of her own" (from bequests). Few derided him for going to work, the short distance it entailed, because "he has bad legs, and it's not good for a man nearing 60 to sit the back of a hedge eating his bait" (lunch). Another example is the small shopkeeper who gave up his business because he could not make a profit and bought a large modern house and an entirely different, much larger business in another town - "His family have money", local people gave as the reason for him being able to do this. On the other hand, there are various people whose style of life is not as prosperous as it might be expected from their (assumed) wage or salary. This is explained by them having 'calls on their pocket'. Usually this entails having to support other members of their family financially or having to make expensive repairs to their property. Also some women in this category were referred to as having 'no idea' about household management.

It is difficult to estimate incomes, as people do not readily talk about their incomes, 'hidden incomes', or 'calls on their pocket', and as Littlejohn found at Westrigg (p.93) 'it is rude to inquire'.

Taking the three criteria together and examining them to see if people who had these things in common could be said to constitute status groups, the result was that they did not. The people who had

these in common did not display a particular style of life or restrict their social intercourse to people who shared the same social criteria. On the other hand, local businessmen enjoyed high prestige because they were locally orientated and had other attributes in the form of long residence, gave active support to their religious sects, sustained the local value system, respected the traditional ways of doing things and had pleasant personalities. There were enough of these businessmen who in many ways resembled Watson's 'burgess'⁽¹⁾, to give 'business' a respectability in the eyes of the local population, but on the other hand, apart from their means of obtaining a living, their 'way of life' was so varied that they could not constitute a status group.

Not all the 'business people' of Kirkby Stephen were local or enjoyed high prestige. It was among this group, reinforced by some people living outside the parish, including several Grammar School teachers, that what are known locally as 'cliques' formed. These cliques were of very recent origin. The first was said to have formed some five years before this study. It developed out of a dramatic society (see next chapter). The members were incomers, some of whom were married couples. The group grew, and its members discovered more interests in common and shared other activities. For example, the younger members made shopping expeditions to neighbouring towns; the older women gave coffee and sherry parties in their homes. Some no longer took any active part in the Dramatic Society. By the end of the fieldwork period three cliques could be distinguished. The first comprised the Dramatic Society. The other two both had members who originally belonged to that Society but now no longer attended its meetings. Of these, one clique consisted of couples aged 30-45 years whose principal form of entertainment or leisure time activities was to attend Dinner Dances held over a

(1) Watson, W. 'Social Mobility and Social Class in Industrial Communities', in Closed Systems and Open Minds, (Oliver and Boyd, Edinburgh 1964).

wide area, and visit theatres at Newcastle, Richmond and Stockton. The other clique consisted of single women and older married couples. The women held frequent daytime tea and coffee parties, and evening sherry parties to which men, including husbands, were invited. I consider that these cliques form the essence of status groups and could develop into them, because it was evident that these people were to a limited extent developing a similar style of life, and that some of the local people had joined the cliques. These people were of similar economic standing.

These cliques were condemned by the majority of local people. The most frequent criticism was that the behaviour of members was 'childish' - "What do married people want going off to dances?"; "You'd think those women hadn't homes of their own to look after, the way they spend half their time in other people's", etc..

Of course there were other local people who enjoyed low prestige in the society. Principally these were people who did not efficiently perform their roles. For example, the lazy men; the women who did not run their homes or care for their children according to local norms; and people, predominantly men, who committed petty crimes. These people did not form groups, and their style of life differed only in minor ways from that of their relatives who enjoyed greater prestige.

Again, there were people who obviously had low prestige, though I was unable to discover the cause. If one of these people or families was referred to in conversation, local people, particularly when speaking to an outsider, would make remarks such as "well one can believe anything of her/them"; "if you knew the family you would understand"; and even "they've got a lot to live down; they would better themselves elsewhere". These remarks seem inoffensive when written, but have a wealth of meaning in the voice of the relater.

Conversely some individuals obviously enjoyed high prestige, and some of them, though by no means all, belonged to families which were held in high regard. It was easier in their case to see how they achieved their social honour. In this community, as Williams found in Ashworthy (p.199), it is personal characteristics which earn status and prestige. There, individuals were accorded high status for 'friendliness, honesty, industriousness, skill at one's work and sound judgement'. The value system of Kirkby Stephen is similar, but in addition the good man here does not drink alcohol, gives active support to his particular sect in its religious and secular spheres⁽¹⁾ (see Chapter 7), and serves his community by assuming roles of authority in local affairs and carrying out these roles with tact and due regard for traditional norms. Unlike Ashworthy, Kirkby Stephen places high regard on 'pedigree' and long residence. The people who have these values to a great extent are the leaders in the community. That this standing is difficult to achieve is evidenced by the small number of people who carry out a multitude of roles and the little competition which exists for these roles, as will be discussed in the next chapter.

As more information became available, it became obvious that Kirkby Stephen's social system was similar in many respects to that of Ashworthy. "To a striking extent Ashworthy is a place where people think of themselves as social equals" (p.199). To a 'striking extent', so do the people of Kirkby Stephen. Why? Williams attributes the lack of class divisions in Ashworthy to several causes, the chief being continuous migration, the disappearance of the yeoman class, and frequent changes in land holding. 'Thus each class became increasingly difficult to identify and to define in terms of individual

(1) Roman Catholics are exceptions to this statement as Roman Catholicism (see Chapter 7) does not convey status or prestige.

families. So many of the people in the parish were 'strangers' while others were changing their occupational and economic status for better or worse, that the traditional system, based on close personal knowledge, withered away' (p.197). In addition he considers that the appearance of Methodism 'produced a new social division in the parish which sharply cut across the class hierarchy ... those things which gave a person high prestige as a Methodist - austerity, a clearly defined code of conduct, etc. - were quite different from the traditional means of achieving high prestige in the community'. Another contributory factor was that Ashworthy never experienced an invasion of the nouveau riche wishing to settle in the area and 'revitalise' the upper class, as happened in Gosforth.

Kirkby Stephen is similar in many respects, though the nobility and yeoman class still linger but no longer wield power over the rest of the people. Methodism had a dramatic effect on the social life of the town, but, it is to be remembered (see Chapter 1), Nonconformism was not new in the locality. The Inghamites and Sandemanians preceded the Methodists so the established Anglican Church had already experienced opposition, and Methodism was planted on 'already prepared soil'. Methodism of Gosforth never influenced social life to the extent it has done in Ashworthy and in Kirkby Stephen. At the present time in both these places the Methodists form half the population, but their influence is even greater. In both Kirkby Stephen and Ashworthy many Methodists still live according to the precepts of their nineteenth century predecessors. Perhaps this is more surprising in the case of Kirkby Stephen, with its population over three times that of Ashworthy and its situation on a main thoroughfare. However, the people consider themselves living in a rural parish rather than a market town. It is significant that in normal conversation the parishioners seldom use the word

'town'; more frequently they use 'parish' and 'the shops' for the Central Business District. (Although there are several shops scattered throughout the settlement.) Along the main street of the town are five farms whose activities are part of the everyday scene. At least 157 families have land in areas ranging from a small field in the parish to several hundred acres outside which they farm through a relative or let for rent. Over a hundred retired farmers plus wives and families live in the parish and the majority of these have not relinquished their ties with the farms. The Annual Sales are also a continual reminder of the economic importance of agriculture to the community. So the parish is orientated to the country rather than to the town, even though it cannot be considered as rural as Ashworthy.

New ideas and values are not encouraged by either community, as can be seen by the difficulty an incomer has in establishing himself in the society. Williams talks of the 'considerable handicap of being 'a stranger'', and that 'fitting in ... is a difficult and often painful process ... Those that do 'fit in' are successful because they accept the Ashworthy way of looking at things and judging people' (p.7). This agrees with the Kirkby Stephen situation, as discussed in Chapter 3.

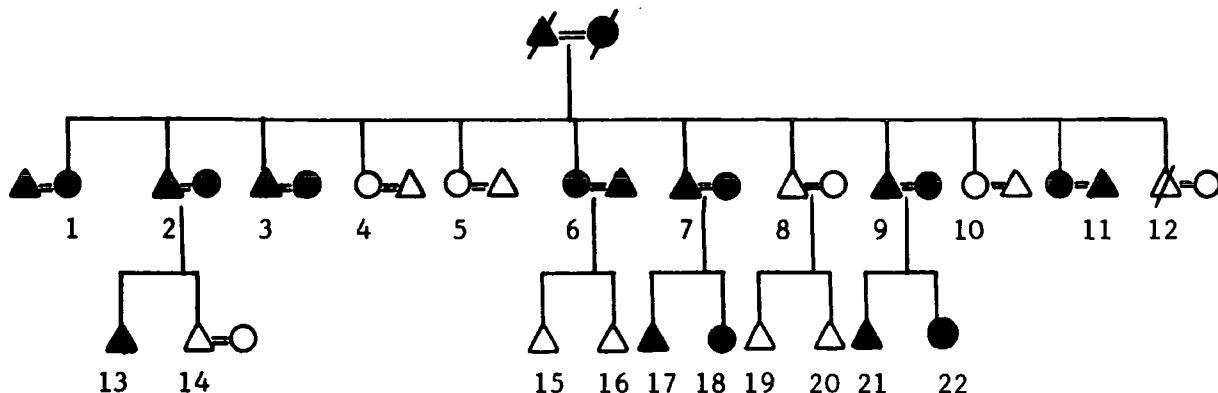
It is the importance that the people of Kirkby Stephen place on kinship which I feel is paramount to the understanding of the social scene with its lack of development of status groups. Kirkby Stephen is not alone in this. It 'forms the basis for fruitful social relations' in Ashworthy (p.212). Williams also speaks of the 'esprit de corps' of kindred in Gosforth and the internal solidarity of the kingroup ... imposes a series of obligations and rights on the individual member' (p.83), but kin appear in this context to be mainly of the same social class. In Westrigg, according to

Littlejohn, kinship 'is a very much less important element in the social structure' (p.6). In Kirkby Stephen kingroups have not necessarily been dispensed as a result of different abilities and ambitions. That the town was a market centre meant that there existed locally a wide variety of occupations and means of getting on in a profession or skilled occupation. It must have been possible to obtain spouses either in Kirkby Stephen or the neighbouring parishes, as over 80% of the present population was born in this area. The majority of parishioners are bound by ties of kinship and marriage so that among relatives, even among members of the same family, there exists a great variety of occupations, as e.g. the Biggin* family (Diagram IV) and even a wide range of educations e.g. the Summer* family (Diagram V). (These diagrams are not of exceptional families.) Kinship solidarity here is so strong that though e.g. a solicitor may have more in common socially with other solicitors and spend part of his leisure time activities with them, it does not prevent him from going fishing with his brother, a joiner, or his cousin, a farm-worker. Also because of his kinship obligations he will be expected to give physical assistance to his elderly ex-railway clerk father with his garden and his wife's father with the latter's hay crop.

Littlejohn describes the social distance (p.92) between farmers and farm-workers. This was not characteristic of Kirkby Stephen, possibly because the local axiom 'farming runs in the blood' is true. I never discovered a farm-worker who had no direct ties of kinship with a farmer. Over 80% of the farm-workers worked for a father, father's brother, mother's brother or father's sister's husband. The rest worked for more distant relatives such as cousins of their parents. The majority of these farm-workers expected either to take over the management of the farm on which they were working,

* pseudonym.

DIAGRAM IV

Biggin Family

Key: All residing in Kirkby Stephen blocked in - ▲ or ●

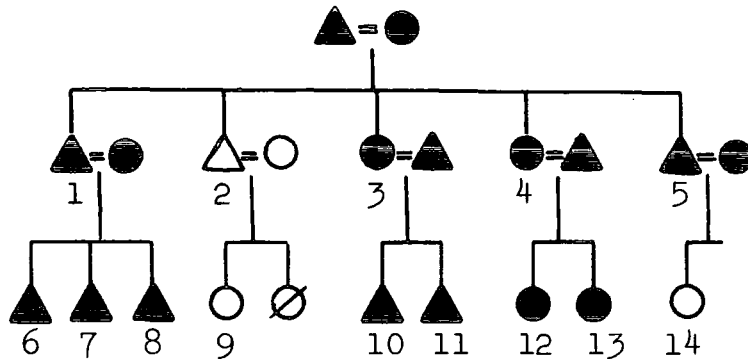
Deceased \triangle or \circ

- | | |
|--------------------------------|-------------------------|
| 1. Shop Assistant | married Barber |
| 2. Railway booking clerk | " Farm Maid |
| 3. Insurance Agent | " Nurse |
| 4. Dressmaker | " Policeman |
| 5. Post Office Worker | " Postman |
| 6. School Teacher | " Writer |
| 7. Postman | " Shop Assistant |
| 8. Quarry Clerk | " No previous job |
| 9. Van Driver | " Hotel Maid |
| 10. Shop Assistant | " Auction Mart Worker |
| 11. Nurse | " Painter & Paperhanger |
| 12. School Teacher | " School Teacher |
| 13. Long Distance Lorry Driver | " Shop Assistant |
| 14. Long Distance Lorry Driver | " Waitress |
| 15. School Teacher (single) | |
| 16. School Teacher (single) | |

Nos. 17, 18, 19, 20, 21 & 22 all school children (under 15 years).

Nos. 6, 7 & 12 of the 2nd generation had Grammar School Education, and 6 & 12 had also Training College Education. Of the 3rd generation, 15 & 16 went to University, and of Nos. 17 - 22, only No. 21 is having Grammar School Education.

DIAGRAM V
Summer Family



Key: \triangle = male \circ = female \emptyset = deceased

Blackened symbols denote residing in Kirkby Stephen.

1st Generation

Fa = Grammar School (Paid for)
Mo = Grammar School (Scholarship)

2nd Generation

No. 1	Elementary Education only - wife ditto
2	Grammar School (scholarship) and University - wife Elementary
3	Elementary - husband Private Boarding School
4	Grammar School (scholarship) - husband Elementary
5	Minor Public School *

3rd Generation

Nos. 6, 7, 8	Grammar Stream of Comprehensive
9	Private Boarding School
10 & 11	County Boarding School
12 & 13	Elementary B and C Stream of Comprehensive
14 = baby of 2 years	Parents intend sending her to Boarding School attended by No. 9

* One explanation for No. 5's very different education to the rest of his brothers and sisters was that he was 11 years younger than any of them. His mother's explanation was that his childless aunt and uncle took a great interest in him.

or to have land of their own in the future. Similarly, the majority of male shop assistants had ties of kinship with shop owners and managers, not necessarily those with which they worked, and intended eventually to acquire or manage a shop. That this was often only a dream was evident from the number of men who reached retirement without achieving much change of status.

Although farmers enjoyed higher status than shop keepers, nevertheless kinship ties between them were close. All local shop keepers could claim farming relatives. In fact, three of the largest shops were owned by men whose brothers and fathers farmed in North Westmorland. In addition, many of the local farmers' daughters were employed in the local shops. Williams' account suggests that the separation between farmers and villagers in Gosforth was more complete. The styles of life of farmers and villagers, including the contents of their houses, differed considerably. But the farmers or farmers' wives of Kirkby Stephen and the neighbouring parishes (excluding the fells) had homes whose contents differed little from those of the townsfolk. "The only difference is the smell" (of manure), as one parishioner put it.

As mentioned earlier, unlike Gosforth, the parish of Kirkby Stephen did not experience wealthy newcomers wishing to establish themselves in the country who occupied the houses of the former upper class of society. Kirkby Stephen's large manors either fell into dereliction or, due to a reshuffling of the population, became the homes of people who had formerly held lower positions in the then existing social strata. As described in earlier chapters, much of the property of the town is in semi dereliction, and people frequently move home to less derelict houses.

In Gosforth the social status of a household could be measured by the type of curtain used (p.112). The curtains in Kirkby Stephen

houses were frequently of similar materials regardless of the income of the household, since most of them were bought at the same shop and everyone avoided conspicuous patterns.

In Kirkby Stephen, unlike Westrigg, the size of houses bore little relationship to the occupation of the householder, but this does not mean that some areas were not considered socially preferable to others.⁽¹⁾ Many people wanted to have a house in South Road (Map IV). These Victorian houses varied considerably in size (see Plates XIII a and b) but had in common the fact that they were structurally sound. Also they had gardens, though some were very small, and had a back exit which meant that, unlike the majority of houses in the town, the occupants did not have to carry their ashbins through the house to the front door, and also necessitate coalmen delivering their sacks walking through the house.

Living in South Road enhanced status, but was not a means of achieving status. Conversely, living in The Crescent, the older of the two council estates, reduced status if it was already low. Even a casual glance shows that the houses of The Crescent (see Plate XVI) were very different from those of West Garth, the newer Council estate. There was an air of decay about most of the houses in The Crescent, whereas those of West Garth were in good condition and afforded more privacy and were much easier to keep clean than the houses in the former. Nevertheless there were people who had lived in The Crescent who, although they had relatives in socially preferable parts of the town, had no desire to move. Living in a council house in West Garth or The Crescent was considered by most of the rest of the parishioners as socially inferior because renting even a very modern Council house was not to be compared in the local value system with ownership of a house regardless of size and condition. Therefore many of the people who take a house on the

(1) Conversely Melbecks, see Plate XV, owes its low status to the presence of derelict factories.



a. Where South Road meets High Street



b. The larger houses of South Road



c. Rowgate



a. Market Street



b. Silver Street



c. North Road



Plate XV. Melbecks. Derelict factories in the foreground. To the left a brewery, and to the right a candle factory and part of a cotton mill.



a. The Crescent



b. Westgarth

Council estates look on it as a temporary measure. They intend to move as soon as they can buy or another member of their family can rent them 'a proper house'. There are no workers' cottages to compare with those 'cottages of two to four rooms' as exist at Westrigg (p.104), so there is little to indicate to the stranger what kind of 'proper house' will be their future home.

It may seem that the class structure of Westrigg has little in common with that of Kirkby Stephen. Although there are people in the latter who would, if they moved to Westrigg, find a niche in any of the three classes, by and large it is the working class culture of Westrigg which is similar in many ways to the culture of 'the rest of the people' in Kirkby Stephen despite the range of occupations, incomes and education of the people who comprise it. 'Apart from one suit or costume set aside for special occasions, people, especially men, have no regard for clothes.' (Westrigg p.104). This applies to the majority of people over forty in Kirkby Stephen. The young people, particularly young wives, are criticised by the older section of the population for their 'obsession with clothes'. "When I was young and getting married, my mother said, 'you'd better get a new coat before you're married for you'll never get chance of another for the next ten years'. She was right. Yet there's our Sheila (her daughter) had two in the last three years - they just waste their money." I was told this, or variations on this theme, by many of the older women. Yet it is customary to have a set of 'good' clothes for chapel, and a new hat to wear at the Chapel Anniversary services. "Now that I don't go to Chapel I don't need new clothes very often", is understandable to local people.

Also, as in Westrigg, the majority of people, except for incomers, speak in the local dialect. This also applies to local

born professionals educated outside the town. But among the younger people speech is becoming more sophisticated, and those attending colleges of further education and the Universities show a marked 'refining' of the accent.

The life of both Westrigg's working class and Kirkby Stephen's people in general is 'very much confined within the parish and the surrounding district and conversation on the whole reflects this' (Westrigg p.105). Incomers frequently remark that local people are not interested in anything which is not local. This is largely true here because this part of North Westmorland is their world, and important things in life take place here. This insularity creates barriers against strangers and strange ideas. The main topics of conversation centre on local matters.

The majority of Kirkby Stephen people have, like those of Westrigg, no special regard for secondary education - the most frequently expressed criticisms of the local education system are that it is staffed by people (incomers) who pay scant regard to local established norms; it does not support the local value system and it 'unsettles children'.

Other characteristics in Westrigg are not found in Kirkby Stephen. 'The main index parishioners use in deciding what class a family belongs to is who it associates closely with, and this is decided by considering whose house members of the family can enter and eat food in'. (Westrigg p.118). In Kirkby Stephen, as stated earlier in this study, people, with the exception of the newly formed cliques, rarely eat in the house of non-relatives, but on the other hand it is considered extremely ill-mannered not to invite in a person who comes to a house on an errand.

In Westrigg's working class 'dominance of the male and distance between the sexes are the outstanding characteristics of the

relationship' (p.126). This can be seen in recreational pursuits in Kirkby Stephen (see next chapter) and in most positions of authority. Few married couples participate jointly in social life. Even in Chapel activities, where whole families participate, it is usual for males to separate themselves from the females, except at Sunday services. In non-sectarian recreational mixed activities, either husband or wife may attend, but rarely both. This is one of the things which make the behaviour of the cliques so different.

The women who sit on the Magistrates' Bench and are members of the Rural District Council do not play distinctive roles. The women magistrates obtained their positions before 1939 at the time when women magistrates were being appointed all over the country. They were selected by people who had no direct ties with the locality. The women Parish Councillors were co-opted during the war, when the Council as a body thought that women would be better able than men to deal with the problems created by evacuees. The Rural District Councillor got her position when no man wished to take it.

In the sphere of religion, the ministers and officials are all men, except in the Parochial Church Council, which was not active during the fieldwork period. However women are beginning to assume roles formerly held by men in the non-sacred affairs of the Methodist Chapels.

However, the opinions expressed over thirty years ago when women were first proposed by the Parish Council, that 'a woman's place is in the home' and that 'everyone will listen to a man before a woman' are still generally accepted.

There are signs, however, that the whole social system is undergoing a change. Cliques are increasing in number and absorbing more local people; young people are not so subservient to their elders

as they are said to have been in the past; the population is becoming more physically mobile; ties of kinship are being broken by emigration, so that people have to seek assistance from distant or even non-kin (see Chapter 8). The number of those who take part in the activities of their sect is declining (see Chapter 7), and as the Nonconformist 'ideals' upon which the local value system is based lose their significance, the value system must change.

However, at this moment in time the social system of Kirkby Stephen lacks the highly developed class system of Gosforth and even the advent of industry seems unlikely to produce the three class system of Westrigg which is more characteristic of urban than rural life. It is inevitable that considerable social tension will be generated between those who adhere to traditional beliefs and customs and those who are influenced by, or who follow, the new fashions of the urban or semi urban way of life. On the other hand, 'it is not unknown for a factory to be absorbed, as it were, into the rural pattern of life without any major alteration in customary usages and practices⁽¹⁾, and this appears to be the fervent hope of the Parish Council and many of the rest of those Kirkby Stephen people who want to bring in industry to prevent the further decay in the economic structure of the town and the emigration of some of its young people.

I have drawn my detailed comparisons between Kirkby Stephen and published studies of English and Border communities. It has many points in common with those in rural Wales⁽²⁾, and Ireland⁽³⁾,

- (1) Higgs, J. (ed.) People in the Countryside (The National Council of Social Service 1966).
- (2) Rees (1950), Frankenberg (1957), Jenkins, Jones, Hughes and Owen (1962) and Emmett (1964).
- (3) Arensberg, C.M. and Kimball, S.T. The Irish Countryman (New York 1950).

as it was before the Second World War. The peculiarity of Kirkby Stephen is that, in spite of its many contacts with urban influences, it retains so many of the features by which Frankenberg characterises the 'truly rural' community. However, the degree of similarity between Kirkby Stephen and Ashworthy suggests that there may be other communities not yet studied which show the same characteristics. These are that the importance of kinship derived in the first place from landholding, the influence of Methodism, and the importance of personal qualities in the attainment of leadership positions.

Chapter 6

FORMAL AND INFORMAL LEISURE TIME ACTIVITIES

The belief is widely held and frequently expressed in the community that a person, particularly a man, should organise his life in such a way that he has time available for activities outside the demands of his work and his home. Sometimes, during the fieldwork, parishioners were heard to remark, "he's quite a nice chap, but he doesn't do anything", or "he never does anything for Kirkby", and I later found these remarks to mean that the people under discussion were not members of, or did not assume roles of authority in, local organisations. This type of remark was seldom made about a woman and never about a married woman.

During the fieldwork period there were 24 non-sectarian formal organisations functioning at Kirkby Stephen, though not necessarily at the same time. For men there were the sporting and physical activities, cricket, football, and angling, and the less strenuous activities of the Working Men's Club, the Whippet Club, the British Legion, the Freemasons and, for the 'specialists', the Band, or as it was known The Silver Brass Band. For women there were activities of a practical nature to help her perfect her role as housewife - cake decoration, dressmaking, the Red Cross (primarily intended to teach women how to deal with accidents in their homes), a branch of the national Women's Voluntary Service (which was intended to train women to assist the needy in local and national emergencies). There was also a women's branch of the British Legion, to help with fund raising and catering for male events, and a branch of another national organisation - the Women's Institute. Also there were several organisations which had at one time been the prerogative of men and now admitted women members - the Bowling Club, Whist Drives (two) and the Conservatives; others of more recent origin,

for both sexes, the Badminton Club, the Musical Appreciation Society and the Choral Society, all three primarily intended for Grammar School staff and held in the Grammar School; the Dramatic Society, the W.E.A. history class and the Evergreen Club for parishioners of Kirkby Stephen and the adjacent parishes over the age of 60 years.

As can be expected from the discussion in the last chapter, a parish which places so little emphasis on social stratification based on such criteria as occupation, income and education, will have as its officials on local organisations persons who stand high in the local value system. To a large extent this is true. As there are so few men who measure up to these high standards, it follows that there must inevitably be a great deal of duplication of officials for all organisations. This is found to be the case as only nine men hold official roles - chairman, treasurer and secretary on sixteen men-only (excluding the Working Men's Club and the Whippet Club) and all the organisations admitting both sexes. However, Kirkby Stephen people are not unaware of the advantages which only money can bring or the way in which some persons outside the parish boundaries consider that being President of some local sporting organisation gives them status in the eyes of others, usually their peers, or satisfies a personal need. (Presidents are usually prominent land owners.) So the local committees create the usually non-executive roles of President and Vice President to attract donations in the form of money and/or trophies for their sporting activities. In order to attract these Presidents, membership of the club is open to persons far beyond the local parish boundaries so as to include the parishes in which reside persons who are likely to be attracted to these roles. With careful planning the local officials are able each year to select a President who will be gratified enough to continue his financial support after

his term of office, and assume as his reward the honorary role of Vice President 'for life'. (Vice Presidents usually make smaller donations than Presidents.) If no new President is forthcoming then the former President is prevailed upon to retain his presidency for a further term. A number of years of presidency can warrant a reward in the form of a thanksgiving dinner at a local hotel at which some small appropriate present is given. To work this system depends on the astuteness of the officials, the social value attached to the activity, and the vanity or benevolence of suitable candidates. For activities such as cricket, angling, badminton, bowls and tennis (though this was not active for several reasons during the fieldwork period), presidents do not seem to be lacking, and these activities, particularly cricket and angling, are financially prosperous. Difficulty had been experienced in the past, and was so during the fieldwork period, in obtaining presidents for the football club and the Brass Band. Both of these activities have ceased to function for long periods, sometimes shortly after being re-formed, due to many causes including lack of financial support.

Presidencies are not purely honorary. A President is permitted, rather than actively encouraged, to be, say, opening bat at the first cricket match of the season, but his real function is to present the trophies at matches or competitions, and to attend the annual general meeting. Of course, memories exist of Presidents who were too enthusiastic in their roles and 'misinterpreted' them, with the result that they wanted to be active members of the teams even though their lack of skill and their advanced age made them liabilities. A time limit on the period of presidency is an insurance against this happening over more than one season.

For any event to be successful depends to a large extent on skilled management by the local officials. Therefore it is essential

for officials to be persons who are not only, in the local idiom, 'good with people', but have contacts beyond the confines of the parish. Nonconformists who are active in their sects' religious and secular affairs, have such contacts because the affairs of the Nonconformists, in particular the Methodists, extend over a wide area of Westmorland, North Yorkshire and even beyond. Methodists are also considered to be particularly good at organising and are regarded by persons outside their sect as 'people of integrity'. So the officials almost always include Nonconformists. Businessmen also make suitable officials because they know official procedure and have telephones and typewriters. Bank managers and accountants are the obvious choice for treasurers. Another result of this need or desire for 'specialists' has resulted in the same people organising events over a considerable number of years. At the commencement of the fieldwork period one organisation had had the same officials, though they had sometimes exchanged roles, for seventeen years. Officials are not elected yearly in the normal course of events, or even elected at all in most cases. There seems to be a general consensus on who does what, and where 'the usual people' are not available, it is sometimes very difficult or even impossible to get substitutes because people 'who have never done it before' are reluctant to attempt to do so, and are unsure of support from others. This could account for the fact that the officials are frequently old men, with long association with the area and intimate knowledge of traditional ways of organising events. It goes some way to explain why old men have such an important place in this society (see Chapter 8).

Sport in Kirkby Stephen does not seem to arouse such strength of feeling as, for example, football did in Pentreidiwaith. Certainly there are always a number of people, usually not more than a dozen -

mainly men and boys - watching the cricket practices on summer evenings, and Saturday afternoon matches are 'somewhere to go' for possibly thirty to forty people, of whom few remain for the entire match unless it is unusually interesting. The success or failure of the local team in matches in Westmorland, Cumberland and the Dales arouses comment when accounts are publicised in the local papers. Football encourages even fewer spectators and the difficulty experienced in raising a team, which frequently results in the cancellation of arranged matches, probably accounts for this lack of enthusiasm. The zone of activities is much smaller than that of the cricket team, being limited mainly to the neighbouring parishes, who themselves experience the same difficulties in raising teams. Therefore in the matches that are played the teams may not necessarily be eleven a side or the full complement may have to be reached by the inclusion of spectators or even the 'reserves' from the opposing team. It appears that the position in Kirkby Stephen and the neighbouring parishes supports Bracey's theory⁽¹⁾ that amateur games no longer receive much support from their localities because they fail to compete with the appeal of professional games which are broadcast on radio and television, and that this is in keeping with the sophistication of taste generally which is the result of these mass media.

The activities of the Brass Band⁽²⁾ arouse much more local feeling and symbolise parish unity. As 'The Kirkby Stephen Band', it sometimes competes against other Westmenian and Dales bands in the Annual Hardraw Scar Brass Band Competition. (Hardraw Scar, near

(1) Bracey, H.E. English Rural Life (Routledge and Kegan Paul 1959, p.171).

(2) The earliest mention which I could find of the Kirkby Stephen Band was in 'The Kirkby Stephen Messenger' No. 18 (J.W. Braithwaite and Sons 1891) which had an article by R. Furness on the Kirkby Stephen Band 1821-25. The Dales Bands are referred to by A. Raistrick in 'Two Centuries of Industrial Welfare 1692-1905' (Friends' Historical Society, London, 1938).

Hawes in the Yorkshire Dales, is a bowl-shaped natural rock formation famous for its acoustics.) Competition between the various Bands is strong, and their performance at places which have no Band of their own arouses animosity between the performers and the uninvited. This can reach such a pitch that feuding bands will not compete against one another in the annual competition at Hardraw Scar. In the first summer of the fieldwork the Kirkby Stephen Band did not enter the competition for this reason, though they did attend as spectators.

The Band, which is partly financed out of parish funds, is expected to play at events such as the Armistice Day Parade, the Band of Hope Demonstration, the British Legion Parade (during British Legion Week), Christmas morning (carols, at intervals, throughout the parish) and Easter Sunday (at the same places). It is also hoped that they will be induced to play on several other occasions when public gatherings occur. However, the local people are more likely to ask, "Will the Band play?", or "Did the Band play?" than "What did the Band play?" This is because the Bandsmen do not always put in an expected appearance. They appear to resent some of the demands made on them by the public and retaliate by non-appearance. The reason why the Bandsmen can ignore the demands of local people and still remain the Kirkby Stephen Band is that traditionally a Band is an essential part of a public event, and there are so few men wishing to become bandsmen that the parish has to tolerate the Band's behaviour. So the situation has arisen that the local people are 'grateful' when the band does put in an appearance. Another reason why public opinion is not strong enough to compel them to perform regardless of personal choice is that they have a long standing tradition, which goes back long before the present bandsmen, of being 'strong minded' (other expressions are

used). This is further evidenced by the bandsmen visiting public houses to refresh themselves, and still being requested to lead the Band of Hope procession.

Not all the activities organised for men in the parish are approved by all parishioners. The Working Men's Club and the Whippet Club face a considerable amount of disapproval. Local born men do not serve as officials, and parishioners who do so do not serve as officials on any other committees. Members of these organisations do not usually belong to any others, apart from a minority who are members of the British Legion and the Angling Club.

The Working Men's Club was opened in 1963 at the instigation of one of the quarry foremen, who had been a member of the organisation when he had worked and resided in one of the Durham pit villages. He contacted people, chiefly manual workers, over a large area stretching from Hawes to Appleby, Stainmore and Tebay, who were prepared to become members provided that transport could also be arranged. The Club was financed originally by the Working Men's Clubs Association and the money was to be recovered by membership fees and profits from the bar. The Working Men's Clubs Association also undertook to help in the organisation and arrange to supply concert parties for weekly concerts. In spite of great opposition from various religious bodies, both Church and Chapel, the Club was opened in a house which had long been empty in Market Street opposite the Roman Catholic Church. In addition to two bars and a television lounge, it has a room in which Bingo Sessions are held.

The first Kirkby Stephen members of the Club were people who had been outside the intimate groups in the public houses, men, mostly 'hard drinkers', who had 'got atwist', i.e. had trouble, with the various landlords in the town and had had to do their drinking outside the parish, and people, mostly wives of members, who wanted

to play Bingo. Bingo sessions were initially held twice a week, and later three times a week, including Sunday.

By June 1965 when the membership had risen to 1,000, the Club had to re-arrange its rooms in order to accommodate the Bingo players, who might exceed 300 when the 'jackpot' is high. The chance of winning the jackpot is the great lure for the bingo player. This 'jackpot' starts at £25 and the card holder who has the appropriate numbers, of which a predetermined set is announced before commencement of play, wins the sum. If 'a full house', that is, the total numbers on any of the cards have not been called, then the money is held over for the next session and £2 added to it. Sums of up to £40 have been won this way. Other money prizes are also given, and each Bingo session consists of five games for which the players buy tickets.

Although both men and women attend the Club, they do not sit together but in groups of their own sex, as is the local custom. These groups consist of friends who arrive and leave together.

The regular attenders at the Bingo sessions claim particular seats, which they always expect to occupy. Less frequent players sit on forms along the walls or between the tables.

Between, but not during, the five Bingo games, the players can obtain drinks at the bar. These drinks are consumed hurriedly before play recommences. The game is taken very seriously. There is no laughing or joking, except by the 'caller' (the man who reads out the numbers on coloured balls which he picks out randomly from a tin which is shaken after every call). The winner is obviously envied and only half-heartedly congratulated. After the Bingo game it is unusual for women to stay for the concert which takes place afterwards. Concerts are considered not suitable for women. The concert usually comprises two vocalists who perform for a fee.

These vocalists are not local, and are accustomed to performing in other Working Men's Clubs in the North East. In addition, community songs of the ex-army variety, that is traditional songs with amended libretto, are sung.

Of the 1000 members and affiliated members (wives), about 80 live in Kirkby Stephen. Many of these people, especially the women, are reluctant to admit that they visit 'the Club'. A guilt complex is attached to it, so excuses for membership and attendance have to be found. "I only joined because my friends did", and "It is the only place to go to on a night, so I thought that I'd give it a try". There are several cases where people have given up their membership because their kin or neighbours disapproved.

The Betting Shop, adjacent to the Club, is considered by many who disapprove of the Club to be part of the same organisation and to exist solely to speed the inevitable 'downfall' of Club members.

The Whippet Club owes its birth to the Working Men's Club. Whippet Clubs have been a feature of mining communities and their entertainment clubs for a long time. All members of the Whippet Club are also members of the Working Men's Club. It organises Whippet races for which dogs are entered by other Clubs from outside the area. Bookmakers also attend. It has had difficulty in renting a training ground in the parish, because many local people disapprove both of gambling and training dogs on Sundays.

The British Legion (Men's Section) has facilities for darts, billiards and whist, but it is poorly attended and frequently only the honorary caretaker and secretary put in an appearance, have a game of billiards together and then go home. A turn-out of at least 30 can be expected for the parade on Armistice Day. During the year the hall is hired out twice weekly for whist drives. Some British Legion members attend these, but their attendance is

incidental and they do not organise the Whist Drive. A recent and popular twice-yearly function organised by the British Legion is the Car Rally and Treasure Hunt which attracts 30-60 cars, usually fully loaded, of members and non members.

The British Legion has a Women's Section, but as Bracey⁽¹⁾ has observed, it 'pursues a generally moribund existence but comes to life once or twice a year to organise the Poppy Day collection and the Christmas party for members, and a separate party for children.' Both women and men of the British Legion cooperate in organising the British Legion Week, but the women play a very minor role. Legion Week is a week of activities designed to entertain and bring in funds for the British Legion charities. The events destined to take place include whist drives, bowls matches, a car treasure hunt, a dance, a pageant, and the week's events terminate with Whippet Racing. Unfortunately bad weather during both Legion weeks during the field-work severely curtailed the outdoor activities. The Whippet Racing encouraged the presence of bookmakers. The association of British Legion and the Working Men's Club, Whippet Racing, with its 'defiling of the Sabbath', and encouraging gambling (a sin), has tended to what one local person termed 'sully the image of the Legion in the eyes of some local people'.

Another men's organisation which puzzles non members is the branch of the Society of Freemasons. They speculate a good deal about what goes on in the 'Lodge' in addition to the 'drinking', the evidence of which is the number of cases of beer and spirits delivered to the premises. Although some men who are known to be Freemasons are also members of other organisations, their activities are not interwoven. For example, no other organisation is ever

(1) Bracey, H.E. English Rural Life (Routledge & Kegan Paul 1959).

asked to entertain the members or raise funds on their behalf.

Membership numbers are not disclosed to non members; from observation there appeared to be more than 150 persons entering the Lodge for its meetings; few appeared to be local men.

In organisations open to both sexes, it can be seen that a man enjoys higher status than a woman. Women are rarely given official roles. This is seen to be the 'fault' of women, because even if a woman is proposed (usually by a man), members of her own sex rarely give her their support. In all activities save the W.I., officials are chosen by consensus, and even in this case there appeared to be little competition. It could therefore be deduced from this statement that all organised activities run smoothly and that the decisions taken by the committee will be supported by the rest of the members. This seems only to be true in male - or predominantly male - organised activities, for the W.I. suffers from a frequent change in membership due to dissatisfied members, and the early demise of the cake-icing, dressmaking and Red Cross classes was attributed to the fact that "women ran them and then could not agree among themselves as to who should do what".

Not all the organisations referred to have unrestricted membership. The Angling Club limits its numbers so that the river should not be 'over fished' and there is a long waiting list. The Dramatic Society, which also functions as a social club and its meetings are held in the homes of members, admits only persons who are considered socially suitable. However, they did advertise for members in the Cumberland and Westmorland Herald⁽¹⁾ and published 'an outline of the year's activities' which seldom included the public performance of a play, which was their stated aim 'for the coming year'.

(1) e.g. 30th January 1965 and 16th February 1966.

TABLE XIII

Non-sectarian Organisations

Name	Source of Members	Sex	Age Range	Total Members	K.S. Members	Average K.S. Attendance
Cricket	P+	M	18-75	38	23	14
Football	P+	"	15-35	15	10	8
Angling	P+	"	10-85	120	68	NK
Workingmen's	P+	"	18-70	1000	83	35
Whippet	P+	"	30-60	55	33	25
British Legion	P	"	50-90	33	33	25
Freemasons	P+	"	35-?	NK	NK	NK
Band	P	"	12-80	18	18	9
Cake decorating	P	W	20-70	12	12	10
Dressmaking	P	"	30-70	30	30	26
Red Cross	P+	"	30-75	40	36	21
W.V.S.	P+	"	50-70	15	9	11
W.I.	P+	"	30-70	38	32	20
B.L. (Women)	P	"	50-75	20	20	12
Bowling	P	M + W	55-85	21	21	9
Whist Drive I	P	" + "	30-75	48	48	30
Whist Drive II	P+	" + "	30-75	43	41	36
Badminton	P+	" + "	18-45	35	16	18
Conservatives	P+	" + "	40-90	60?	44	40
Musical Appreciation	P+	" + "	30-75	14	10	9
Choral Society	P+	" + "	18-75	27	19	16
Dramatic	P+	" + "	30-70	20	12	NK
Local History	P+	" + "	18-70	18	16	12
Evergreen	P+	" + "	60-85	96	61	40

Key: P = parish only W = women BL = British Legion
P+ = parish + extra parish M = men WI = Women's Institute
NK = not known

N.B. All figures are approximations.

As will be seen from Table XIII, these organised activities only attract a small proportion of the population. What was not shown in the figures was the fact that most of them do not function regularly. This is due in part to the many calls on the organisers' time. Sectarian activities take preference over non-sectarian activities, which means that they cannot organise events as frequently as once per week. Also among the activities catering for women and both sexes, women's membership fluctuates because women seldom join as individuals as do men. A group of women who are relatives or friends may be attracted to an activity and then one or two of them tire of it, so they leave, accompanied by those who joined with them in the first place. One woman told me "I quite liked going to it (cake icing) but when our Hazel and Betty left I thought I may as well leave, it would not be so much fun without them", and then she added, "These things always start up again another year and I'll probably find someone to join up with again."

How do those people who do not join organisations spend their leisure? The most popular leisure time activity for men is visiting the 'pub'. About 30% of the adult male population sometimes enter the local public house for a drink; but only 5% attend more than once a week, and then it is unlikely that any of them will stay as long as the public house is open. The average drinker has one or two drinks and perhaps a game of darts or dominoes, and then departs. Except on the day of the horse sales, when there is an influx of 'potters' (tinkers), a drunken man is rarely seen in the streets or has to be evicted from the premises. For three years before the study there had not been any convictions for drunkenness in the parish.

There are six public houses in Kirkby Stephen, two of which are also residential houses. One of the latter is elaborately furnished, and caters more for travellers than for the local population. Of the local residents who visit it, few if any drink beer,

which is the chief drink at most public houses.

The public house is largely the domain of men. Except for strangers, it is most unusual, and a subject for adverse comment, for a man and woman to visit a public house together. The landlord is an important link with 'the regulars' of his pub. When a man goes up to the bar for his first drink he enquires who has been in before him, and whether any messages have been left for him, such as 'Hang on 'till ten as John's going to be late', 'Peter said he's got a dog (sheep dog) for your uncle and will he give him a ring tomorrow', and 'The papers were late so to collect them from the 'phone box.' In addition, customers expect to get all the local news. The public houses are one of the main sources of news in the district. A 'good' landlord establishes connections with people who will supply him and his customers with titbits of interest. The Pennine Hotel situated in the Market Square, the focal point of the town, is patronised by people who are, in local terminology, 'in the know'. The policemen on their rounds, who drink coffee in the kitchen, the 'bus drivers and conductors who drink tea during the day when on duty, and beer when off duty, the auction mart staff on Mondays, Thursdays, and Household Sale days, the through-traveller, and residents all meet there. Thus the landlord can relate events which took place over a wide area. His information is particularly valuable in winter when every traveller is concerned with the state of the roads, particularly those running over Stainmore and Ash Fell (Chapter 1 and Map II).

Within the public house there exists a deep friendship between the 'regulars', a situation which can be compared with Mogeys 'Jolly Waterman'.⁽¹⁾ Therefore it is essential that the landlord

(1) Mogeys, J.M. 'Family and Neighbourhood' p.104.

remains neutral in arguments which occasionally arise among regulars, and should never criticise an absent customer, for this could, and has, resulted in all the regulars leaving en masse, and boycotting the public house for several weeks, or in extreme cases permanently.

Each public house has a darts team, which competes with other public houses in the town and three just outside the parish for a shield awarded annually. The various heats are reported in the local paper, and the final merits a photograph, a copy of which is displayed for a year alongside the shield, above the bar of the winning pub.

In spite of the spirit of comradeship among the patrons, and the long duration of several 'popular' landlords, the number of customers is said to be declining. It is not unusual for public houses to have only three or four customers in a whole evening, and Saturday night, the traditional drinking night, may see only 10 or 12 drinkers present. This compares with an average of 30-40 on weeknights and 70-80 on Saturdays ten years ago.⁽¹⁾ This means that the public houses have to rely on the money made during the sales, and the weekends in autumn when 'bus loads of people from the North East stop at Kirkby Stephen on their journey to and from Blackpool where they go to see the Illuminations. Several landlords have taken part-time jobs (usually doing part-time what they did full-time before taking on the public house).

The reasons for the decline of the public houses are given as: television - more incentive to stay at home, migration of the age group who were the hard drinkers, opposition from the Temperance Association (this existed long before the decline of the public houses - see Chapter 1), more people drinking at home, fewer people drinking, and probably the most important, the advent of the Working Men's Club, where the beer is cheaper than at the public houses.

(1) Information obtained from the landlords and regular customers.

Kirkby Stephen people have access to a large variety of newspapers, magazines, radio, television, and the county library, whose van visits the parish twice a week.

For most of the year the newspapers arrive daily by road from Darlington in a special van. Bad weather conditions cause delays and non-arrivals. With two exceptions (on religious or moral grounds - one stated, "Newspapers contain items of scandal not suitable for a Christian home") all the householders in the parish take at least one daily newspaper, of which 24% are the Daily Express, 22% the Daily Mail, 14% the Northern Echo, and 13.7% the Daily Mirror. Frequently only the headlines, cartoons, sensational articles and sports pages are read. Very few people admit to reading the editorial comment, or world news. As Bracey commented, 'as far as national news is concerned the digest of local and national events contained in radio or television news bulletins seems to satisfy most country working men' (ibid. p.191). Certainly this is applicable to Kirkby Stephen. Therefore if for some reason the radio or television broadcasts are not heard, an event of national or international significance can be missed completely, for current affairs, unless of local significance, are seldom discussed in public and rarely in the home. The public house attender may therefore be much better informed of national events than the non-attender. As soon as conversation on local topics is exhausted, the landlord may be asked if there is 'anything of interest' in the national papers. It is not uncommon to find the landlord of the Pennine Hotel sitting by the bar fire in winter, when customers are few, reading items of news out of the Express, the Mirror, and the Mail, such as 'I see things aren't any better in China - famine you know', 'the Americans are still fighting', 'floods in Holland again - dykes breached', etc. Storm and destruction are usually commented on.

In several homes the wife makes no attempt to open the newspapers

in her husband's absence. Several parents actively discourage their children, even if nearly adult, from reading the newspapers, on the grounds that they are merely sensational and contain subjects unsuitable for young people. Sex and crime come under these categories.

The local weekly papers, however, have very different treatment from the 'dailies'. The Cumberland and Westmorland Herald (Rural District of North Westmorland edition) is taken by every household, some taking up to three copies to send on to non-local relatives. This paper is read from cover to cover, including the editorial comment, which is frequently a subject of discussion. The first items consulted are the announcements of births, marriages and deaths, funerals, memoria, public meetings, sales and forthcoming events (on a separate page).

"Did you see it in the Herald?" or "I looked in the Herald to see if it was on", "If you look in the Herald next week you'll find out", are all part of daily conversation.

The local weekly newspaper links Kirkby Stephen to the rest of North Westmorland. It is through this paper that a sense of local awareness is roused. It is from here that a local person's progress through life may be noted and conveyed to the public; birth, engagement, marriage, retirement⁽¹⁾, and death, and the funeral of local people are announced, and also for several years afterwards memoria of the death are inserted, though the latter are not considered by all people to be necessary or desirable, and the number of such insertions is declining.

Nevertheless the weekly papers contain several full length

(1) All retirements, regardless of occupation, are expected to warrant mention in the half-page devoted to Kirkby Stephen's Social Events, written by a local man, in the Cumberland and Westmorland Herald.

columns, many concerning the same person. Examples of two of five for Mr. T. read as follows:

'T.: In loving memory of a dear husband, and dad,
who passed away on - June 1965 at Carlisle.
Remembered always by his loving wife and family.
"Sweet are the memories, silently kept,
Of one we loved dearly and shall never forget."

Also 'T.: In loving memory of a dear dad and granddad.
"A perfect dad, thoughtful and kind,
Search the world no better you'd find
He shared our troubles and helped us along,
If we walk in his footsteps we'll never go wrong."
Remembered and loved by Henry, Sheila and Heather
and grandchildren Tony, Arthur, Malcom and Hazel.'

Other weekly papers read by the local people are the Westmorland Gazette, whose sphere of influence is Lunesdale, south of Kirkby Stephen; the Penrith Observer, Penrith News, the Darlington and Stockton Times ('Teesdale Edition') and the Cumberland News, dealing with the whole of Cumberland, but principally with Carlisle. These papers are taken in addition to the Cumberland and Westmorland Herald, chiefly by people who were formerly domiciled in the areas covered by the papers.

Reading newspapers is a leisure time activity, particularly on a Sunday. Thirty per cent of the people do not take Sunday papers, but read the weeklies on this day. Of those who take Sunday papers 40% take two or more. Those with more sensational items and pictures, such as The Sunday Mirror, the News of the World, and the Sunday Express, are taken in preference to those which require concentrated reading.

The County Library, until 1962, was housed in the primary school and the Library was opened once a week. In 1960 the Library was closed down, and a mobile library was sent out twice a week from the Carnegie Library at Kendal. This contains a large collection of books of local interest, as well as up-to-date publications - fiction and non-fiction. The library vans can

frequently change their stocks, and the librarian is prepared to order fiction and non-fiction books from other libraries.

As Kirkby Stephen parish is long and straggling, visits to the library involved some people in a walk of over a mile, and many people, particularly the older ones, did not consider it worth the effort. The mobile library changed all that. It stops for fifteen minute intervals (or longer if necessary) at some five places in the town, and at the ends of the farm lanes. It is the attitude of the people who run this service that makes it appreciated, and the library van is a social event. Some people will enter the van in order to chat to the other customers, even if they do not wish to change a book. The librarians do not discourage this behaviour, in fact they appear to actively encourage it. There are no fixed time limits on books borrowed. The driver is prepared to help elderly people into the vans to change books. The staff undertake little errands such as collecting bread and posting letters.

It is unlikely that the service would be considered satisfactory if more people borrowed books. Rarely are more than 120 books borrowed throughout the parish in any one week, and most of the borrowers take two books.

Most of the women read magazines, though the proportion who actually buy them is quite small. If they do read books these are mostly romantic fiction. Locally born men will proudly assert that they 'don't waste time on books'. Non-fiction is read mainly by school teachers, ex-school teachers, lay preachers and, only if they concern practical subjects such as clock mending, by a minority of men. Personally owned books, except for the Bible, hymn books and Sunday School prizes, are not found in many houses.

Two of the old established shops in the town, a stationer's and a draper's, have lending libraries of 300-500 books, under the headings of Romance, Thrillers and Adventure. Neither shop has

purchased any since the 1939-45 war. These books can be borrowed at 2d. per week, but few are ever borrowed. It is not unusual for someone waiting to be served to stand glancing through one.

Radio and television are very popular. In some houses the radio is switched on the moment the first person in the house is up and turned off when the last person goes to bed. The volume is seldom turned up, so that talks and news items which interrupt the music are inaudible. Some people, however, do turn it up full for the news or a favourite programme. Men and women seldom just sit and listen to the radio, but generally use it as an ancillary to something else such as reading the paper, knitting (women), or having a meal. Television, to be appreciated, requires more concentration, and is frequently referred to as a 'time waster'.

In addition to B.B.C. programmes, most sets receive Border I.T.V. programmes; the rest receive Tyne Tees Television, or Northern I.T.V. Border Television gives local news items, so Border is 'our' channel.

The favourite programmes in 1965 were Wild West films (for men and children) and cookery (Border I.T.V.) for women. Gardening programmes and sports events (Saturday Grandstand) and Horse of the Year Show were firm favourites. Many women followed the T.V. serials such as 'Coronation Street' and 'The Newcomers'. Documentaries on topics of national and international importance are usually turned off, or the set is switched over to the other channel.

The main criticism of television is that the producers do not seem to know what people are really interested in. Some did admit that they enjoyed the news programme although they never read anything but local news in the papers.

For people who regularly participate in organised social

activities, television cannot compete with these events in terms of personal relationships and achievements.

Again some people have a guilt complex about watching television for a long period at a time. 'We have one, but we hardly ever watch'. 'Of course we never sit all evening looking at the screen.' 'It was on but I was busy with something else'. The evils of television are frequently described by ministers and local preachers, e.g. 'On the screen whole families watch drink being consumed regardless of the effect.' (Reference to 'Coronation Street'). 'Swearing is second nature to those actors.' Discussions on subjects 'of a private nature' (not mentioned by the preacher, but probably sexual deviation and birth control) are strongly condemned. The continued employment by the television companies of actors and actresses who 'had broken God's holy laws' (divorced because of adultery) was abhorred. Most people hold the view that the programmes require censorship.

Of all leisure time activities, the favourite and most frequently practised is sitting and talking to relatives or friends.

Many local people would agree with Mary P., who said, 'I don't join anything as I don't like being organised, and my way you don't run the risk of having to take sides', and 'If you stay away from things long enough no one expects you to do anything, and no one is offended if you don't.' Again, 'If I want to go to anything or see anyone I go to the auction (furniture). There you can come and go as you please.' This latter statement probably accounts for the great popularity of the auction sales, which attract between 400 and 600 people. A furniture auction, as it is known, to distinguish it from a cattle and sheep auction, but in fact the entire contents of houses (town or farms) plus farm and garden implements are auctioned.

It brings in trade to the town as well, for people from many miles away attend and patronise the shops, cafes and public houses. Just as the Sheep and Cattle sales are a means of bringing male members of a family together, the furniture sales temporarily unite female members who live in distant parts of the county, Yorkshire and Cumberland. Although women sale-goers are in the majority, nevertheless a considerable number of men attend, particularly farmers.

"--'s husband will always bring her to Kirkby if there's a sale, even if he won't bring her other times" is a usual remark from some woman who has a daughter or sister living on a distant farm. If the attraction of the auction wanes for the man, he can always while away his time drinking coffee in the Pennine, or some alcoholic drink during opening hours. For a woman the interest of the auction can sustain her for the whole day, and few of them leave the auction rooms during the lunch hour. Instead they form small groups with relatives or friends, consuming flasks of tea and sandwiches. Unlike the organised leisure time activities, women will attend the auction on their own. "You always find someone you know (to join up with)" was given as an explanation. Why this did not apply at formal activities I never learned.

The sale not only provides an opportunity to purchase goods, to see what bids certain goods will bring, and who buys them (only a minority of sale attenders buy anything), but it also permits the local people to see the contents of other people's houses (when the sale is of the entire contents of a deceased person's house). Sale-goers compare one sale with another, and thus the contents of different houses. This is interesting to local people because, as stated earlier, it is unusual for anyone to have been in any house other than that of a relative. An auction can be seen as breaking down, as it were, that which some people have tried to defend all their lives - the privacy of their homes, which is very precious

when the rest of life is so 'public'. However, the whole sale is conducted in such a way so as to be an entertainment as well as a business. The requests for bids are interspersed with remarks such as - "Now isn't this lovely? When Mrs. Smith sees this on your mantelpiece she is sure to want one" (usually a garish vase or figurine, not to the local taste); and "Now then, you don't get things like this nowadays (a decrepit or broken article) so who'll offer me ten pounds?" Also goods are 'knocked down' to people who make no bids, and their protests are enjoyed by everyone. Bidding is conducted in such a way as to create excitement, but the general impression which I received of sales was that they were happy affairs with much laughter, which no doubt accounts for their popularity. Unlike most other forms of entertainment in the parish, personal participation is unnecessary.

A new element has entered into the sales, which local people say "is beginning to spoil things". The sales are attracting an increasing number of antique dealers and others interested in collecting 'old' goods at advantageous prices. These people naturally take the sales very seriously. They do not observe the local custom whereby people view the goods and in order to allow others to have the opportunity to see them pass quickly on, rejoining the queue again if necessary. The 'outsiders' are criticised for standing for an 'inconsiderate' length of time, and for touching goods on display. (Seldom done by local people.) The advent of the 'outsiders' has stimulated sales and raised prices, and brought in a serious element. It is possible that as a result they will lose their entertainment value.

So both formal and informal leisure time activities are changing in character, and some are attracting outsiders with new ideas, e.g. the Working Men's Club with its whippets and gambling,

the Dramatic Society with its social selection and home entertaining, and the auction sales with their increasing attraction for outsiders whose purpose for attending is material and not entertainment. Radio and television are also bringing the activities and ideas of those who live far beyond the area directly into the local homes. In spite of all this, traditional ways are slow to change. Women are reluctant to assume roles of authority and the type of formal activity for women mainly exists to enhance their traditional roles and the new activities for men do not in the majority of cases gain enthusiastic support from many of them. This lack of support for new ventures may be due to the reluctance of local people to spend their leisure in an organised manner, but this seems unlikely in view of the support given to sectarian activities. I consider it is more likely that people are deterred from joining in certain activities because they are contrary to local norms, and so bring reproach on participants. Public opinion is extremely potent in this society.

Chapter 7

RELIGION & SECTARIAN ACTIVITIES

One of the first questions which an incomer is asked when he or she comes to live in Kirkby Stephen is "What religion are you?" or "To which sect do you belong?" Religious affiliation is of primary importance in the community. More intimate acquaintance with the parish will bring about the realisation that the economy is closely tied to religious sect affiliation. I have already described how shops and businesses depend greatly on the patronage of sect members, how an individual's employment may depend on an employer of the same sect having a vacancy, and how Methodism and Temperance determine who will cater for wedding receptions and for the large numbers of people attending the Sales. Religion is so intertwined with other aspects of the community that it is difficult to examine it as a separate subject. In this chapter I wish to explain what being 'religious' means when used descriptively; what is meant by the word 'sect'; what is formalised religious behaviour; how belonging to a particular sect means having a certain 'way of life'; the part played by the Temperance Movement and its identity with Methodism; what I term the dual role of religion in the society; and finally I want to compare it with other British studies and to see what generalisations can be drawn.

In Kirkby Stephen the dimension represented by the word 'religious' agrees with what Loudon found in Wales⁽¹⁾. It 'is much less important as implying particular kinds of belief than as indicating high moral standards, honest dealing, and good neighbourliness based on Christian teaching'. In addition, the truly

(1) Loudon, J. 'Religious Order and Mental Disorder in South Wales' in *The Social Anthropology of Complex Societies* ed. M. Banton (Tavistock 1966).

'religious' person is held to be a 'regular attender' at the church⁽¹⁾, chapel or meeting house of his/her particular sect. (This helps to explain why Jehovah's Witnesses are of low status in local sect estimations and why many people hesitate to include them with the other sects or determine their behaviour as religious.) Conversely a 'regular attender' who does not portray all the virtues associated with the word religious is never termed a 'truly religious person', and lays himself open to public reproof by his action of pretence. As stated earlier, pretending to be something which you are not is considered to be, by local determinants, a sin in this community.

'Sect' is a word in current use in this community and may be interpreted as a particular type of religious belief system to which persons formally affiliate themselves. Potential members are usually born into that sect of which a parent or parents are members. Membership is obtained by going through some ceremony by which membership is formalised and given recognition, or by conversion. All the sects in Kirkby Stephen have national counterparts. (The Church of England and that of the Roman Catholics are terms sects by the community which is not in keeping with the church and sect constructs of Richard Niebuhr⁽²⁾). He made various distinctions between 'Church' and 'Sect' which are not always appropriate in the Kirkby Stephen situation. For example, Church - a natural social group akin to a family, nation, etc., into which one is born; Sect - a voluntary association which one joins. All 'sects' in Kirkby Stephen have members of whom the majority were born potential members, and these 'sects' also include a minority who joined

(1) Roman Catholics are not included because, as will be discussed later, they are not believed to attend of their own free will.

(2) Niebuhr, R. The Social Sources of Denominationalism (New York 1929) pp.17-21.

voluntarily. 'Sect' and 'denomination' and religion are coterminous in this community. 'Sect' will therefore be used in this thesis for sect and denomination.)

The religious sects to which the parishioners are affiliated are Anglican, Methodist (both Wesleyan and Primitive), Baptist, Quaker, Brethren, Roman Catholic and Jehovah's Witnesses. All but the last have their own place of worship. In addition, people claim affiliation to Congregationalism, Presbyterianism, Unitarianism and the Plymouth Brethren. Some of these people attend religious services in the town at places of worship whose doctrines have some similarities to their own. For example, the three Congregationalists occasionally take part in activities at the Baptist Chapel, and the four Presbyterians occasionally attend the Primitive Methodist Chapel of Fletcher Hill or that of the Brethren (the Gospel Hall). There are 18 people, all incomers, who have no religious affiliation. These present an enigma to the people of Kirkby Stephen. It is totally alien even to the people who never attend a place of worship that a person can have no religious affiliation. "What will happen when they die?" is the frequent remark. To be without 'a religion' is to be without a social code of behaviour and a means of individual salvation. There is a widely held belief that these people are all lapsed Roman Catholics, this view being reinforced by the fact that one such family has eight children - 'a Roman Catholic habit'. (This was found to be so in only four of the eighteen cases.)

To the religious leaders membership of a religious organisation usually implies that a person contributes regularly to its finances, and has his name on a roll of membership, having qualified by going through some such ritual as Christening or Confirmation (Argyle 1965⁽¹⁾)

(1) Argyle, M. Religious Behaviour (Routledge and Kegan Paul 1965)

and Wilson 1966⁽¹⁾). From observation during fieldwork, what constitutes membership in the eyes of the religious leaders, and what constitutes membership in the eyes of many of the townsfolk, are not the same thing. "I am church", said a man whose only claim to membership was that he was Christened there. He did not contribute financially towards the church nor attend any of its services or social events. He was married in the Wesleyan Methodist Chapel, and his children attend that Sunday School.

"I am chapel", said a woman who had been baptised and confirmed in the Anglican Church, but now attended (though only occasionally) the Primitive Methodist services.

The Church of England vicar and the Nonconformist ministers were very reluctant to allow 'outsiders' access to the membership rolls. This is not peculiar to Kirkby Stephen, as several anthropologists and sociologists, including Wilson, Loudon and Argylè, have met with similar reluctance. Membership figures are produced annually for the headquarters of the various religious organisations, and sometimes published⁽²⁾, but these figures tend to be on the national level rather than for small areas of the country.

For this reason religious affiliation in Kirkby Stephen was ascertained by asking people to which group they or their families adhered, rather than whether they were members, in the sense of having gone through a ritual and giving financial support. Several local people sought to help me by pointing out that the true test of religious affiliation could be discovered by asking a person by whom he would expect to be buried.

(1) Wilson, B. Religion in Secular Society (Watts, London 1966).

(2) e.g. in 'The Minutes of the Annual Conference of the Methodist Church' published annually, 'The Baptist Handbook', published annually, 'Facts and Figures about the Church of England 1962-1965'.

TABLE XIV

Religious Affiliation (Individual)

	<u>Persons over the age of five years</u>		<u>Total population</u>	
		%		%
Church of England	790	54.0	826	52.7
Methodist (Wesleyan and Primitive)	602	41.1	645	41.2
Roman Catholic	19	1.3	27	1.7
Brethren	14	0.9	19	1.2
Baptist	4	0.3	7	0.5
Quaker	4	0.3	5	0.4
Presbyterian	4	0.3	4	0.3
Plymouth Brethren	4	0.3	4	0.3
Congregationalist	3	0.2	3	0.2
Unitarian	3	0.2	3	0.2
Jehovah's Witness	3	0.2	3	0.2
No affiliation	14	0.9	18	1.1
	<u>1464</u>	<u>100.0</u>	<u>1564</u>	<u>100.0</u>

Table XIV was based on claimed religious affiliations. This Table shows that the two major religious groups are the Anglicans and the Methodists, comprising 52.7% and 41.2% respectively of the total. The figures are similar to those given by Loudon for rural Wales working-class households, and by Williams for Ashworthy.

For actual attendance, it will be seen that the Methodists far exceed the Anglicans, and with the exception of the Roman Catholics, the members of the minority religious groups have regular attendance by all the adherents.

TABLE XV

Religious Affiliation in relation to Attendance at Services by Kirkby Stephen people over the age of five years in 1965

<u>Affiliation</u>	<u>At least once per week</u> (a)	<u>At least once per month</u> (b)	<u>Special Days</u> (c)	<u>At least once per year excluding Special Days</u> (d)	<u>Rites de Passage*</u> only	<u>Never</u>	<u>Total No. of local persons of that sect</u>
Anglican	43	52	102	58	592	38	790
Methodist	93	127	260	146	182	14	602
Roman Catholic	10	14	-	14	-	5	19
Brethren	12	14	-	14	-	-	14
Baptist	4	4	-	4	-	-	4
Quaker	3	4	-	4	-	-	4

Columns (a)(b)&(d) refer to Sunday services only.

* Rites de Passage = Christenings, confirmation (or acceptance as a member), weddings and funerals.

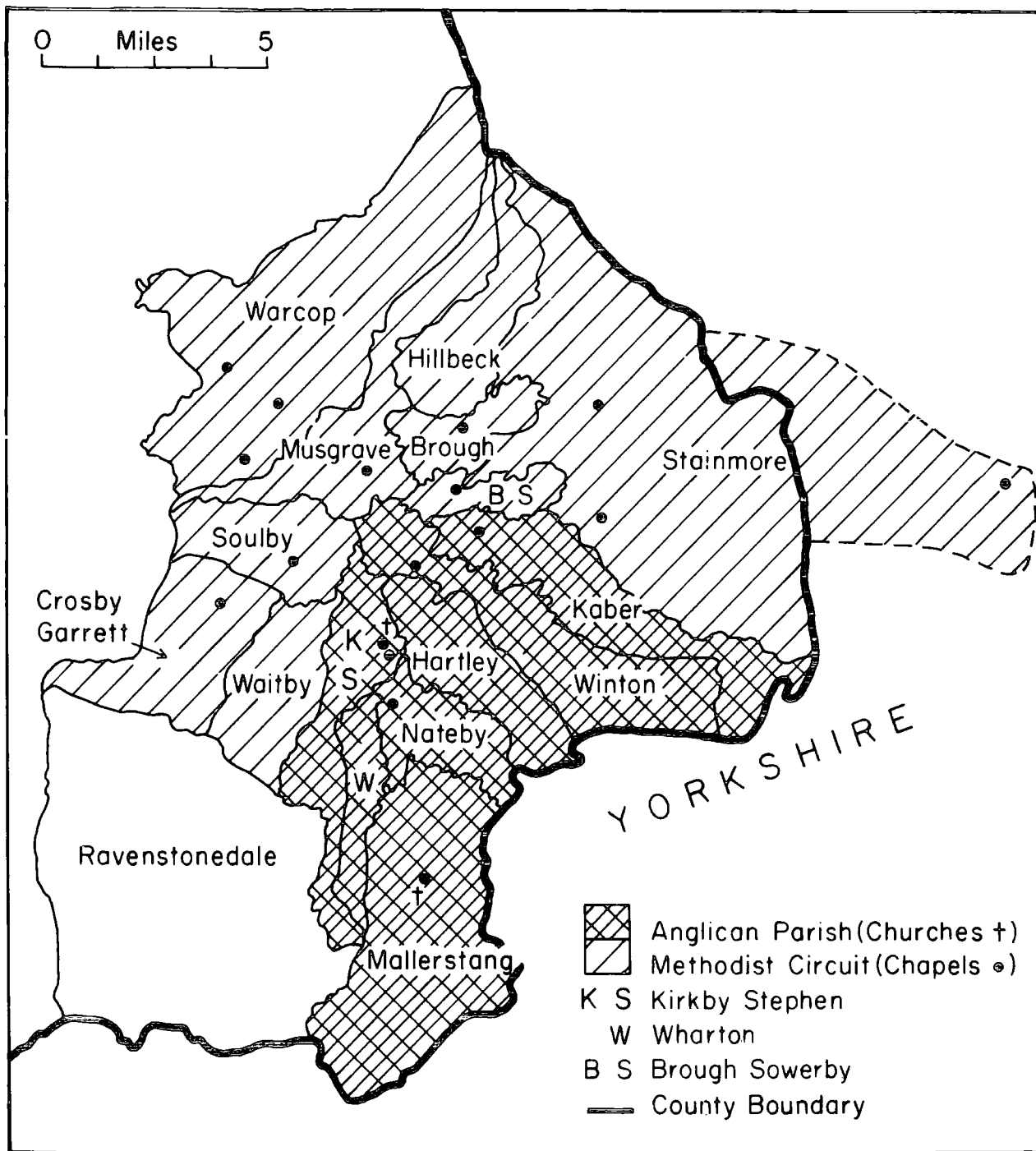
(These attendance figures at Sunday services can be compared with attendance at regular weekday sectarian activities which have secular and sacred items. Anglican:- Fellowship (men and women) 14, Mothers' Union 20, Women's Work (sewing class) 12. Methodists (both):- Sisterhoods 60, Guilds (men and women) vary 50-200, and Socials (Circuit) 100-400. Irregular activities such as Bazaars, Fayres and other fund-raising schemes and pleasure outings can involve practically all members of the various sects. See also pp.241-242.)

Special Days are the Harvest Festival, Easter Day, Remembrance Day, Christmas Day, for Anglicans, Methodists, Baptists and Brethren; Christmas Day, Holy Week and certain Saints' Days for the Roman Catholics, and in addition the Circuit Rally for the Methodists and Good Friday for the Anglicans. On these days a larger than usual congregation is expected, and the congregations are frequently augmented by people from outside the parish. On Easter Sunday (during the fieldwork period) there averaged 115 people at the morning Communion Service at the Anglican Church, of whom about 20 people came from outside the parish. This service had the largest number of attenders of any service throughout the year. Attendance at the Methodist Harvest Festival, during the same period, averaged 430 people, of whom about 200 came from chapels in the circuit outside Kirkby Stephen.

It can be seen from the tables that practically all people claiming to belong to one of the above mentioned six denominations attend services in their place of worship on some occasions during the year.

The Roman Catholics, Brethren, Baptists and Quakers have only one service on Sunday, but the Anglican Church has two and the Methodists two. However the Methodists have a morning service in the Centenary Chapel (formerly Wesleyan) and an evening service in the Fletcher Hill Chapel (formerly Primitive). The Methodists were officially united in 1932⁽¹⁾, and a Superintendent Minister placed over both chapels in Kirkby Stephen and the other chapels which make up the Methodist Circuit (Map VII). As attendance declined the Methodist Headquarters decided in 1946 to dispense with the services of the Fletcher Hill Minister, who by the 1932 decree was responsible to the Superintendent Minister (who was

(1) Wilson, B. Ibid. 1966, p.162.



Map VII. Ecclesiastical Areas - Anglican and Methodist

also the Minister of the Centenary Chapel), and have only one place of worship for the Centenary and Fletcher Hill Methodists. However there was great opposition (now stated to be on 'theological grounds') to this from the Kirkby Stephen Methodists, so a compromise was reached whereby each Chapel was to hold one Sunday service. This was considered by most of the Methodists to be satisfactory, as the Centenary formerly had its larger congregation on Sunday morning, and Fletcher Hill on Sunday evening. Some Methodists who had previously attended morning and evening Sunday services at their own chapel now attend at both the Centenary and Fletcher Hill. However some people felt and still feel unable to attend another chapel - "I don't feel at home there⁽¹⁾," stated one elderly woman - and therefore limit their attendance to one service. In the Anglican Church some members attend both morning and evening services, whereas others attend only one.

In order to ascertain how many people actually attended any one service on Sunday, excluding Special Days, a count was made on ten (fairly fine) Sundays either by me or by other reliable individuals. The following figures were obtained:-

TABLE XVI

Average attendance at one Religious Service in Kirkby Stephen by anyone over the age of five years including clerics

	<u>Morning</u>	<u>Evening</u>	<u>No. attending both</u>
Anglican	28	33	10
Centenary Methodist	53) 69	26
Fletcher Hill Methodist			
Roman Catholic	18		
Brethren	24		
Baptist	6		
Quaker	14		

(1) Rees (1950 p.115) writes of 'the emotional link between the individual and a particular chapel' ... 'the group is small enough to give him a real sense of belonging to a society in which he is valued' and this would be largely undermined if the chapel were closed and the group merged with another.

The Anglican Church on average has eight people attending services who live outside Kirkby Stephen. This is because the ecclesiastical parish extends beyond the civil parish boundary (Map VII), and with the exception of Mallerstang, Kirkby Stephen has the only church in the parish, whereas the Methodists have chapels in all the settlements of the Circuit. In the case of the Roman Catholics, who have no other church for 12 miles, the local services are attended on average by 6-7 people from outside the town. This also applies to the Brethren and to the Quakers.

The Anglican congregations consist of four children under nine years, three or four aged 9-18 years, one man and two women in their 40's, and the rest of the congregation are principally women aged 55-80 years. The Methodists have fewer women than men,⁽¹⁾ in the ratio of 1 : 1.4. Their congregations have a wider age range, women only predominating in the over 70 age group.

The Roman Catholics consisted of three children under 10 and eight women and seven men all under 35. This was the youngest congregation.

The Brethren have six children under 12 and ten women and eight men aged 17-75, none of whom were in the 25-40 age range.

With the exception of the Baptist Minister's wife (in her 20's) the other four women were all over 60⁽²⁾. A similar age composition is to be found with the Quakers, who, with the exception of one woman (late 20's) have men and women in equal proportions over 60 years of age.

The predominance of elderly women in many of the sects in Kirkby Stephen is in line with a national trend (Wilson 1966).

(1) Contrary to what Stacey found at Banbury, p.72.

(2) By the summer of 1966 the Baptist Headquarters had decided that owing to the small congregation, which by this time suffered losses by two deaths, to close the chapel.

The absence of persons aged 20-50 is again a national feature⁽¹⁾, and occurs in all the Kirkby Stephen sects with the exception of the Methodists and Roman Catholics. The predominance of elderly people in places of worship brings forward the criticism by many young people in Kirkby Stephen that "church and chapel are only for old people".

In addition to their Sunday morning and evening services, the Anglicans, Methodists and Brethren have Sunday Schools, the average number of children attending being 46 (Anglican), 40 (Centenary Methodist), 70 (Fletcher Hill Methodist) and 40 (Brethren). The figures are no guide to the number of children of a particular sect who have attended or intend to attend Sunday School. As far as I could ascertain, it is extremely unlikely for Nonconformist children not to have attended Sunday School for at least five years of their lives, and the majority attend for more than five years. Whereas less than half the Anglican children attended Sunday School for more than two years. The large number of children attending the Brethren Sunday School is due to the fact that not only Brethren children attended, but also children of other affiliations. Attendance by non-members is not a feature of the other Sunday Schools in the parish. Of the children who attend the majority are said to be Nonconformists, some of whom also attend their own Sunday Schools but 'about twelve' are Anglicans who do not attend their own Sunday School. This is not unusual with Brethren Sunday Schools elsewhere⁽²⁾ but the explanation for it in Kirkby Stephen is not clear. Contributory factors could be that the Sunday School teachers are said never actually to encourage the children to attend

(1) Wilson, *ibid.* p.4.

(2) cf. Durant, R. Watling (P.S. King, London 1959).

other services of the sect, so that attendance does not commit anyone; the Sunday School is held at 5.0 p.m., leaving the afternoon free for other diversions, whereas others are held at 2.0 p.m; and almost all Kirkby Stephen parents want their children to have some religious instruction, whether they attend the services of their own sect or not.

The Roman Catholic children receive religious instruction from their priest either at Kirkby Stephen or at Appleby, but not necessarily on Sundays.

Each denomination has at least one religious service during the week, but these, with the exception of the Brethren and Roman Catholics (who attend all religious services where possible), are attended by fewer than 25% of those who attend on Sundays.

All the religious bodies in Kirkby Stephen, with the exception of the Roman Catholics, who had no church here until 1953, assert that membership of their churches and chapels and attendance at services has declined since about 1930, and by over 50% since the Second World War. The decline in church and chapel attendance has been a national feature of Britain in the 20th Century, and has been particularly marked since the Second World War.⁽¹⁾ Many reasons have been advanced for this decline, e.g. competing forms of entertainment; that men have become more matter of fact; that science has not only explained many facets of life and the material environment in a way more satisfactory than alternative religious interpretations, but also provided confirmation of its explanations in practical results.⁽²⁾

In Kirkby Stephen, and in Gosforth (p.183), non-attendance at the place of worship of one's claimed affiliation seems to cause

(1) Wilson, Bryan. 'Religion in Secular Society', 1966, p.42.

(2) Ibid. p.42.

embarrassment to many people, and numerous excuses are given, the most common being:-

"There always seems to be something else to do on a Sunday."

"You have got to have suitable clothes for church, including a hat, which I would never wear any other time."

"You cannot go just the odd Sunday. You are expected to go every Sunday."

"Once you have stopped going it is difficult to restart."

"None of my family goes."

"None of my friends go there."

"Only old people go."

"Don't like the vicar."

No one, except two Roman Catholics, gave as a reason that they no longer supported the church's or chapel's ideology. 'There was always tacit acceptance of the church's teaching, even if the desire to attend no longer exists.'⁽¹⁾

The excuse that one has no suitable clothes can be explained by the fact that attendance at worship traditionally requires a person to wear clothing different from that in everyday use. The congregations wear clothing neater, of better quality, and more sombre in colouring than is worn on other occasions. Hats are worn in church and chapel by women from about eighteen years upwards, but are only worn by middle-aged to elderly women at other times. Therefore it is possible to deduce that a religious service is taking place, even on a weekday, by the attire of people walking through the streets.

The argument that "none of my family goes" seems valid to the speaker and can be understood in the local context. For there is a strong feeling, frequently expressed, that what the family

(1) Ibid. p.2.

does en masse is irreproachable. Therefore if the parents or older brothers and sisters go to religious services, then the younger children of the family are expected to go. Religion is considered a family matter, and the religious affiliation of a person is determined in the majority of cases by his parents. In general all members of the same family have the same religious affiliation (See Table XVII).

TABLE XVII

Religious Affiliation of Households whose members
have not changed their Religious Affiliation

(Excluding the Old People's Home, whose members
comprise 28 Anglicans, 11 Methodists and 2 Roman
Catholics)

<u>Religious Sects</u>	<u>Households</u>	<u>No. of Persons</u>	<u>Total number of persons of that sect in Kirkby Stephen</u>
Anglican	278	765	792
Methodist	211	591	635
Brethren	8	17	19
Roman Catholic	5	16	25
Baptist	3	6	7
Quaker	2	4	5
Jehovah's Witness	1	3	3
Congregationalist	1	2	3
Scottish Presbyterian	1	4	4

As this table shows, of a total of 553 households, 513, that is nearly 93%, consist of persons who have all remained faithful to the religious sect of their family of procreation. This is generally regarded an honourable thing to do. There is deep distrust of the sincerity of a person who 'changed his religion to suit himself'. This is applied particularly to people who

change due to marriage to a person of another sect. The latter, unlike the Welsh situations described by Hughes (Aberdaron) and Owen (Glan Llyn) is unusual. It probably only takes place where one partner or both have no strong emotional and religious ties to their particular religious affiliation. As stated earlier (Chapter 4) marriage traditionally takes place in the church or chapel of the bride. But since the establishment of a Roman Catholic church in the town, this tradition cannot always be followed, as Roman Catholics are forbidden by the rules of their church to marry in any other place of worship. So Roman Catholic men marry their Protestant brides in the Roman Catholic church.

Then there are the people who claim to have changed their allegiance because they disliked the 'Minister',⁽¹⁾. More frequently dislike of the Minister results in non-attendance rather than change of allegiance. In the Church of England and the Roman Catholic Church the role of the minister is more dominant than in the chapels. However only Anglicans give this reason for non-attendance.

Those who change their affiliation seldom go through any ceremony. Exceptions are those who changed to Roman Catholics and two of the Anglicans.

Table XVIII shows the number of people who have changed their religious affiliation.

(1) Williams when commenting on the same excuse for non-attendance at the Church at Gosforth (p.183) says, 'This is symptomatic of a general tendency to use the shortcomings of the parson as an excuse for the worldliness of his flock.'

TABLE XVIIIPersons who have changed their Religious Affiliation

	<u>Due to Marriage</u>	<u>Other</u>	<u>Total</u>
Anglican to Methodist	9	-	9
Brethren to Methodist	-	2	2
Roman Catholic to Methodist	-	3	3
Congregationalist to Methodist	2	8	10
Baptist to Methodist	-	4	4
Methodist to Anglican	4	2	6
Methodist to Brethren	-	2	2
Methodist to Roman Catholic	1	-	1
Roman Catholic to Anglican	1	-	1
Anglican to Roman Catholic	2	-	2
	—	—	—
Totals	<u>19</u>	<u>21</u>	<u>40</u>

There are also 18 households composed of people of different religious sects (Table XIX). Invariably these people feel so strongly about their faith that in spite of social difficulties they are unable to change their affiliation. These 'mixed' households are usually the result of marriages between members of different sects, or a joint or extended family may be included within one household.

TABLE XIXHouseholds of Mixed Religious Affiliations

<u>Religious Sects</u>	<u>Households</u>	<u>No. of Persons</u>
Anglican/Roman Catholic	2	6 (4 Anglicans (2 Roman Catholics)
Anglican/Methodist	11	21 (12 Anglicans (9 Methodists)
Anglican/Methodist/R.C.	1	5 (1 Anglican (3 Methodists (1 Roman Catholic)
Methodist/Roman Catholic	1	3 (2 Methodists (1 Roman Catholic)
Methodist/Baptist	1	3 (2 Methodists (1 Baptist)
Roman Catholic/Quaker	1	3 (2 Roman Catholics (1 Quaker)
Anglican/Congregationalist	1	4 (3 Anglican (1 Congrega- tionalist)
Total	<u>18</u>	<u>45</u>

These mixed households do not gain general approval, for, although the members have remained faithful to the religions 'in which they were reared' (commendable), they treat their religion as a separate sphere of life, which merits disapproval. Most parents hope their children will marry into families with the same religious affiliations. In this way they will have the approval of their kin, and the couple will have an important thing in common, e.g. "She has written to say he's chapel as well, so I expect he will be all right." (A mother discussing her absent daughter's fiance). "They are both church but neither go much, so there should be no difficulty there." (A mother commenting on her son's forthcoming marriage.)

If the prospective spouse is disapproved of, his religious affiliation is 'another stone to throw' (local term), e.g. "He's Catholic and you know what they are like" - implying - no good; also "He's chapel and she's church, so she is bound to be different."

What does it mean to be a regular attender, both to the attenders and to the non-attenders?

First and foremost 'regulars', by their frequent attendance, clearly reveal that they are supporters of the doctrine and rules of their sect. Consequently a higher standard of behaviour is expected of them than of others. They should keep the Ten Commandments, with the exception of the part of the Second ('thou shalt do no manner of work on the Sabbath), to be absolute. Even the Second Commandment has partial support, for only essential work is expected to be done. Even among non-attenders, to cut hay on a Sunday, to hang out washing, paint the house or do gardening (within public view) is to invite adverse comments such as "Fancy doing that on a Sunday!" "Breaking the Sabbath won't do them any good", etc.. All Nonconformists have an additional Commandment, 'Thou shalt not drink any intoxicating liquor, smoke, nor enter licensed premises.' Smoking is, however, less emphasised than drinking. In fact many strong supporters of the Temperance movement do smoke, though none of these men holds any role of authority in the Movement. The aversion to alcohol is not a prerogative of the Nonconformists; many Anglicans give the movement tacit support, and count as a virtue the fact that '--- does not drink'. But an Anglican who drinks does not incur the same condemnation as a Nonconformist. Breaches of the rules of a particular sect are the concern of the community at large, so in this respect Kirkby Stephen differs little from Ashworthy (p.6). What people will say and what they think and do when a person behaves in an unexpected way is a

very potent social force in Kirkby Stephen.

Though the term 'Chapel' is used in Kirkby Stephen primarily of Methodism, in some contexts it is also used as a blanket term to cover Baptists and Brethren, and more rarely Quakers. It is generally accepted that all these sects have some religious beliefs and ways of life in common. They are all stricter in their observance of the sabbath than the Anglicans and Roman Catholics; they are strong supporters of the Temperance Movement; they visit one another's places of worship on 'Special Days' (see earlier) and for secular activities; and at weekday services and social occasions members may be invited to each other's activities as 'guest speaker'.⁽¹⁾ So all Nonconformists have some knowledge of each other's beliefs and practices. On the other hand they know very little about Anglicanism or Roman Catholicism. Although they will have attended marriages, funerals and the occasional Special Day service during their schooldays in the Anglican Church. Inter-church visiting is unheard of and I was told "not wished for". Roman Catholicism for most of the local people is a complete mystery - "They worship idols, you can see them through the door"; "They don't believe in God"; "They believe the priest forgives their sins, not God", were examples of statements from Nonconformists and Anglicans.⁽²⁾ Roman Catholicism receives the least tolerance of any of the sects, in fact many people express an extremely hostile attitude towards it. Roman Catholics make no attempt to visit places of worship or integrate themselves socially with members of other denominations, and never expressed interest or curiosity about the activities of the other sects in my hearing.

(1) This is a post 1939-45 War feature. However, the social activities of the various sects still follow the 19th Century practice of being limited to members of the same sect. (See Chapter 1.)

(2) It was also frequently expressed that Roman Catholics 'forced' their belief on their children.

During the fieldwork period the Jehovah's Witnesses were not noticeably active. Several local people remarked that they had occasional 'bouts of activity', but no one outside the sect seems to take them seriously. Also all the Jehovah's Witnesses are kin, and have other kin in neighbouring parishes who are either of similar sect affiliation or are Methodists, which probably accounts for the fact that they visit Methodist Bazaars⁽¹⁾ and Fayres⁽²⁾.

Each sect with a place of worship in the parish has established ways of inculcating its ideology in the children of its members by a series of rituals and formal instruction. The latter takes the form of a Sunday School in all cases, but that of the Roman Catholics, where the priest gives religious instruction to the children on a weekday evening either at Kirkby Stephen or Appleby. (There is no Roman Catholic school in Kirkby Stephen.)

The first ritual for Methodists, Anglicans and Roman Catholics is the Christening. This ceremony admits the child into the social world - the secular-sacred world - in contrast to the purely secular one into which it was born. This is quite obvious in the ceremony and ideology of all sects. The fact of the Christening makes them members of a particular group with common rules of life. In the case of the Methodists and Roman Catholics the intimate relation of the church to their modes of life precludes the possibility of them being merely a group with only common religious ideas. An unbaptised child is not buried in the consecrated ground of the cemetery (at Appleby in the case of Roman Catholics). Therefore it is considered essential for children of all faiths which practise infant baptism to have the baby christened, and speed is considered essential if the baby is at all delicate.

(1) Bazaars are held in the Sunday School room which is decorated with garlands and has stalls selling home-made articles and food. Tea is also served and the whole proceedings close with a concert and a supper.

(2) Fayres do not have concerts and the decorations are less elaborate.

The Roman Catholic baby is christened usually in its third week, by which time its mother is fit to travel either to the Church in Kirkby Stephen or Appleby. The Methodist baby will be christened at about one month, and the Anglican baby either then or shortly afterwards. If a child is not christened by the time it is six weeks old, other parishioners ask the parents why. Some mothers will not take their babies into any house but their own before they have visited 'God's House'. Which is in keeping with the expressed belief that a child is 'a gift from God'. Therefore God must be thanked for it.

The Methodist Christening usually takes place after the morning service or after Sunday School in the afternoon, and the congregation remain for it. This ceremony is intended to receive the child into the 'fellowship of the Chapel', so a large congregation is desirable. In contrast with the Anglican and Roman Catholic system, no Godparents are selected by the child's parents, for the members of the congregation collectively assume this role. As part of the service the congregation make an oral promise to guide the child in the Christian way of life and to protect him from evil. This promise made by the congregation gives them a legitimate share in the spiritual upbringing of the child. So it is understandable that the congregation feel justified in commenting on a person's behaviour to his face if he does anything contrary to 'the Way', as the ideal Methodist way of life is known. In contrast, the christenings of both Anglicans and Roman Catholics are not 'open' to the uninvited.

The Methodist child begins his formal religious education at an earlier age than do the children of other faiths. As mentioned in Chapter 4, at about $3\frac{1}{2}$ years old he is taken to one of the children's services - the Sunday School Anniversary or the Christmas

Nativity Service. Here he will see children scarcely older than himself performing such roles as depicting Biblical characters, reciting and singing. During the service he is shown by example how to behave. If he sits quietly throughout the service he will be thought suitable to attend Sunday School. If the child is restless, he may be taken outside until the service is over, and then his attendance at Sunday School is delayed until after another children's service.

By the age of 4 years he is almost certainly enrolled in the Sunday School. Each Sunday his Sunday School teacher or one of the old children will call at his house to collect him. At Sunday School he is told Bible stories depicting the goodness and kindness of Christ, and learns to sing hymns with this theme, and others about familiar things - birds, animals and children. Examples include:-

- | | |
|---|----------------------------|
| 1. There's a Friend for little children
Above the bright blue sky. | A. Midlane |
| 2. Jesus, Friend of little children
Be a Friend to me | W.J. Mathams |
| 3. In our dear Lord's garden | E.A. Armitage |
| 4. All things bright and beautiful | C.F. Alexander |
| 5. Tell me the stories of Jesus | W.H. Parker ⁽¹⁾ |

These five hymns are the first learned by the children, and two or three of them will be sung every Sunday. The child as yet unable to read will learn the words by hearing the other children singing them.

(1) The Methodist Hymn Book (1932). These hymns are numbered 839, 841, 843, 851 and 858 respectively.

At the Anniversary service, following his enrolment in the Sunday School, he will be expected to play an active role, that is, to give a short recitation or sing a verse of a song. Great stress is placed on individual performance. He will have been coached for weeks for this role by his teachers and parents. As the Anniversary service is attended by adults and children not only of his own chapel but also of others in the Circuit, a congregation of 400-500 can be expected. All kin, extending to distant relatives, are expected to go to hear a child say his 'first piece'. This is a considerable ordeal for both child and parents, as it is considered a disgrace if the child fails to perform, although some allowance will be made for lack of clear diction and nervousness. Incompleted poems and tears are frequent occurrences. Great efforts will be made the following year to improve his performance, but later pieces do not receive such attention from his kin group as his first had done.

As he gets older he will be expected to recite longer poems and sing more difficult songs. These poems are always different, and are composed by the Sunday School teachers or the parents of the child. All the poems and songs are related to a theme. For example, 'God's Garden', 'Fishers of Men', 'Good and Evil', etc..

By the time he is old enough to start school, he will have learned to sit quietly for long periods; to co-operate with others; to learn short poems and songs; to draw pictures of scenes from Bible stories; and to pray reverently, i.e. with hands together, eyes closed and head bowed. The discipline inculcated at Sunday School is believed to make a child more ready to accept discipline in Day School.

By contrast, the Anglican child does not start Sunday School until after he has attended Day School, and there are no Children's

Services in the Anglican or Roman Catholic Church, where a child can show his prowess and command such attention from his kin group. The Anglican Sunday School is staffed by Day School Junior teachers, and discipline is similar. None of the Chapel Sunday School teachers are also Day School teachers. Only one of the Anglican Sunday School teachers is native to the town, as are all the Chapel Sunday School teachers.

In spite of less strict modes of behaviour, the way the Anglican children imbibe their Church's doctrine is more formal than is that of the Chapel's teaching. Great emphasis is placed by the former on learning the Catechism, and the forms of service in the Book of Common Prayer, so that by the time a child is old enough to attend the Church Services he or she will be familiar with the form of the service. Methodist services are less formal, and the prayers are frequently extempore.

For all children the Sunday Schools have incentives to attendance in the form of stars⁽¹⁾ or pictures to be stuck in books which are taken home each Sunday for relatives to admire, so that at the end of the year progress can be noted and compared. At the end of the Sunday School year many of the Sunday Schools give prizes for the children with the highest number of stars or pictures. Also there are Christmas parties with small presents for each child. The earlier mentioned Chapel Nativity Plays and Sunday School Anniversaries serve as further incentives, as not only do the children have the opportunity to perform roles, but also traditionally have new clothes for each event, in addition to any fancy dress (e.g. angel's robe) required. These events are solely Methodist occurrences. The Sunday School picnics of the 19th and early 20th Centuries were replaced by a visit to the seaside. This was one

(1) In contrast to the situation in the Day School stars are treasured by the children.

of the highlights of the Chapel Sunday School year, and the highlight of the Church Sunday School year. However with greater wealth and easier transport, this event has lost some of its attraction, as instead of being the sole opportunity for children to visit the seaside it became one of several. In fact in 1965/7 several children who were entitled to go did not do so, because they were either already on holiday at some seaside resort or had been or were going with the family, or were personally 'not keen on' Morecambe, considering that it compared badly with Blackpool - a resort considered unsuitable for Sunday School children owing to the predominance of Bingo halls and gambling machines along the sea front.

The next milestone in the Chapel child's religious education takes place when he or she is aged 8-9 years. This consists of an elaborate ceremony where the 'dangers and evils of alcohol' are demonstrated to the children by the Band of Hope President and Secretary, and afterwards the children are asked to sign a pledge which states 'I promise to abstain from intoxicating liquor and to lead a life of temperance'. The demonstration usually consists in showing the children a phial of alcohol, which is ignited. This is intended to be a dramatic portrayal of what happens inside a person when alcohol is consumed. The inference is made that alcohol burns and destroys the God-given body and mind. The act of signing, although voluntary, is expected of all 'Chapel' children, and refusals are said to be 'very rare'.

The promise made by the children may not be kept in adulthood. This is recognised by his religious sect, and by the Temperance Leaders. It is however hoped that it will act as a deterrent, which

clearly it does in many cases.

This Signing the Pledge ceremony is not one which is witnessed by a child's family. The child signs with his peers. A man, in referring to a long standing friendship, may refer to the fact that "we signed the pledge together".

Signing the pledge is not peculiar to Methodists. The movement has active support from the Baptists, Brethren and Quakers. Combined 'Pledge' ceremonies are sometimes held. In 1965 the President of the Band of Hope was a Quaker, the Secretary a Methodist, the Treasurer one of the Brethren, and the rest of the committee consisted of the Baptist Minister, two Methodists and a former Congregationalist.

As the members of the Temperance League in Kirkby Stephen are predominantly Methodists, and as the Methodists have the largest Sunday School rooms, the Band of Hope, as the Junior Temperance Movement⁽¹⁾ is termed, holds its meetings in the Centenary Sunday School rooms. Consequently the movement is largely identified with the Methodists.

Membership of the Band of Hope provides the child with opportunities to increase his circle of friends by meeting other Nonconformist children who live outside the area (as the Band of Hope in the Eden Valley and elsewhere in the North of England hold combined meetings and events) and to exploit any talents he may possess.

The local Band of Hope meets at least once a week. At these meetings prayers are said, songs and hymns are sung, and talks are given by local and visiting speakers on the value of Temperance.

(1) Although junior members are encouraged to undertake roles in the organisation, the control of the movement is in the hands of adults.

Also a series of projects are undertaken. These vary between preparations and rehearsals for concerts, painting and drawing lessons, which aim at teaching the children to produce stage backcloths and posters for the Annual Demonstration, and what is called 'Appreciation of God's world'. The latter takes place on summer evenings, when various groups of children go out to see a local beauty spot, which they afterwards describe in verse, painting or in a short talk. Material prizes for the best verse, etc., are seldom awarded, instead the child gains points towards an object such as carrying the banner at the annual Band of Hope Demonstration or being selected to perform some role in the Demonstration at one of the concerts.

There are similarities between the activities of the Band of Hope and those of the Methodist Sunday Schools. Both have a strong religious bias, but greater emphasis is placed on temperance at the Band of Hope meetings than on religion as such, whereas the Sunday Schools emphasise religion, temperance being but one of the aspects. All children have the opportunity to exercise such powers of leadership as they may have. They can become junior officials in the League. This role entitles them to organise small entertainments, give speeches, and, if talented enough, take part in concerts outside the area. Children with exceptional talent attend the National Association of Temperance Groups in London, to which the local Band of Hope is affiliated, and also Regional meetings.

The highlight of the year's activities is the Annual Demonstration of the Band of Hope, which takes place in alternate years at Kirkby Stephen and Appleby. The Bands of Hope of the Vale of Eden select a girl of about 16 years to reign as Band of Hope Queen for one year. The role of the Queen is 'to carry the message of

temperance throughout the area'. It is a role which brings great prestige and high status for her parents. She must be a girl of considerable talent, for when she visits the various Bands of Hope in the Vale of Eden she will be required to give addresses on the subject of 'the value of total abstinence'. She will be expected to organise concerts, and to attend the Annual General Meeting of the Temperance Movement in London, where she could be called upon to speak. Since the Movement first became established in the area in the mid-19th Century (see Chapter 1) the Annual Demonstration has taken the form of a procession led by the Town Band, going from the station yard on South Hill, through the town to the field at Hill's Bottom (Map IV). Each Band of Hope has a banner which is carried by two boys (Plate XVIIa) who have gained merit in their Band of Hope during the year, and the two cords of the banner are held by other meritorious members. Behind the banner march members, both children and adults (the latter members of the adult Temperance League who help to organise the Band of Hope's activities). This procession is intended to show the solidarity of the movement. In 1965, 463 people processed with 33 banners, and in 1967, 438 and 32 banners. These banners either bear religious pictures and biblical quotations, e.g. 'Suffer the little children to come unto Me', or are plain with the name of the local Band of Hope and a slogan, e.g. 'Abstain for the children's sake' (see Plate XVIIb).

On Hill's Bottom the shafts of the banners are pushed into the ground and the members gather round them and have a picnic (Plate XVIII). From an erected stage Regional and National Temperance leaders make speeches; the current Band of Hope Queen makes her initial speech, and the resigning Queen gives her report on the previous year's activities. Also entertainment in the form of a Punch and Judy show is provided by a member. The show has the theme 'Evil will be punished whereas Good is rewarded'.



a. Part of the procession showing banners and banner bearers



b. A banner erected on Hills Bottom



a. The picnic on Hill's Bottom. Each band gathering round their particular banner



b. Traditional water boilers for the picnic tea

Plate XVIII. Culmination of the Demonstration

The town turns out in force to witness the procession, as do many people from the surrounding district. Trade in the town booms. A travelling amusement company has since the beginning of the Century seized the opportunity of coming to Kirkby Stephen at this time to be sure of plenty of patrons for the roundabouts and swings.

Band of Hope Day is one of the occasions when families dispersed throughout the area meet together in Kirkby Stephen to witness the Demonstration, recall when they themselves were members, and to take their children to see the roundabouts and swings, and the various exhibitions given by the Bands. The Demonstration also attracts people who are neither members nor Nonconformists. It is the major social event of the year in the parish and North Westmorland. Family picnics unrelated to the Band take place in Hill's Bottom outside the area covered by the banners, and along the river bank, which are extremely rare at other times.

For people who are not supporters of the Temperance Movement, the Band of Hope's activities are either tolerated or ridiculed. Ridicule comes chiefly from people who seldom attend a place of worship and who hold no firm religious beliefs. The reason for this lies in the fact that Temperance and Religion are interlinked. This being so there is an assumption that temperance in some way is a Blessed thing, and therefore any ridicule is a form of blasphemy.

As with membership of the religious organisations, membership of the Band of Hope has declined in the 20th Century. In June 1875 there were 1,790 members of the United Vale of Eden Bands of Hope⁽¹⁾ and in June 1965 there were 632. The Kirkby Stephen Band's active members have declined in a similar period from 102 to 87.

(1) Kirkby Stephen Church Magazine June 1875. (See Chapter 1.)

Alongside a child's activities in the Band of Hope go activities within the Chapel Sunday School. There are Junior Guild meetings, held during the week for children over the age of eight years. At the Junior Guild children are trained to perform at concerts, both in their own Chapel and in others in the Circuit. Team games are also played, and frequent social evenings occur where suppers are partaken. Neither the Anglicans nor the Brethren have similar activities for their children.

The events organised by the chapels and the Band of Hope are all aimed at encouraging individual performance as well as group activities. Great stress is placed on individual performance. Children are never ridiculed for lack of talent as they are in Day School. It is always stressed by the Sunday School teachers and by the Band of Hope organisers that 'everyone is good at something'. The aim of every member should be to find out what that something is, and exploit it for the good of others. The Parable of the Talents is taught to a child very early in his religious education.

One result of this type of teaching is that poor results in Day School academic activities are frequently excused by parents on the grounds that the child is, e.g. skilled at painting and drawing (helps to make the decorations for the chapel stage); or is the leader of the Junior Guild choir; or is 'very handy with a needle' (making costumes for the chapel plays), etc., and that it is 'unreasonable to expect a child to be good at everything'.

The developed talents of the child also reflect on his or her family. They enhance the family's social prestige. During the fieldwork people were frequently described as, e.g. 'the mother of the girl who makes the nativity costumes', or 'the father of those two boys who sing and play the piano at the Guild concerts'.

When a child enters his teens, particularly after the age of

about 14 years, his visits to chapel and the Band of Hope may decline⁽¹⁾. However some continue to attend now as group leaders, helping with the younger members.

At about this age boys and girls may undergo a spiritual revelation which convinces them that they are, what is termed, 'saved'.⁽²⁾ This appears to mean that they are destined to enter heaven, and believe that Jesus Christ died to save them, and that they are His 'chosen ones'.

Once a person has had this revelation then from that time forward he should devote his life to showing others 'the way to be saved'. These evangelists are prominent at all adult chapel meetings. However the evangelist will not be considered old enough at this age to speak in the Chapel itself.

At about 16 years the young Methodist is invited by leaders of his chapel to become a full member. To become a full member is to go through a form of confirmation of the promises made in Baptism. It is an extremely simple ceremony, in marked contrast to the Confirmation Service for Anglican children. In the Chapel morning service a break is made, and the candidate for 'acceptance as a member' reads out a short passage confirming the promises made on his behalf at his Baptism by his parents and the members of his chapel and stating that he wishes to be saved from sins through Faith in the Lord Jesus Christ.⁽³⁾ The service is then continued with all the congregation saying a prayer asking God's guidance and blessing for the candidate. At the Anglican Church

(1) Noted by Wilson 1966 to be a national phenomenon.

(2) Cf. Argyle M. 'Religious Behaviour' (Routledge and Kegan Paul 1965), pp.60-62, where he uses the term 'violent conversions'.

(3) Cf. Sheldon J.B. 'The Constitutional Practice and Discipline of the Methodist Church' Revised Edition 1964.

Confirmation is made by the Bishop of the Diocese with the assistance of vicars and curates. It is a completely separate service, and for it the candidates dress in special clothes - the boys in dark suits and ties, the girls in white dresses and veils. (These clothes are similar to those worn by the Roman Catholic children who are confirmed by their Bishop at Appleby, at the earlier age of seven or eight years.) There is not the same emphasis placed on Confirmation at Kirkby Stephen as Williams found in Gosforth (p.186) and only a child's nuclear family plus grandmothers are expected to attend. At a similar age to the chapel children, the Baptists and Brethren children have their membership ceremony. (With these two sects infant Baptism is not approved.)

So by about the age of sixteen years the children of the various religious sects in Kirkby Stephen will have made their 'choice' to be accepted as full members of their particular sect. Being a confirmed member of their sect in all cases is necessary before anyone can be married in their place of worship, so full membership has great social significance in an area where marriages (with the exception of those of divorced persons) always take place in a Church or Chapel. Having achieved this very necessary social goal attendance at religious services which were 'compulsory' while the candidate was being prepared for confirmation or membership conspicuously declines in the case of Anglicans, but declines more slowly, if at all, in the case of other sects. Non-attendance at sacred services with them tends to come about after marriage when excuses can be made and are made due to the calls of a young family. Once attendance is broken it is difficult to restart.

Side by side with his formal teaching in the Sunday School and Church or Chapel the child will have had some religious training

at home. The amount is related to the attitude of his parents and the particular sect to which they give their allegiance. Prayers at night before sleep and grace at mealtimes are an important part of childhood in many homes, particularly in those of Nonconformists. I stress that it is part of childhood rather than adulthood, because the parents encourage the children to pray aloud when they are very tiny, just learning to talk, and as soon as they know the prayers by heart, they say the prayer before meals and their parents and older siblings and others who may be present say 'Amen'. Ceasing to say prayers before meals comes gradually and by teenage many have ceased. In Nonconformist homes where the parents attend fairly regularly (about once a month or more often) prayers remain a feature of family meals, and children are sharply reprov'd for attempting to eat before prayers. Even visitors are made to feel uncomfortable if they begin eating before prayers have been said. Sometimes a visitor is invited to say the prayer; this is always done if he is a cleric or lay preacher. All wedding breakfasts commence with a prayer and extempore prayers by guests after the meal can lengthen the proceedings considerably.

The child will also have accompanied his parents to services. Again the Nonconformists and the Anglicans differ. This is because there are no actual Children's Services in the Anglican Church which parents and children attend, so if the parents of the child do not attend Morning Service, then attendance is limited to rites de passage - christenings and weddings. There are no social activities which parents and children attend together organised by the Anglicans (Roman Catholic children, even babies, attend services (Masses) with their parents). The whole teaching of the Nonconformist chapels is geared to family worship and joint family participation. It is appreciated that very young children can be a distracting

influence at the normal Morning Service, and Evening Service is considered 'past bedtime' for all young children (under about 12 years). Therefore Special Services cater for them. These are held in the afternoon in place of, or following, the normal Sunday School, or part of the Morning Service, on occasion, is specially given over to the children.

After the children become full members of their particular sects the part which they play in the affairs of that sect are determined by its particular organisation. Many years will have to elapse before the Anglican boy will get the opportunity to perform the few roles open to laymen, which are reading one of the lessons (from the Bible) in the absence of a clergyman, or being a sidesman - giving out hymn books and taking the collection, or being elected to the Parochial Church Council. These roles are not open to everyone and need the sanction of the clergy. In contrast, the lay person's involvement in the affairs of the Nonconformist Chapels, particularly the Methodists, is much greater. Methodist Ministers have 'no priesthood differing in kind from that which is common to the Lord's people, and they have no exclusive title to the preaching of the Gospel or the care of souls' (Sheldon 1964). The new member can aspire to be a lay preacher, and is actively encouraged to do so. The lay preacher is put on probation for an indefinite period before being what is locally known as 'on the Plan'. To have his name on 'the Plan' means that he has satisfactorily completed his probationary period and passed written examinations in Methodist Doctrine. In general public estimation the status of a person 'on the Plan' is high, the more so because some strive for it and never achieve their goal. The value system of the whole community is based on Nonconformist ideals.

As well as the lay preachers the Methodist Chapels have leaders (who may also be lay preachers), and it is a recent feature of the Methodist Chapels to have women as leaders. These leaders are men and women who are selected by the Minister and the Chapel committee to help in the administration of the Chapel's religious and secular affairs. From these leaders the Chapel Committee will ultimately be selected. This committee administers the financial, religious and secular affairs of the Circuit. Their chief role however is to select, every four years, ministers for the Chapels in the Circuit. In this way, though the Minister may be the spiritual leader, it is the committee who have the power. They can appeal to the District Synod (held once a quarter) and to the Annual Methodist Conference on any matters arising in the circuit. Each circuit must send lay representatives to the Synod and to the Conference.

So there are various roles which the new member can aim for if he is inclined. For those not seeking to distinguish themselves in the sacred affairs of the Chapel, there are sacred/secular affairs in which everyone is expected to participate, but scope is given for individual talents. It is hoped that the new member will continue as a regular attender at the Chapel, but if he does not, the least that can be expected of him is that he will live his life in keeping with Methodist principles, attend the Special Days at the Chapels, and be married and buried according to the rites of his sect. From the attendance table XV it will be seen that most people realise these last two expectations, in keeping with the behaviour of members of the other local sects.

Now I wish to examine what I call the dual role of religion in this society, before I compare the Kirkby Stephen situation with that recorded in other British community studies. The chief role of religion in society has been referred to by many sociologists and

social anthropologists as contributing to societal integration (e.g. Radcliffe-Brown⁽¹⁾ 1948 and Spiro⁽²⁾ 1966). In Kirkby Stephen, as I shall demonstrate, it does, but also it is a means whereby the society is divided against itself more fundamentally than the division existing between locals and incomers.

All the sects (Jehovah's Witnesses excepted) have certain common characteristics. First, the fact that they are all Christian. They officially recognise and mark the life stages of individuals by rituals - christening⁽³⁾, confirmation or membership, marriage and death. The total society believe these rituals to be necessary and 'right', and therefore their non observance or tardiness in observance causes comment and condemnation from sect members and those of other sects. Because kinship ties are so strong in this society they tend to override religious loyalties, so that marriage and death are times when kin gather together and as they are marked by religious ceremonies these kin, regardless of the fact that they are not all of the same religious sect, attend the ceremonies together. Also because the dead person is now considered to have entered a solely sacred state in contrast with his sacred/secular state on Earth, respect is paid to his memory in a place of religion⁽⁴⁾, and appropriately this is done by attendance at his funeral service

(1) Radcliffe-Brown, A.R. The Andaman Islanders (Glencoe Ill. Free Press 1948).

(2) Spiro, M.E. 'Anthropological Approaches to the Study of Religion: Problems of Definition and Explanation'. A.S.A. Monograph 3 (Tavistock 1966), p.97.

(3) Brethren and Baptists do not practise infant baptism, but they do 'introduce' the baby to fellow members in their place of worship.

(4) The Brethren have a religious service, for their sect members only, following the general funeral service. All other sects hold a short memorial service (which may interrupt the main service) the Sunday after the funeral.

by his work mates, some representatives from the shops to whom he gave his patronage, and also representatives from his non sectarian leisure time activities. The result of this is that funerals are the largest social gatherings in the community⁽¹⁾. (During the fieldwork the largest number attending a funeral was 608.) I must stress, however, that an exception is made in the case of suicide. Funerals of suicides are usually attended only by the nuclear family. They are also very brief affairs with a shortened version of the funeral service and extemporaneous graveside prayers are omitted. This is because suicide, as Turner found in Heathery Cleugh⁽²⁾, is regarded as a contravention of the laws of God, and as such is both hated and feared. But contrary to Heathery Cleugh where great sympathy was expressed for the close relatives of a suicide, Kirkby Stephen people, on the whole, regard 'the sin of suicide' to be a sin of the suicide's family. During the period of fieldwork, four suicides occurred - an elderly man, two middle-aged men and a young girl. Frequent references were made to the 'religious' aspect of the suicides, e.g. 'God gives life and God takes it away † not Man'; 'God forgive him'. The latter being the most usual. In no case was the suicide looked upon with any sympathy.

When a person dies a natural death, relatives are comforted by being told 'They led a good life and bore their troubles bravely, and now God has them in his care'. By committing the sin of suicide, the suicide deprives his relatives of this comfort.

Membership of a particular religious sect is not a prerogative of a kingroup and therefore membership of a sect makes for the integration of non kin in the society. The converse is also true, for members of a kingroup may be divided between different sects and

(1) See also Chapter 8.

(2) Turner, C. 'Heathery Cleugh', p.253. Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, University of Durham, 1964.

kinship ties may override sect differences. The sects, with the exception of the Brethren whose activities are solely sacred, have social activities which further integrate sect members. The social activities of the Methodists not only bring about the closer association of Kirkby Stephen members but also bring together people over a wider area due to the emphasis on inter-chapel activities in the Circuit. There is nothing in the social life of the other sects to compare with that of the Methodists, and no other sect has its secular activities so well attended. More Methodists attend their social activities than regularly attend the sacred services. Although I term the Socials (as they are called) secular activities, there is a sacred element about them due to the fact that they commence, and are interspersed, and close with prayers, and many of the items have reference to sacred symbols. The typical Social consists of a mixture of songs, hymns, poems, sketches and instrumental pieces, and it is followed by a supper. Special 'Socials' inaugurated following Special Days such as the Chapel Anniversary and the Harvest Festival and those given in connection with Christmas and Spring, are occasions when the Sunday School rooms (non sacred activities are not held in the Chapel itself) are elaborately decorated and the supper constitutes a feast where both hot and cold food may be provided. The Socials provide the opportunity for members to exercise any particular talents they may possess and, as stated earlier, they provide the opportunity for the young people from different Chapels to meet one another. This is fostered by the Social organisers, who, as well as organising transport, encourage the young people to sit together and provide a separate table or tables for them at the supper. Another service provided by the Socials is that they enable adult members to become acquainted with children of their own sect not just in Kirkby Stephen but also outside the parish. Therefore the adult who is an employer is

acquainted with potential employees of his own sect far better than he is acquainted with other children, which is one of the reasons why preference is given to members of one's own sect. For the incomer to Kirkby Stephen who is a Methodist the Chapel Social provides an opportunity for social intercourse which is nonexistent for some considerable time in other spheres.

Other Methodist activities have comparable ones in the other sects. The Methodist Guild for adult men and women compares with the Fellowship for the Anglicans, and the Sisterhood is similar to the Anglican Mothers' Union. These activities include both sacred and secular items, but the emphasis is on the sacred.

Other sects whose activities bring together a number of people are the Quakers, the Brethren and the Roman Catholics. The Quakers hold a monthly lecture session at which an invited speaker gives a lecture on a subject of international importance related to humanity. For example - the Lepers in Underdeveloped Countries, the Problems of Feeding the World's Poor. These lectures are attended by some of the leading members of other sects (excluding Catholics who are not invited) and these people are encouraged to put questions. An audience of about twenty is usual. These lectures are the only occasion when members of different sects attend any meeting which commences with a prayer, other than weddings or funerals. The Brethren's weekly Gospel Meetings also attract persons who are particularly devout Nonconformists who usually take no part in social activities of their particular sects, due to abhorrence of such activities taking place in sacred buildings. Guest speakers of Brethren persuasion sometimes attend. About 20-25 persons usually comprise the congregation. The only social activity held and partly organised by the Catholics is a local Whist Drive which, apart from the name, has no sacred associations. It can attract up to 40 players of varying sect affiliation, including some Methodists

(whose Conference oppose this form of activity maintaining that it is gambling) whose sole purpose in going is that they like playing Whist. The Catholics use any profits for their church funds.

A case can be made for the inclusion of the Temperance Movement under religious activities because teetotalism is an ideal fostered by the Nonconformist minister and leaders of the Chapel who have all taken a vow of total abstinence. In fact high status in the chapels in the Circuit is not possible unless the qualities held by a person include total abstinence. The Movement unites the Nonconformists of several sects, and brings together large numbers of persons who might otherwise have little in common, both in the parish and outside the area, as witnessed by the Annual Demonstration.

All the events referred to above can be interpreted as a means of bringing about societal integration. To examine the means whereby Religion can be said to be a dividing force in the society, one can first look at the question put to all incomers, "What religion are you?" It is immediately obvious that divisions exist in the society and that they are important. With further acquaintance with the parish, it can be seen that employment, shopping habits, friendships and the way which the majority spend their leisure time is determined by their religious sect. I have already discussed employment in relation to sect, and the fact that sect members consider it 'right' to bestow their patronage on fellow members. Friendships are usual between persons of the same sect because their upbringing has thrust them together to the exclusion of others, and leisure time activities are usually participated in by groups of friends who are likely to be of the same sect. So at these activities one sees a number of separate groups which can be related to the different sects. An example of this where it was particularly noticeable was the non-sectarian Sewing Class, where the various groups occupied separate or adjoining tables, and little or no attempt was made to integrate with the others.

The Roman Catholics' secular activities tend to take them much further afield, even than the Nonconformists, because their parents participate regularly in the social activities of the larger Roman Catholic church at Appleby⁽¹⁾, and occasionally at Carlisle. Their children are encouraged to mix with those of the Appleby Catholics wherever possible, rather than local children. Kirkby Stephen Catholics regret that there are no local Catholic schools. Nonconformist teenagers do not tend to patronise the same leisure time activities as Anglicans. This is not only because of the many sectarian activities open to them, but is also due to the fact that individual conviction, or group pressure, prevents them joining in activities which have associations with things not approved of by their sect. It is the association of the Nonconformists with the Temperance Movement which creates or is instrumental in creating the divisions in the adult society between those who participate in a particular activity and those who do not. No Nonconformist is a member of the Working Men's Club or of the Whippet Club, or is a playing member of the Band. About a third of the members of both Whist Clubs are Nonconformist, and one attends services in the Chapel often enough for him to be classed as a fairly regular attender. (More than once a month.) It is significant that he no longer assists in the organisation of the Chapel's secular affairs as he is purported to have done once. All Methodists who play card games are subject to disapproval by some members of their sect, and those of other sects who hold similar views.

Although it would not be a subject for comment if an Anglican or Roman Catholic joined the Working Men's Club, visited a public

(1) During the fieldwork period the local Roman Catholic priest was transferred permanently to Appleby. The Catholic Authorities do not envisage having another priest in Kirkby Stephen. So the local Catholics are further orientated towards Appleby.

house, began to rear whippets, play Whist, etc., it is the concern of society at large if a Nonconformist does these things, and society considers he warrants reproof. In everyday life in the community, problems arise which are directly related to sect affiliation and to the identification of Nonconformists with Temperance. Some occur regularly enough for there to be established ways of dealing with them. For example, the provision of meals for attenders at The Great Sales (Chapter 2). However the occasion does arise when a person is forced to make the choice between standing by his lifelong convictions and losing economically. During the fieldwork a hotel proprietor wanted to have part of his premises altered and all the joiners were active members of the Temperance League and had vowed 'never to darken the doors of a public house'. The job was an attractive economic prospect and work at the time was difficult to obtain. Some reluctantly refused, but another undertook to do the job on condition that he could enter the premises by a ladder to an upstairs window and so avoid entering the bar. (Fortunately the alterations concerned were on the first floor.) So the job was accomplished, but not all the community approved of the joiner's performance.

The Anglican/Nonconformist division and the Nonconformist⁽¹⁾ Temperance association makes it difficult for persons in roles of authority, such as Parish Councillors and Magistrates, to perform their roles without being accused of bias. Therefore a balance between Church and Chapel members in the Parish Council is essential. The Magistrates are in a more difficult position due to the fact that five of the eight magistrates are Methodist and one a Quaker (similar outlook is expected from Methodists and Quaker) and three of the Methodists and the Quaker are active members of the Temperance League and organise the Band of Hope. Therefore it is expected for

(1) Methodist in particular.

these reasons that the Magistrates will be particularly severe on anyone who had been drinking, and afterwards, even if not drunk, was involved in an incident which had resulted in his appearance before the court. In fact one boy, who on questioning revealed that he had drunk one bottle of stout some two hours before the police apprehended him for riding a bicycle without lights, was heard to utter "Bloody Methodists" after being fined for the offence.

It is only on rare occasions that the various sects come into direct conflict and the only one which I witnessed during the field-work was when the War Memorial which stood in the Market Place to commemorate the dead in the two World Wars was in danger of collapse due to the weathering of the sandstone base, and a public meeting was called to see what should be done and how the money for the purpose was to be raised. One Anglican incomer proposed that the memorial should be demolished and the site used for a car park, and the plaques on the plinth rehung in the Church porch. This raised a storm which dragged on bitterly through another four meetings and resulted in former grievances being resurrected. The explanation for the resulting bitterness was mainly the fact that Nonconformists maintained that as some of their former members were commemorated on the Memorial the Chapel had just as much right to possess the plaques as the Church, and they did not intend to have plaques bearing Nonconformist names in the Church because 'outsiders' would believe that they were all Church folk not Chapel. The Anglicans sought their way out of this difficulty by objecting to the demolition of the memorial 'by an incomer'. So the argument became incomers' values versus local values as well as Church versus Chapel. The whole argument was finally muffled if not completely extinguished by an obliging storm which blew down the monument and the Parish Council deciding to obtain the money for its replacement on the same site by putting the charge on the rates.

It is recognised in Kirkby Stephen that religious affiliations are not as binding as they used to be - e.g. "once upon a time a Baptist never would have been invited to speak in a Methodist Chapel as happens now", and "in my young day you never saw a Chapel person at a Church wedding and now there are more than you can count". Young people and adults are said to be becoming increasingly hesitant at singing and reciting in public and this is considered to be because they compare poorly with the professional singers heard on radio and television. 'The simple pleasures of the Chapel' do not attract as many people as they did formerly, and again this is attributed to the effect of the mass media. Although Temperance leaders are very active, more and more people are not only believed to 'drink' but place decreasing emphasis on Temperance as an ideal way of life. Also in spite of opposition from kin members and the sects people still join the Working Men's Club, exercise whippets and play Bingo on the Sabbath. If these trends are maintained then the role of religion in social life will become less significant.

When religion's role in Kirkby Stephen is compared with its role in Westrigg, Gosforth and Ashworthy, it is seen that the major difference between Kirkby Stephen and Gosforth and Westrigg is that in the latter two places Nonconformism is not so significant. This is due to the fact that the Nonconformist Revival of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries practically bypassed these two places. In fact in Westrigg religion seems to be an insignificant factor in local social life. The emphasis in Gosforth is on the Church of England, but Williams admits that though 'there are very few Methodists in Gosforth their influence greatly exceeds their numbers' (p.198). He also speaks of the hostility expressed towards the Quakers, which is quite contrary to the Kirkby Stephen situation where the person who is awarded the highest status in the society is

a Quaker, and their beliefs are not considered to set them religiously apart from other Nonconformists or even the Anglicans. The Roman Catholic families in Gosforth attend services outside the parish so that their social life is largely extra parochial. The Gosforth Anglicans are comparable in many ways with those of Kirkby Stephen. The rites of passage associated with the life cycle are embraced by all, and public pressure is placed upon individuals to ensure that they conform (p.186). Of the Special Days which draw the largest congregations the Harvest Festival stands high, though as in Kirkby Stephen it receives little encouragement from the Anglican clergy, though the Nonconformist ministers and Chapel Committee give the people every encouragement to celebrate it, and it is an occasion for inter-chapel visiting and for kin gatherings. The attraction of the Harvest Festival for worshippers of both Anglican and Nonconformist sects is a significant feature in rural society (e.g. Rees (1950) p.118) and Emmett (1964 p.95)) which is most likely due to its association with 'the fruits of the earth' and the rural people being directly or indirectly responsible for the planting and harvesting of these fruits. Williams concludes that in Gosforth 'religious beliefs have little restrictive effect on social life' (p.197) which cannot be said of their role in Kirkby Stephen.

Ashworthy is more like Kirkby Stephen, for there 'Religious affiliation is important enough to be immediately recognisable in many of the things which people do, say and believe' (p.185). Williams makes three generalisations:- (1) that kinship loyalties override religious loyalties; (2) that religious affiliation provides the basis for social relations of a regular and meaningful kind which act to strengthen kinship solidarity among kindred in the same religious group and to weaken it among kindred divided

among the two churches; and (3) that individuals tend to conform to behaviour patterns within their associated moral values which they have absorbed as children and young adults. These generalisations can be applied to Kirkby Stephen but with certain exceptions in the case of (1) - kinship loyalties overriding religious loyalties. This is only partly true for to an enormous extent kinship and religious loyalties are coterminous. Where they do conflict, as where the spouses are of different religious sects, it is usual in Kirkby Stephen to bury the husband with the deceased members of his family rather than beside his wife in that part of the cemetery related to her religious sect, though it was evident that this was not always done in the case of decease of wives. Also conflicts in kin groups can be seen in Kirkby Stephen where some members no longer adhere strictly to the ideals of their faith, especially in the case of Sunday Observance and among Anglicans whose kin have joined the Working Men's Club and play Bingo on the Sabbath. The members who deviate from the ideal tend to be excluded from kin gatherings except for funerals.

The Sabbath was not strictly enforced in Gosforth but 'Sabbatarianism makes Sunday a very quiet day in Ashworthy'. The Sabbath in Kirkby Stephen resembles closely the Sabbaths of Llanfihangel (Rees p.128) Aber-porth (Jenkins p.43), Tregaron (Jones p.108) and Glan Llyn (Owen p.200) in that not only is it observed strictly by the 'faithful' but those who deviate from the ideal only do so to a limited extent. The 'sinners' of Kirkby Stephen take elaborate precautions to avoid giving offence to those who observe it more strictly or to attract as little attention to themselves as possible in order to minimise reproof. So as mentioned earlier those who break the Sabbath by gardening or doing repairs to their property make certain that it is out of public view.

Even the people who visit the club to play Bingo (fewer local people attend on Sundays than on other days) enter and leave the building as quickly as possible. There are no groups of people standing talking outside the Bingo halls as there are outside the Chapel after service. Even the 'Whippet men' try to reach their training ground by routes which avoid the main streets. If something has to be done on a Sunday which may cause offence, then the person will say "I'll bring it after the people have gone into the service". As in Wales one of the most censorious ways of breaking the Sabbath is to make hay. Regardless of the weather during the rest of the week a fine Sunday is not a hay making day in this parish or the neighbouring parishes. A farmer living outside the parish was said to have done so in a certain year "and no good came of it". This action was exceptionable enough to be a topic of conversation for years afterwards.

It is possible to draw certain generalisations from this study of religion in Kirkby Stephen and accounts of religion in the other British community studies. 1. That Sectarianism only plays an important part in the social structure in areas where the Nonconformist Revivalists were very active such as in Wales, the Pennines and South West England. 2. Sectarian social activities not only thrive where they are the only means of formal recreation in the community but they can also thrive where there are non-sectarian activities in existence, e.g. at Kirkby Stephen and Ashworthy. But where the latter occurs there is a tendency for the members of the various sects to group themselves together according to sect affiliation. 3. That in small scale communities Christian Ideals are still observed to a great extent even by non attenders at Churches and Chapels. Examples of this are - deference is still paid to the Sabbath and adultery and divorce are rare. 4. The

religious sect into which a child is born is, in the majority of cases, his sect for life. 5. A Nonconformist is not only expected to be active in the sacred affairs of his sect but also in its secular affairs. 6. That status and prestige in the Nonconformist Chapels is recognised by those who are outside the sphere of the Chapel. 7. The Anglican Church has no social life to compare with that of the Methodists. And 8. that it is easier for an Anglican in a small community to participate in non-sectarian activities such as drinking and gambling than it is for a Methodist, because a Methodist is considered by the whole community to be totally committed to the Ideals of his sect.

So also in the religious sphere Kirkby Stephen can be seen to be a parish which resembles those which are less populated and more rural in nature, where a degree of geographic isolation has inhibited the introduction of formal activities which have replaced sectarian activities in many urban areas.

Chapter 8

OLD AGE

The Aged

A stranger walking through the streets of Kirkby Stephen might get the impression that the town is populated by elderly people. Although the impression may be exaggerated when the children are at school and their parents are at work it is fundamentally true. Over 41% of the population are over 50 years of age, and 26% are over sixty (Diagrams II and VI).^{*} The comparable figures for England and Wales are 30% and 17%. This top-heavy age pyramid is usual in rural areas, where the older people are left behind by the pattern of migration (Rose)⁽¹⁾.

At any season of the year old men are to be seen standing on the corners of the Market Square if it is fine, or sheltering in the doorways of the empty shops in the vicinity, or under the 'Cloisters',⁽²⁾ if the weather is inclement. Little groups can also be seen at various intersections along the main street. Larger groups are to be found on Primrose Hill at the southern end of the High Street where there are public benches, and on the footbridges crossing the river. Here the old men sit on fine days talking, smoking or just whiling away the time. Although elderly women can be seen talking together outside shops or along the pavement, this is only of a very temporary nature - a pause during shopping. It is most unusual to see women at street corners or sitting on the public benches.

It is easy for a stranger to pick out people who consider themselves 'old' in the community. Their clothing is very conservative and of subdued, usually dark, colours. This clothing of subdued colours is considered correct by all age groups for people

* p.254.

(1) Rose, A.M. and Peterson, W.A. 'Old People and their Social World' (F.A. Davis Comp. Philadelphia 1965) p.5.

(2) Covered entrance to church yard. See Plate XII.

'getting on in years'. To wear brightly coloured clothes exposes one to ridicule, e.g. "She's mutton dressed as lamb", or "He must think he's a gay young lad again, with his fancy tie". The clothing of older women is also worn longer in the skirt than that worn by the younger women. In fact these long skirts effectively cover the legs of the women. Many local women suffer from swollen varicosed legs. 'Bad legs' are considered inevitable with advancing years. It is often difficult even for relatives to recognise people at a distance due to similarity of figure and clothing.

As a rule Kirkby Stephen people consider any individuals in their late fifties to be 'getting on' (towards old age). From 60 years onwards a person is definitely regarded as elderly or old. At 60 many people seriously consider retiring. Some professional people can obtain a pension at this age, e.g. civil servants and bank employees, but the State Old Age Pension is only payable to men over 65 (and women over 60), which may retard early retirement in other cases. Among the self-employed, principally farmers and shopkeepers, many men retire earlier than at 65 years. There is considerable virtue attached to retiring 'early'. It is generally held that a man who does so has amassed sufficient capital during his working lifetime to enable him to retire and 'live comfortable' (adequately). Of the 93 retired farmers in Kirkby Stephen, 58 retired between the ages of 60 and 63 years; 12 at 64 years, and the remainder at ages between 65 and 78 years. Of the 28 retired tradesmen, 21 retired before reaching 65 years.

Other reasons than adequate capital exist for early retirement. Sufficient capital is obviously necessary, at least before being eligible for the State Old Age Pension. In the case of farmers retiring before 65 years, this is often due to family circumstances.

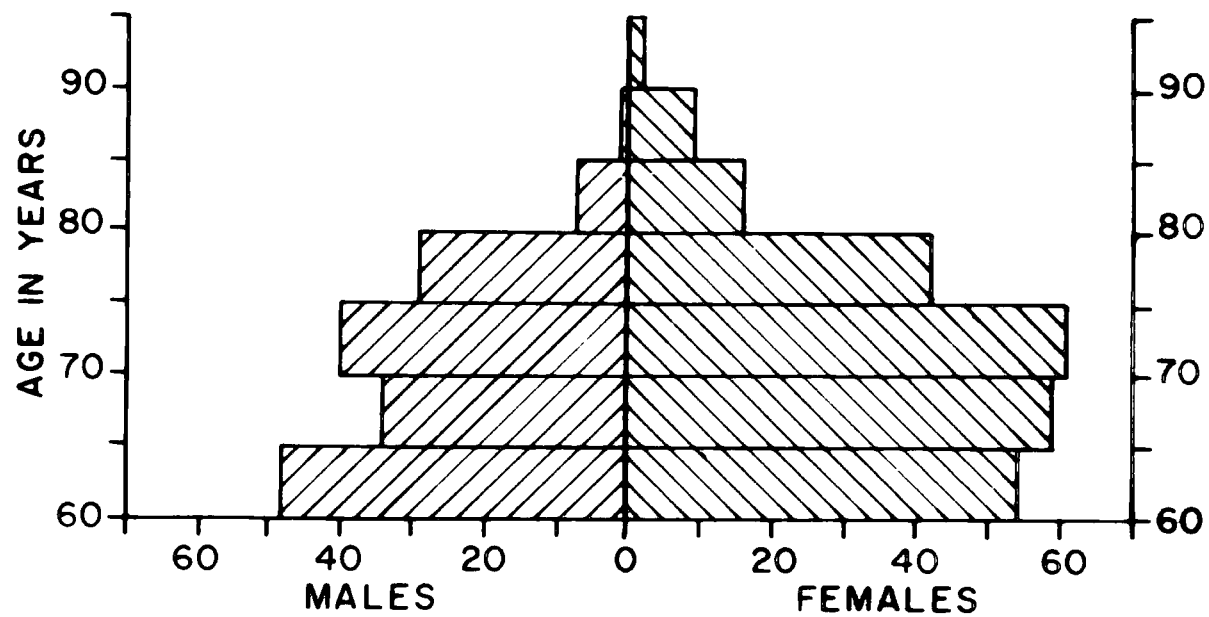


Diagram VI. Age Pyramid of the population over 60 years of age

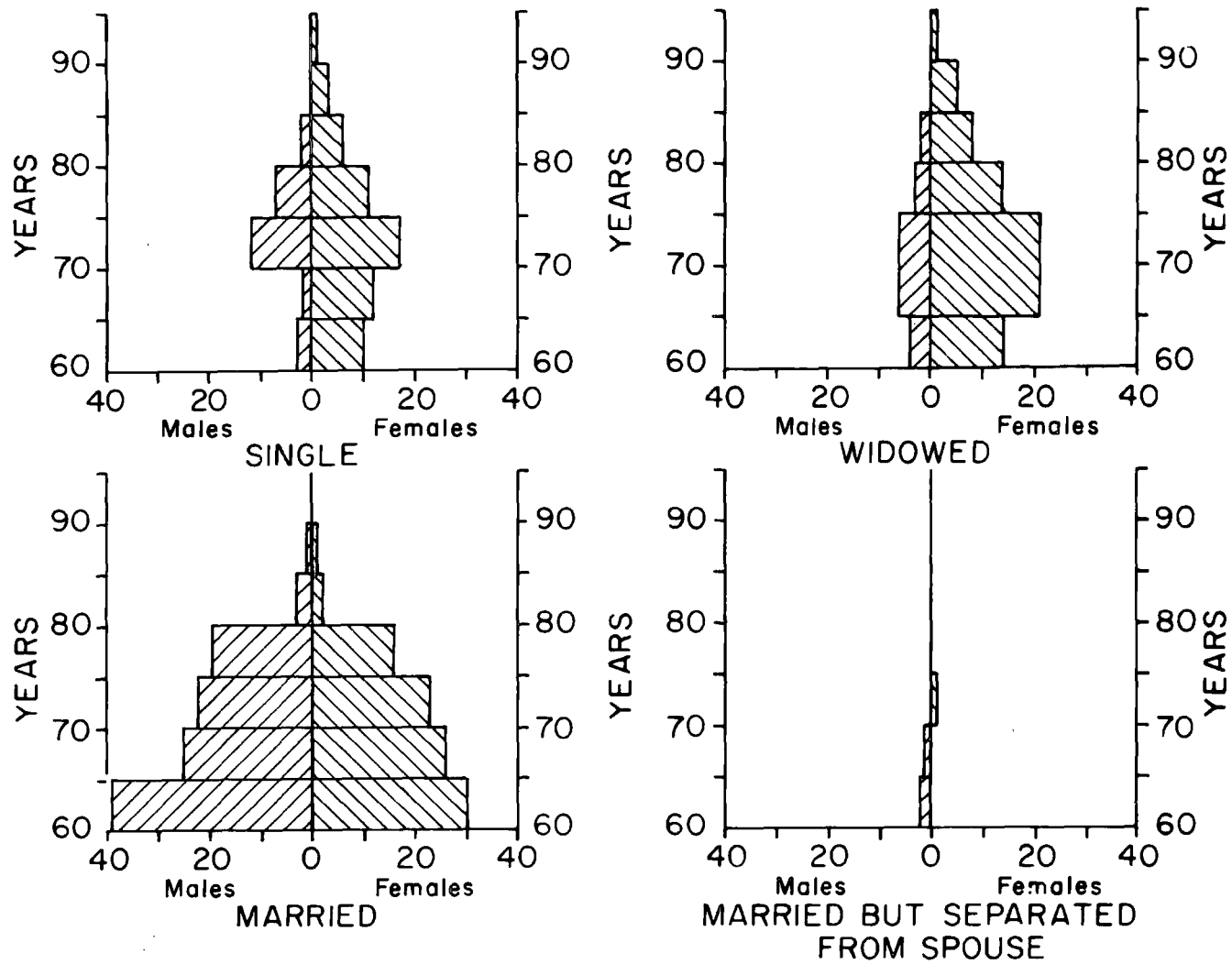


Diagram VII. Marital Status of persons over 60 years of age

"It was the only way my son would come and live on the farm" is a frequent remark of retired farmers and their wives. Up until the 1939-45 War it was the general practice for the elder son of a farmer to bring his wife to live with his parents immediately after marriage. But since that period it has become more usual, both in Kirkby Stephen and in the rest of rural England⁽¹⁾, for the son to make his first home, after marriage, away from his parents' farm. This is often stated to be because their wives refused to live in with their husband's parents. However when the farmer grows old he finds that he needs his son to live on the premises, particularly where animals are likely to need prompt attention during the night and the farmer is not physically capable of rising quickly or losing sleep. The only way to persuade the son to return to live on the farm is for the parents to retire to a nearby village or town, and leave the house vacant for the son and his family.

Decline in physical abilities probably accounts for many men and women retiring as soon as possible. It is evident however from the number of people, well past the accepted retiring age, who are infirm but still continue to work, that decline in physical powers does not necessarily mean that they will retire. For example, two local farmers of over 70, who suffer from a variety of infirmities, still continue to farm their land, to make the decisions regarding expenditure and policy, even though they have sons who are more than willing to take on the responsibility. Three shopkeepers are expected by the rest of the people 'to fall dead at their work', for their heart conditions make their occupations extremely difficult.

Several businessmen continue to work long after the accepted retiring age, but for the majority of men reaching their sixties sees an end of their full-time occupation. However there is rarely

(1) Bracey, H.E. 'English Rural Life', pp.13 and 14.

a sharp transition from work to retirement for the majority of Kirkby Stephen people. For those employed by others, there is usually a running down period⁽¹⁾. For example, those employed by shops, after ceasing to work full-time continue as long as is mutually desired to work on Mondays and Saturdays, the traditional 'busy days', and at other periods, e.g. the Autumn Sales, the Lights and Christmas, and at any other time when an influx of visitors can be expected to increase business. The retired farmer or farm worker (labourer) 'helps out' at haytime, sheep shearing and in emergencies. The professional man's break with his working life is more complete. He may stay on for a few days before handing over to his successor, but after that his principal occupation is at an end.

Retirement from their principal occupation seldom means a complete cessation of work for both professional and other workers. Great virtue is attached to working, and idleness in retirement is thought to show lack of character. Both men and women are expected to do part-time jobs - voluntary if they are 'comfortably off', and for money if they have had an occupation which paid insufficient for them to amass capital. Some men actively fill the early years of their retirement doing both voluntary and paid work. For example, two retired bank clerks give advice in money matters, help with official documents and work more suited to accountants. They receive money payments from some people and 'thanks' (no money but probably goods) for others.

In some cases an entirely different job, sometimes full-time, but more usually part-time, is taken after initial retirement.

(1) During 1964 two large firms, I.C.I. and Glaxo Laboratories, commenced a similar 'running down' period for some of their workers. This was hailed by a national newspaper as an innovation, but a similar practice has been going on at least 20 years in Kirkby Stephen.

Ex farm workers and railwaymen usually become 'odd job' men.

Odd jobs consist of general labouring, gardening, joiner work and assisting older persons, or more infirm persons than themselves, with such household tasks as repairs, chopping sticks, filling coal buckets, etc.

Women who retire from working as shop assistants follow much the same procedure as men, except that their odd jobs consist of work in hotels, cafes and restaurants, and domestic work. The inefficiency of many businesses in the town is attributed by incomers to the number of people working in them who are past 'it', i.e. too old for efficient work.

The reason why these old people are employed is not a charitable act on the part of their employers, but because it is difficult to obtain young people for seasonal labour. That young people are not readily available is due to several factors. The teenagers and young adults are either at school or already in full time work. Time free from work in the evenings is either taken up by leisure time pursuits or fulfilling kinship obligations. Hotels, cafes and restaurants want employees to work very late in the evenings in order to cater for the Blackpool bus passengers, and many parents are reluctant to permit their young daughters to do so. Particularly as drunkenness and 'unseemly' behaviour is attributed to 'trippers'. Sometimes, however, elderly employees can be induced to bring younger kinswomen with them, on the understanding that they will 'keep an eye on them' and withdraw their services if the 'trippers' behaviour is unruly.

Most retired people who take part-time jobs do so because they need the extra money. That it is regarded as virtuous to work makes it easier for them to do so. Money in relation to themselves is a subject rarely mentioned in conversation by Kirkby Stephen people. Remarks are made such as 'It's time the Government raised

the Old Age Pensions',⁽¹⁾ and 'Pensioners cannot afford meat at those prices.'

To have savings is regarded as the ideal, and therefore people as a rule are apt to pretend that they are better off, financially, than they are in actual fact, but in a small community such as Kirkby Stephen, most people's affairs are public knowledge.⁽²⁾ For example - the majority of the townsfolk know that Mr. and Mrs. W. own two cottages in a neighbouring parish and the amount of rents paid by the tenants. Therefore, together with Mr. W's pension from the railway they are considered to have sufficient for their daily needs, but not enough left over for holidays or expensive repairs to their property.

Again, it is known that Miss A. had to nurse her bedridden father for many years before his death, when his sole source of income was sick pay from the railway (before he prematurely retired). So they were unable to save any money, and after her father's death Miss A., now approaching 60 years of age, is having difficulty in maintaining herself, and her cottage is bound to lack necessary repairs.

As referred to earlier, in Chapter 2, the majority of houses in Kirkby Stephen are self-owned or family-owned. Those who live in rented private property pay an average rental of 10/- per week, and these people pity those who have to pay the Council house rents of £2.7.6d. (average). However the Council tenants have necessary repairs done by the Council, whereas privately owned property is dependent on the whims and financial status of the owners. Landlords in Kirkby Stephen, even if they are first degree relatives with

(1) They were raised on 1st May 1965 to £4 for single persons and £6.10.0d. for a married couple.

(2) Wylie 'Village in the Vacluse' described the same state of affairs in Peyrane. 'Townfolk know exactly who really needs help and who does not.' p.315.

locally recognised obligations, rarely modernise or repair their property. Repairs including painting are done by the tenants if done at all. There are legal means of enforcing repairs to property but the local surveyor has only had to resort to this in one case within the period 1960-1966. These tenants were the only ones who complained to the surveyor. Most people put up with damp walls, leaking roofs, warped floorboards, etc.. Occasionally someone's son, nephew, cousin or brother carries out temporary repairs. It is not only old people who live in decaying houses but they have usually to rely on others to help them more than the younger people have to do. People with no close relatives or younger friends who can be coerced into helping them, in particular elderly spinters or bachelors, are frequently living in near derelict property. The real root of the problem lies in the lack of money to employ professionals.⁽¹⁾ It is little use complaining to their landlord, if they know he has not the money to employ someone to do the repairs. Of course if higher rents are paid the landlords will have some money available, but tenants prefer to pay a small rent and live in the hope that someone will do something before the dereliction is complete, and necessitates their having to move, possibly into a Council-owned house.

Self-owned property is in the same state in many cases. 'The house is dying with them' is no idle statement. Some of the houses are condemned by the Rural District Council's surveyor but the Council lacks money and permission from the County Council to erect more Council houses to accommodate people living in such property. Again the majority of Kirkby Stephen people would rather tolerate

(1) Bracey, H.E. 'In Retirement' (Routledge and Kegan Paul 1966), pp.31-32, found this to be a general problem both in England and in America.

bad living conditions than live in the socially unacceptable Council houses. (See Chapter 5).

Although the fabric is poor in the majority of the houses of the over 60 age group, the householders make great efforts to make their homes appear well cared for from the outside. No matter how old or infirm the householder is, the curtains are invariably clean and neatly hung and the windows washed and polished, even if the paint is peeling on the window frames. None of the old people of Kirkby Stephen are living in ill-furnished, ill-cared-for houses such as Townsend⁽¹⁾ found in Bethnal Green (pp.170-171).

People who are willing to talk about money always refer to food as the major household expense. From observations in the shops old people carefully assess an item of food before buying it. Meat for instance is only purchased in small quantities. A butcher will weigh a piece of meat and say, e.g. 'A little on the big side Mrs. C?' which can be interpreted as costing more than she usually pays and giving her the face-saving chance of reducing its size rather than price.

Shopping for many old people is tiring due to the fact that the nearest shop may not be the one which they feel they must patronise for reasons of kinship ties and sect affiliations. Even in the few cases where a choice exists or no obligations need satisfying, other factors have to be taken into consideration. For example, certain shopkeepers are known to be generous ('fair' is the term used) towards people with little money. Mrs. P. will walk past the butcher's shop near her home to visit one much further away 'because he cuts the meat nicely'. What she means is that the butcher gives her greater value for her money than the neighbouring butcher. The butcher is

(1) Townsend, P. 'Family Life of Old People' (Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1957).

doing her a great service and at the same time he is benefitting himself. He retains a customer's goodwill and that of her family. ("He's so good to mother, so I feel that I must shop there as well.")

Where income is reduced after retirement money still has to be found for 'necessities'. 'Many pre-retirement spending habits and customs were difficult to change despite the sharp fall in income.' (Townsend, *ibid.* p.159). Wedding presents, 'new baby' gifts, wreaths for funerals, Chapel and Church charity collections and religious group items all require money. To omit these is an indication of 'meanness' even if the real reason is lack of money. So if money has to be used for the above, then other necessities, including food, have to come from somewhere else. Some elderly people, in fact most elderly people, depend on their immediate families and other kin for many of these items.

For example:-

1. Mr. P. - widower, retired farm labourer; living in self owned cottage; only income Old Age Pension.

Farmer son (small farm)
total consumption of potatoes and turnips (swedes) plus offal and bacon when they kill a pig.

Daughter living in neighbouring parish
garden produce, jam and does various sewing jobs.

Mr. P.

Deceased wife's sister
laundry, home baked pies.

Bro's son railway worker
living in Kirkby Stephen running repairs to house, occasional tobacco.

2. Mr. and Mrs. W. - husband retired quarryman; very infirm, living in a house owned by husband's sister; income from Old Age Pension.

Son living in Kirkby
Stephen help with garden; garden produce; running repairs to property.

Mr. & Mrs. W.

1st Daughter
house work, one day per week, and lunch on that day.

2nd Daughter
bakes and supplies pies and cakes.

In spite of the help these people and many others receive from their relatives, they maintain that they can manage to exist comfortably on their State pension because they are 'careful and sensible with their money', without seeking National Assistance. Their dependence on their relatives is probably not realised.

Social Life of the Aged

The primary difficulty experienced in trying to compare the social life of old people in Kirkby Stephen with that of other British communities is that few studies give adequate information. From the majority of studies it might be supposed that the only significant part played by the old in these communities is when they die, for undoubtedly their funerals are a major source of societal integration. Even where a particular study of old age has seemed to have been made, as in Arensberg and Kimball's Family and Community in Ireland where they state 'the old ... live long because they have much to live for. In their own sphere of life, they are honored. They have power' (pp. 167-8), on close inspection it can be discovered that the 'old men' who run things turn out to be mainly aged between 50 and 60. Even in the matter of farming the Irish peasant men do not always retain control beyond the age of 65. Again, in spite of the wide kinship system, these Irish peasants still did not support all the frail single and widowed old people - 'If, however, the new family finds the old too great a burden, the old may go to the County Home, where the poor and destitute old people are maintained' (p.125).

'Family and Community in Ireland' indicates that, among the Irish peasants, men in their fifties were accorded considerable power and influence. However, there is a good deal of evidence that men and women over the age of 65 in the Irish countryside were not always accorded much respect or vested with any significant power.

In contemporary society there seems to be a preference for choosing fairly old men to top leadership positions, especially in government, law and religion. At the local level people who fill positions of prestige are often elderly. In Glossop⁽¹⁾ nine out of eleven J.P.'s were over 60 and four were over 70. In Kirkby Stephen, of eight magistrates seven are over 60, and of these five are over 70. Of the nine Parish Councillors only two are under 60; of the four Rural District Councillors two are over 70 years and one in his 60's, and the remaining one in her late 50's. In all secular and non secular activities the majority, if not all the committee members are over 60 years. So particularly in the case of Kirkby Stephen old people are the age group awarded most respect and they are the most powerful in the society.

In this study of old age I shall attempt to apply two social theories advanced by American social scientists in my attempt to explain or at least arrive at an understanding of the role of the aged. The first is that advanced by Arnold Rose⁽²⁾ which he calls 'the Subculture of the Aging' -

'A subculture may be expected to develop within any category of the population of a society when its members interact with each other significantly more than they interact with persons in other categories. This occurs under two possible sets of circumstances: (1) The members have a positive affinity for each other on some basis (e.g. gains to be had from each other, long standing friendships, common backgrounds and interests, common problems and concerns. (2) The members are excluded from interaction with other groups in the population to some extent.'

He contends that -

'the elderly tend to interact with each other increasingly as they grow older and with younger persons decreasingly and hence develop a subculture.' (p.4).

(1) Birch, A.H. Small Town Politics (Oxford University Press, 1959) p.143.

(2) *ibid.* pp. 3-16.

The second theory is that of Cumming⁽¹⁾ and Henry, 'that old people inevitably disengage from the society'.

I test Rose's theory because it would seem to be appropriate to Kirkby Stephen. Rose considers that the subculture is likely to develop in rural communities (plus others in specialised categories) from which younger people are rapidly emigrating and that in this situation the elderly may so dominate the community that the culture of the entire community -

'may be characterised by the aging subculture: the commercial establishments, the recreational facilities, the newspapers, and many other local institutions may be marked by the domination of the elderly ... The subculture is a general one that cuts across other subcultures - those based on occupation, religion, sex and possibly even ethnic identification - which are characteristic of the middle-aged population.' (p.7)

As has been shown earlier, the older people in Kirkby Stephen do tend to dominate, but this is not a new feature due to recent emigration of the younger people. From records and memories of the older people in the society the elderly have always enjoyed positions of respect and power. Of course, giving such roles to old people has the disadvantage that it is sometimes very difficult to get a person to relinquish his role on a committee when infirmity, particularly deafness, has reduced his usefulness. Invariably a person hangs on to his role for as long as possible, appreciating the prestige attached to it. Some persons even maintain their membership of a particular committee even though they have ceased to attend meetings. Therefore proxies are sometimes elected from among the younger members.

But do the aged in fact form a sub-culture? Certainly, as stated earlier, their physical appearance, clothing and the fact that the men in particular no longer work full-time at the occupations

(1) Cumming, E. and Henry, W.E. Growing Old (Basic Books: New York 1961).

they have had for the greater part of their life, single them out from the rest of the population. Also the groups of old men of different ages who congregate together during the daytime suggest that they have interests in common and the existence of the Evergreen Club goes further to suggest that in old age people have a need of entertainment appropriate to their age group.

On the other hand certain factors work against the formation of a sub-culture. These are (1) that not all old men retire and have time available during the day to interact with others of similar age; (2) there are those old people who 'disengage' and become relatively isolated from all cultural patterns and associations except those of the family; (3) those active in the affairs of their religious sect must constantly interact with members in other age groups as there are no activities, sacred or secular, limited to a certain age range; and (4) women by the very fact that the majority have families and other kin still remaining in the parish with whom they interact, and also their role of housewife is unchanged after their husbands' retirement, cannot form a subgroup which satisfies Rose's criteria.

Cumming and Henry maintain that 'the aging person sees fewer kinds of people less often, and for decreasing periods of time as he grows older' (p.51). However, according to the theory, not only does society disengage from the ageing person, the individual also disengages from society. Disengagement may be initiated either by the individual or by the society through such mechanisms as age-grading and industrial retirement policies. In Kirkby Stephen retirement from former occupation is rarely, if ever, a complete cessation from work, as stated earlier, and therefore loss of interaction with other workmates. A person who retires, from choice or because his employers have a fixed age for retirement, is not allowed to disengage from society. This is done in several ways. For example,

some time prior to the retirement of a person he or she is visited by a Parish Councillor who is also a reporter for a local newspaper. The official reason for the visit is to ask what information should be stated publicly in the press. As I mentioned earlier, all retirements warrant at least a mention in the newspaper. The unofficial purpose is to relay any necessary information regarding applications for Old Age Pensions, Insurances, etc. (the Parish Councillor knows which persons in the parish can supply the necessary information and who is adequate to deal with money problems which may arise). Information must be given tactfully, and many people implied that it was a service given to all people in their position and that they had a right to the knowledge from that particular source - the Parish Council. During that visit and any others which may be requested, other problems can be dealt with, such as the necessity or desirability of a part-time job and the type of employment available. Of course retiring persons have their own idea of what they want to do and usually how it is to be accomplished, but this does not prevent them from being interested in additional information. In addition to his role as informer on practical matters, the Councillor will endeavour to encourage the elderly person to take an active part in the social life of the parish, such as taking on active roles if this is possible, not only in the Evergreen Club but also in other activities. It is stressed that the free time he has now should be used for self-enrichment and the good of the community. Some do not take the advice but many do, as 'to sit round in idleness' is a great sin. Therefore many people, instead of finding their social field of activity shrinking due to old age, find that it has considerably increased. For example, the Local Government officials visit Kendal, Appleby and Carlisle frequently, and Manchester and Durham occasionally; the Women's Voluntary Service organisers go to Kendal, Carlisle, Manchester and

sometimes London; Temperance leaders visit Kendal, Carlisle, Manchester and London, and officials of the various religious sect committees attend meetings throughout the Circuits and Diocese. In fact many men and women who have rarely been outside the parish in their youth find themselves involved in affairs which necessitate travelling far afield. Membership of the Evergreen Club and participation in its excursions has meant that many old people have visited places such as Devon and Cornwall, and Holland and Denmark, which they would not have attempted to visit in their young days. Not only do the old organise for themselves, but they have others who organise things for them. Old people in this society are respected and it is the duty of all to assist them and help them with any problems. The infirm are taken to the Evergreen Club, Chapel Socials, religious meetings and services in cars not necessarily belonging to kin or neighbours. (The Chamber of Trade organises a rota service for car owners for transporting old people to the Evergreen Club.) Many of the retired farmers still take an active interest in animal auction sales so there exist several persons who convey them to the various marts or put them in touch with local farmers who are likely to have a spare seat in their cars.

Not everyone likes organising or wants to spend his leisure time with fellow parishioners, but a surprising number do, and this implies that old people here are generally healthy, which seems largely to be the case. There does come a time, however, when most elderly people become too infirm to be socially active outside the home. This does not mean that they are neglected by society. Those who have attended the chapels regularly during their active life receive continuous attention from their chapel brethren even when they no longer attend. "I have no family but I have the chapel which makes up for it", said Miss M. (79, very infirm). This is

very true, because the elders of the chapel and other brethren visited her regularly. They take small gifts, do her shopping and business affairs and help with the housework. Even if she becomes permanently bedridden it is quite probable that the chapel would maintain its care of her, as they have done of other similar people. Miss M. is informed of 'everything' which goes on in the chapel (committees, visiting speakers, outings and bazaars) and her opinion is frequently requested 'as a senior member' although it may never be acted on. In this way Miss M. and others in a like position are able to feel part of the chapel community.

The social service which the chapel runs for old persons in the community is not limited to chapel members, even though they receive 'first consideration'. A visitor to the house of an infirm old person of Anglican affiliation is quite likely to find a Methodist reading to her, Anglicans and Methodists doing her shopping, and a member of the Brethren cutting her hedge. The Anglicans do not run a social service as such, but like everyone else in the society they maintain their duty to old members by making certain that any such person has someone to do the shopping, change the bed, etc., and maintain 'a watch'. The latter means that they will observe whether the curtains are drawn back in the mornings, which will indicate that the person is up or has been attended to, in the case of someone infirm. (Curtains are only closed during the daytime in this society when someone is dead.) Also they will watch for signs of activity. Failure to observe this will necessitate bringing a relative to force an entry. Even among old people who pride themselves on their independence, these social conventions will be adhered to so as not to cause unnecessary alarm.

TABLE XX

Composition of the Household
(where head of the household is over 60 years)

Head of the Household is the first person stated

<u>1 generation households</u>	<u>No. of Households</u>	<u>No. of Persons over 60 years</u>
Hu + Wi	81	153
Widow	56	56
Widower	7	7
Spinster	25	25
Bachelor	2	2
Wife (separated)	1	1
Husband (separated)	1	1
Bro + Bro	1	2
Bro + Si (Bach + Spinster)	2	4
Bro + Si (Bach + Widow)	1	1
2 Bros + 1 Si (sp)	2	6
Si + Si (Sps)	3	6
Si + Si (Sp + widow)	1	2
Bro + Si + Si Hu	1	3
Si + Si + Bro So	1	2
Bro Wi + Bro Wi (widows)	2	3
Unrelated Spinsters	3	6
Widower + Spinster (housekeeper)	1	2
Widower + 2 Spinsters (housekeepers)	1	3
Bachelor + Spinster (housekeeper)	2	3
 <u>2 generation households</u>		
Hu + Wi + 1 unmarried child	10	20
Hu + Wi + 2 unmarried children	3	6
Hu + Wi + 3 unmarried children	2	2
Hu + Wi + Son (separated)	1	2
Hu + Wi + Da (separated)	1	2
Hu + Wi + Hu Fa	1	3
Hu + Wi + Wi Fa	1	3
Hu + Wi + Hu Mo	1	3
Hu + Wi + Wi Mo Si	1	3
Hu + Wi + Wi Si + Wi Si Da	1	2

	<u>No. of Households</u>	<u>No. of Persons over 60 years</u>
<u>2 generation households (cont.)</u>		
Widower + unmarried child	1	1
Widow + unmarried child	10	10
Widow + 2 unmarried children	2	2
Widower + So + So Wi	1	1
Widower + Si So	1	1
Widower + widowed Da	1	1
Hu (sep) + Bro Da (sep) + Bro Da's 2 children	1	1
Spinster + Bro Da + Bro Da Hu + 1 child	1	1
Widow + Da + 1 unrel. Bach	1	2
Widow + lodgers (Hu + Wi + Ch)	1	1
Spinster + 2 foster children	1	1
<u>3 generation households</u>		
Hu + Wi + So + So Wi + gd Ch	1	2
Hu + Wi + Da + Da Hu + 3 gd Ch	1	2
Widower + So + So Wi + gd Ch	1	1
Widow + widowed Da + gd Ch	1	1
Widow + So (sep) + 2 gd Ch	1	1
<u>4 generation households</u>		
Hu + Wi + Gd So + Gd Son Wi + 1 child	1	2
<u>Old People's Home (Christian Head)</u>		
Hu + Wi + Ch	1	2
Guests: Hu + Wi; Hu (sep))	1	36
10 Spinsters; 11 Bach)		
6 widows; 6 widowers)		
(+ 5 Bach under 60 years))		

In spite of all the help that is readily given by the community, kin, particularly members of the nuclear family, must bear the major responsibility for care of the aged. From Table XX it will be seen that by the time a married couple are past 60 years, their children are usually married and in the majority of cases have left the parental home. Of the 102 married couples over 60 years of age in Kirkby Stephen 81 maintain a separate household from their families and other relatives. For elderly people to have their own home separate from that of their family is considered ideal, but when one or both become infirm this presents a major problem. This is particularly so if it is the wife who is infirm, for in this society, as referred to earlier, the husband rarely performs any task in the house. Now he must perform tasks with which he is totally unfamiliar such as cooking and cleaning. He is saved from doing the total amount by the fact that society recognises his lack of expertise and extends help. Therefore a man receives more help with his infirm wife than if the infirmity is reversed.

Where there is an unmarried son or daughter (particularly a daughter) living in the home, infirmity in husband or wife is not such a problem. Of the 15 couples over 60 years (Table XX) who live with unmarried child/children, 7 are dependent on them for the majority of the household tasks. Unmarried sons are frequently expected to perform tasks such as getting coals, lighting fires and washing up the dishes, which the elderly father would not do even if he were able. The lot of the daughter of elderly infirm parents is in many cases unenviable. This is particularly so if she has been the youngest of a large family. By the time that she has reached maturity her father has usually retired, and her mother is less able to perform the household tasks. Of the 10 Hu + Wi + 1 unmarried child (Table XX), 8 of the children are girls in this

situation. The ages of the girls at the time of the survey ranged from 23 to 48 years, and their parents' ages from 66 to 82 years. Seven of these eight girls do a full-time job. In addition they effectively care for their parents and the household. None of the girls can claim to 'run' the household in the sense that they can make the decisions as to what purchases are made and how the money is spent, or even what and how various tasks are to be performed. Their parents are the heads of the households and their daughters are as subservient to them as they have been in their teens. In many cases the girl's lot is similar to that of an unpaid servant or nurse. (1)

The general opinion is that a girl in this situation is doing her unavoidable duty. Three of these girls, however, receive public sympathy because they are 'promised'; that is intending to be married, and their future husband is waiting for them. One in fact has worn an engagement ring for nine years. Two of the 'promised' girls have married sisters living locally, but "they cannot be expected to do much as they have families of their own" (neighbour).

The unmarried child of a widow is in a similar position, except that she has only one elderly adult to care for, and this appears to ease things considerably. Easier still is the task of a widower's child, for she has more say in household matters, and in some cases is able to modernise the house on her own initiative.

The unmarried son of infirm elderly parents has a much easier task than a daughter's. Less is expected of him and parents are more willing to accept outside help of a type seldom offered to a daughter.

(1) In extremely hard cases of infirmity the District Nurse's Auxiliary staff comes daily to wash the patient, if the patient is prepared to accept such a service. This service is seldom used if the patient has daughters capable of nursing their parents.

From the number (seven) of sons over 50 still in the parental household; two where both parents are living; four where their mother is widowed; and the remaining one where his father is a widower (Table XX); it appears that, like a daughter in similar circumstances, they are not likely to marry, at least until after their parents' death.

There are two cases of daughters who cared for their infirm parents until the parents died, and then married the man who had been courting for 11 and 29 years respectively. Both married early in 1966. Between 1960 and 1966 five bachelors of over 60 married following the death of both parents or their last remaining parent.

From Table XX it can be seen that 215 households out of a total of 245⁽¹⁾ are one-generation households occupied by husband plus wife, widows, widowers, spinsters, bachelors, wives and husbands separated from their spouses, brothers, sisters, brother plus sister, brother plus sister plus sister's husband, sister plus brother's son, sisters-in-law, two unrelated spinsters, and a bachelor plus housekeepers. All these people are, or are likely to become, dependent on persons outside their home. This is a recognised fact, and some people have made provision for this time, e.g. widow 83 "When I cannot look after myself my niece is going to move in with me. She's a widow and her family are all married. She will get all I leave." Bachelor 75, "Mrs. T. from next door (member of Brethren sect like himself) promises to help me out when I cannot do for myself. She does a bit now. I can pay her, and she says she'll be glad of the money." It proved that Mrs. T. is going to accept £1 per week for doing his housework, laundry and shopping. She has worked for this sum on several occasions when he had bronchitis. During those periods she had fed him as well. "I don't

(1) Kirkby Stephen has a total for all age groups of 552 households (Table XII. in Chapter 4iiid).

need the money, but it makes him feel independent." It was clear that she intends to look after the old man and expects her task to commence very shortly. "His mother was so good to my mother when she was young" (her mother was orphaned at the age of 13 years) "and we should help one another when we can." Spinster 73, (sharing home with sister 71) "We will manage as best we can for as long as we can. We have no other relatives here, but we intend to employ a 'helper' (charwoman), and we have friends at the chapel whom we can count on."

Married couples, widows and widowers who have children, know that they can expect to move into their children's home or have the children move in with them. As stated earlier this move is not usually anticipated with pleasure, but several people have resigned themselves to the inevitability of the situation.

Where parents have several children there is usually a choice of homes. There are too small a number in Table XX to determine a preference for son or daughter living with their parents, but from opinions expressed it is more frequently the son and his wife and family who move into his parental home, rather than the daughter. This is in direct contrast to the situation of Bethnal Green as recorded by Townsend,⁽¹⁾ but is in accordance with what Bracey⁽²⁾ found in rural patri-orientated societies.

The outstanding fact from Table XX is that the majority of persons over 60 years live alone. In times of illness or other emergencies (e.g. two houses were badly flooded in 1966 and 1967) they depend on the good offices of their family, other relatives,

(1) Townsend *ibid.* p.29.

(2) Bracey, 'English Rural Life' and 'In Retirement'.

friends and religious organisations, and because the community feel a joint responsibility to their old people one infirm person can result in the social interaction of a large number of persons who come to his or her assistance.

I would conclude, therefore, that Cumming and Henry's theory that the society disengages from the ageing person and the individual also disengages from society cannot be applied in Kirkby Stephen.

The question may now arise why local old people do not enter the Old People's Home - Christian Head - which is in Kirkby Stephen.

No one ever admits to expecting to go into a Home for elderly persons. Such institutions are generally supposed to exist for persons who have no relatives or friends and are destitute. The Old People's Home (Christian Head - see Plate XIX) at Kirkby Stephen is something of an anomaly. It was opened in 1963. Previously there had been an old people's home in Union Square, but this had become derelict and had been condemned. The old building had catered for destitute persons in North Westmorland and tramps. The new palatial Home houses only people from outside the area, and is intended 'to provide for the elderly people of Westmorland who need care but who are not bedridden ... Sick and bedridden old people are to be cared for at Ormside near Penrith.'⁽¹⁾ Christian Head caters largely for people who can afford to pay towards their keep. The amount varies according to a person's income and capital.

Several Kirkby Stephen people, mainly W.V.S. workers and religious leaders, have visited the Home and have been impressed with the furnishings and accommodation. The Home caters for one married couple and 39 unattached men and women. There are several single bedrooms, and others are shared by two, three and five persons.

(1) County Council Report, January 1962.



a. Old People's Home - viewed over the roof tops of Market Street. In the background are the 'new' Grammar School and Stobars Hall



b. The Cemetery with the disused twin Chapels of Rest - Methodist and Anglican

The few townsfolk who have visited the Home all spoke of the impersonal nature of the place, e.g. "It is more like an hotel or nursing home than a place where people actually live." Everything is in perfect order. On opening the door of the Women's Lounge a visitor is confronted with a large room with chairs neatly set close against the walls, each chair containing a woman who either sits dozing or talking softly to her neighbour. "Two women knit", I was told.

The men's lounge has chairs placed nearly in rows facing the large windows. Men sat in them with their backs to the television. "We turn them round in the evenings so that they can watch the television if they want to." (Master).

Most of the people have an air of listlessness.⁽¹⁾ No occupational therapy is provided, because the Master and Matron disapproved "of old people being forced to do things."⁽²⁾

Although Kirkby Stephen people take great pride in their own homes, the enforced neatness of the Home is too much for them. To Kirkby Stephen old people, who have visited the home, it lacks the essentials of their own homes, including the photos and souvenirs of their past lives. For people who are not infirm, to sit around all day doing nothing suggests indolence and lack of character.

Christian Head could be situated miles from Kirkby Stephen for the little influence which it has on the life of the town, or the town has on it. The inhabitants rarely leave the grounds to come into the town. They have no relatives or friends in the town to visit them. The social workers who do go there are not visiting

(1) Townsend 'Family Life of Old People', pp.183-189 and 201, stated that listlessness was a common feature in Old People's Homes.

(2) In the Union Square Old People's Home, the guests had to perform tasks such as clearing the rooms and helping in the kitchen. With the new Home an attempt was made to get away from the 'Work House' image of Union Square.

them to renew friendships or swap gossip - the visits are a necessary part of the work. Some of the old people in the Home do have relatives and friends from their own towns or villages who come to see them very occasionally. Owing to the distance, however, and the lack of public transport, these visits are rare.

Christian Head does serve as an example of what happens or can happen to people who have no relatives, friends or neighbours who are prepared to 'extend Christian charity' to their aged.

Death

As a person grows older he or she is frequently in contact with death by being present at the bedside of a dying friend or relative, or by attending funerals. This is because, as occurred at Gosforth (p.142) death brings manifestations of neighbourly feelings and failure to attend funerals brings reproach. In common with all the rural communities, with the possible exception of Westrigg, funerals bring together large numbers of relatives from a radius of many miles and bring together those who may have not been in contact with each other or even the deceased for some considerable period. In fact, some, particularly the younger, members may never have met the deceased.

If old age brings about the social interaction of people, death certainly brings it to a tremendous climax. Death itself is witnessed by only a small number of people, invariably the next of kin or failing them very close friends. In some but not all cases the minister or priest will be in attendance or have made a recent visit. After death has been pronounced by a doctor the minister or priest will certainly be sent for immediately, as will close kin. Simultaneously the curtains at all windows visible to the public are drawn. Then the body must be prepared for burial. This is done by women

known colloquially as 'layers out'. Several women undertake this role in the parish. It is customary to send for the one who has been most closely associated with the dead person during his or her lifetime, but relatives are excepted. To be a 'layer out' is considered an honourable position. A certain amount of rivalry exists among these women, and offence can be given and taken by not asking a particular woman.

While the body is being prepared for burial, the relative in charge of the proceedings (usually a mature son or daughter) takes the death certificate to the local Registrar and obtains a burial certificate to be given to the undertaker and priest. Also a death announcement is sent to local papers. For every death cards used to be printed and sent out to everyone who was in any way concerned with the dead person. (Receivers of cards would be expected to attend the funeral.) At the present time few people have cards printed. The way to announce death to people outside the immediate area is by telephone, newspaper announcement and by a short note.

When the body is ready the undertaker and his assistant place it in a coffin and put a removable veil over the face. On the morning of the funeral the coffin will be sealed.

Until the body is buried it is seldom left unattended. The coffin is usually placed in the least used room of the house - sitting, dining or spare bedroom. Preference is usually given to the sitting room. This room is prepared by the 'layer out'. The furniture is removed or pushed back to give easy access to the coffin which is mounted on a special trestle table. A table lamp is lit, or low powered bulb if the centre light is used, to illuminate the room. Flowers are placed in vases round the room and at the head of the coffin.

All relatives, friends and the minister of one's faith are expected, after invitation, to view the body. Offence is taken if

the invitation is declined. Not to pay what is known as 'one's last respects' is taken as an indication of one's lack of regard for that person when he or she was alive. Certain persons are traditionally excused from this procedure - young persons in their teens, pregnant women, and those recently bereaved.

Prayers for the soul of the dead person are offered by the clergyman and anyone else of deep religious conviction during the 'lying in state'.

Hushed voices round the coffin and in the rest of the house are traditional. The radio and the television are not turned on and any children of the household are placed in the care of neighbours so that the peace of the house shall not be disturbed. Emotion is also suppressed.

Until the body is buried there is an impression fostered by the people in the household, that the person's spirit is still present, not in its usual form but in a more holy state. Therefore only good things about the person are referred to by the mourners. This practice of not speaking ill of the dead is frequently adhered to for years after the person's death.

The last thing to do before the funeral takes place is to choose the coffin bearers. Six are traditional. It is a frequently expressed wish of old men that their peers will be able to perform this office for them. Honour is attached to this role. Therefore it is not unusual for some elderly man to have to be dissuaded from undertaking this role because of the risk to his health. In addition, peers, agnates' sons, and failing them grandsons in the male line are expected to make up the six. For a woman the choice is not so rigid - usually nephews or cousins' sons, or failing them sons of neighbours.

When John Morphet⁽¹⁾ died in May 1965 and his wife in November

(1) John Morphet is a pseudonym.

John and Sarah Morphet

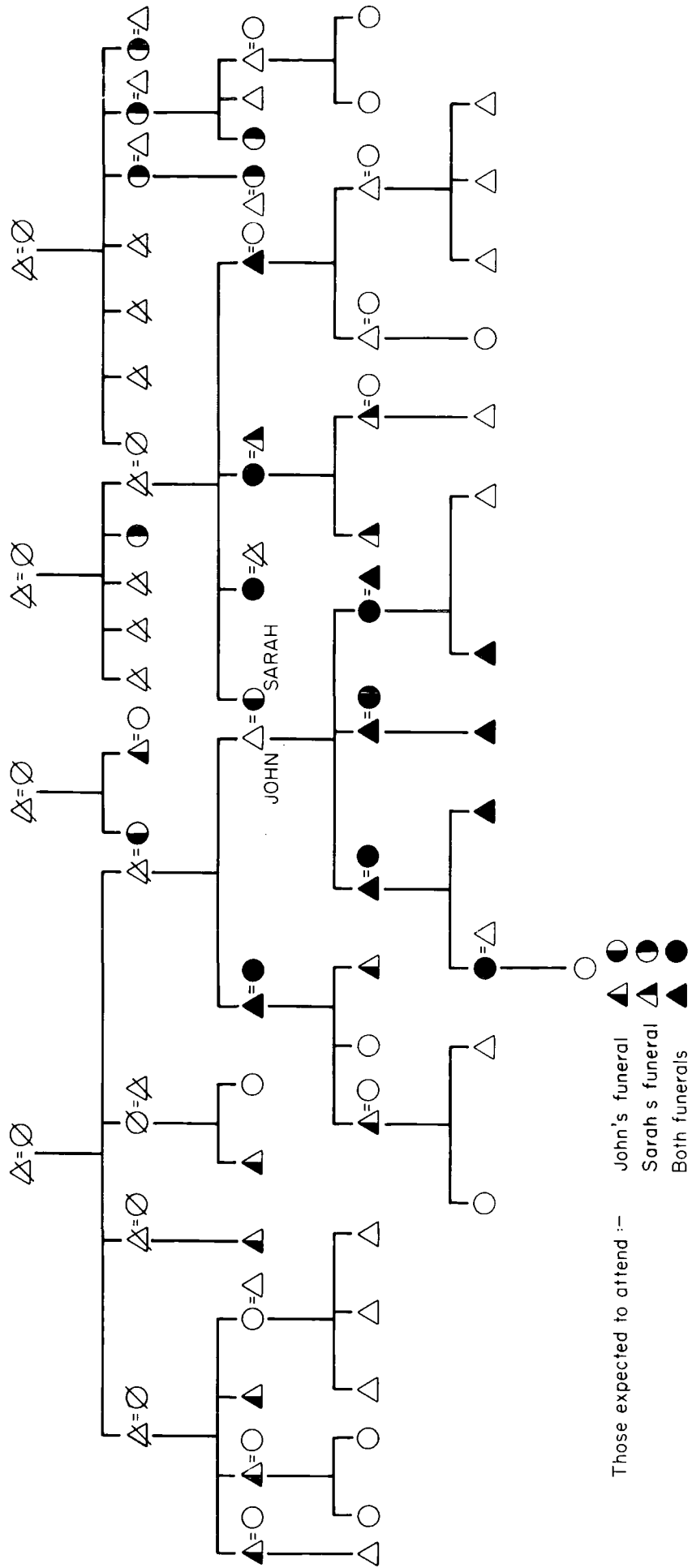


Diagram VIII. Kin expected to attend the Morphet funerals

1965, the opportunity was taken to find out not only who attended the funeral but those who were expected to attend. This was then drawn up and used as a guide for further enquiries. It was found that the Morphet situation was applicable in the majority of cases. Diagram VIII shows that in the case of the man his brother and brother's wife plus brother's sons but not brother's daughters are expected to attend; his mother, her brother; his father's brother's sons and sister's son but not their wives; his wife, sons and daughter with their wives and husband, all grandchildren over 16 years; and his wife's sisters and brother, but not their spouses.

The people themselves describe expected mourning relatives briefly as 'mainly from the man's family side if it is a man and with a woman her mother's relatives, because they are closer somehow than her father's.'

Where the family is small and well known, the task of sorting out the funeral procession⁽¹⁾ for the undertaker is fairly simple, but with a large dispersed family the task is immense. At practically every funeral someone claims to have suffered an insult by being placed in the wrong order of preference. Offence in these cases is taken with the family, not the undertaker.

In addition to the people mentioned above, any kin member who lives in the parish or neighbouring parishes is expected to attend even though not necessarily to take part in the actual funeral procession. Cars are provided for the nuclear family, first and second degree relatives. Also conveyed by cars will be any other kin or representative of a particular organisation to which the deceased belonged, if he or she is infirm. Behind the cars walk other kin, friends, former workmates, persons connected with social activities he may have participated in, one representative from each shop and business in the town and also extra-parochial persons who

(1) Mourners are arranged strictly in blood relationship to the deceased, with the exception that men in each category take precedence over women.

were in some way connected with him. As well as attending the funeral, all mourners will contribute wreaths, and all those who attend the funeral will have contributed to wreaths. 'No flowers by request' are seldom added to funeral notices in the local papers when they concern Kirkby Stephen people. Great satisfaction is felt by persons who are able to give their kin what is known as 'a good send off'.

The deceased, who has been 'called' by his 'Maker', that is, not a suicide, not only is the source of the largest gathering of persons to witness any local event, excluding the Band of Hope Demonstration, but also merits a feast or funeral breakfast for his 'relatives and friends from afar' plus all mourners. The funeral breakfast enables closer social contact than has the funeral itself, and is not an unhappy affair, due to the fact that many persons derive great pleasure from social intercourse. Grief is expected, but over-'indulgence' is considered distasteful. As Gorer⁽¹⁾ found in his national survey in 1964, 'giving way to grief is stigmatised as morbid, unhealthy, demoralising'. Grief in Kirkby Stephen, and perhaps nationally, is something mainly to be expressed in private.

Cremations are rare in Kirkby Stephen; less than 5% of the people who died in the parish in the years 1960-1965 were cremated. This contrasts strongly with the Cremation Society (1964) figure of 41% nationally. Cremation is generally thought in the parish to be suitable only for the irreligious. A cremation reduces the size of a funeral because not all mourners have the means or stamina to attend the Crematorium, which is 46 miles away in Carlisle. In the

(1) Gorer, G. Death, Grief and Mourning (The Cresset Press, 1965).

few cases of cremation which I could discover, flowers rather than wreaths were sent to the deceased's home on the funeral day and after. All mourners make a positive expression of mourning by wearing some type of mourning dress. Close male relatives and friends wear black or very dark suits with black ties, and the women black hats, gloves, dark grey or black dresses, and frequently black coats. Other mourners and attenders wear black ties or in the case of women black hats. All men wear hats, frequently black bowlers which are used solely on these occasions. It is stated by Kirkby Stephen people that mourning clothes are not worn as much as before the 1939-45 War, 'but everyone still tries to wear something black'. These mourning garments, except for bowlers, are worn usually in the week following the funeral, for the memorial service the following Sunday and the anniversary one year to the Sunday after death. Many elderly women continue to wear their mourning for a considerable time after the death of their relative, particularly for a husband.

During a person's last illness and funeral, and for some time afterwards, his remaining kin are subject to many expressions of kindness, not only from relatives, friends and neighbours, but from the community at large. This occurs even when the family have not held high status in the community. Those that are left derive comfort from the fact that when they die their dependants will not be alone and uncared for. The community can be relied on to adequately supply most of their needs. This is the true value of living in a community such as Kirkby Stephen.

Conclusion

In the economy of Kirkby Stephen there is little to distinguish the farms from the town. Neither provides well paid employment at the present time. Its farmland has not a high agricultural potential, the yield per acre being only half that of the 'marginal' land of Gosforth. The nature of the terrain makes 'industrial' farming such as takes place in Westrigg not economically feasible. The businesses of the town, in particular the shops, no longer attract customers from a wide area, due to the counter attraction of the larger towns and their rural trading facilities. The economic stability of the town is dependent on revenue obtained from the annual sheep and cattle sales, the transient tourist trade, and the traditional shopping habits of its parishioners who, in common with people in rural Wales, patronise the shops of relatives and fellow sect members. It is in the economic scene that we see the interrelationship of economic, political, religious and kinship factors. These are emphasised in the attempts made by various groups to revitalise the economy. That these attempts are largely unsuccessful is attributable to numerous factors, chief of which are a conflict of loyalties; lack of general agreement on what should be done; the low status of factory work; and the lack of faith in industrial ventures, based on a 300 year record of failures.

The parishioners despair of externally based authorities coming to their aid. In fact they consider that these authorities have been instrumental in bringing about the economic decline of the town. All 'outsiders' are distrusted whether they are government bodies or people wishing to take up residence in the parish. The establishment of incomers in any rural society, as has been shown in the British community studies, is not easy. In Kirkby Stephen it is particularly

difficult, and great emphasis is placed on length of residence in determining social status. Therefore local persons in positions of authority invariably have had long residence in the community. It is not the practice in Kirkby Stephen, as it is in some places (e.g. Pentreduwaith) for outsiders to be awarded roles of authority in order that they might take the blame if things go wrong. Here local persons are encouraged to hold authoritative roles, not so that they can take the blame if their decisions prove unsatisfactory, but to see that things do not go wrong. It is a community which is strongly traditional. The traditional ways are usually considered the best ways.

In the parish kinship networks are close-knit and resemble those of more rural and less populous parts of the country. Over 80% of the population were born either in Kirkby Stephen or the neighbouring parishes. Many families have a wide range of occupations, incomes and education which, together with traditional kinship obligations, the importance of personal qualities for positions of leadership and the high status of 19th Century Nonconformist Ideals, contribute to the lack of social stratification which is so evident in British urban communities and also in Gosforth and Westrigg. The situation has many points in common with rural Wales and pre Second World War Ireland. The degree of similarity between Kirkby Stephen and Ashworthy suggests that there may be other communities not yet studied which show the same characteristics. Although I state that there is little social stratification in the community, nevertheless there is a locally recognised class system which owes its origin to a much earlier period. They make a tripartite division between the nobility, the yeomen, and 'the rest', i.e. those who do not fit into the former classes. Membership of these classes is determined solely by birth. The result of this, I believe, is that 'the rest' are reluctant to

stratify themselves and incomers and to accept the nationally recognised class divisions based on occupation, income and education.

The face to face nature of daily life in the community and the holding of parents, particularly the mother, responsible for the behaviour of their offspring ensures that children of the community are instructed early in the locally accepted standards of behaviour. Children are not indulged and adolescence presents few behaviour problems.

The formal education of children is not appreciated by the majority of parents, and this is reflected in the children's attitude towards the school. The 'streaming' of children results in a number being trained for occupations of which few are available in the locality, and insufficient qualifications makes it difficult for them to obtain work elsewhere. This again breeds further resentment against the school.

Courtship and marriage establish ties with the more rural areas, and the Chapel circuits are for most of the Nonconformists their 'zone of marriage'. It is at their wedding that the young couple see the material advantage attached to fulfilling their kinship obligations and obtaining public esteem.

The young people of the community, in common with most rural adolescents, are not fond of joining formal leisure time activities of a non sectarian nature. This is also true for the majority of the adults. Many organisations exist for both sexes together and separately. Those for women mainly exist to enhance their traditional roles. However, formal and informal leisure time activities are changing in character, and some are attracting outsiders with new ideas, e.g. the Working Men's Club with its Whippets and Bingo, the Dramatic Society with its social selection and home entertaining and the auction sales with their increasing attraction for outsiders,

whose purpose in attending is material and not entertainment. Radio and television are also bringing the activities and ideas of those who live far beyond the area directly into the local homes.

Participation in non sectarian leisure time activities depends to a large extent on religious affiliation. Religion is a major social force. It is possible to draw several generalisations from this study of religion in Kirkby Stephen and other British community studies. Two such generalisations are (1) that in small scale communities Christian Ideals are still observed to a great extent even by non-attenders at Church or Chapel, e.g. deference is still paid to the Sabbath and adultery and divorce are rare; and (2) that status and prestige in Nonconformist Chapels are recognised by those who are outside the sphere of the Chapel.

Religion in this community plays a dual role. It is both a means of integrating the community and plays a major part in disintegration. In the latter case it separates both the secular and the sacred activities of one child from another, and one adult from another.

It is in this strongly traditionalist society that the aged play important public roles - they are the Magistrates, the Parish Councillors and the officials in formal activities, both secular and non-secular. Even in extreme old age they do not bear out the theory of Cumming and Henry (1961) that older people inevitably disengage from society, and the society disengages from the aging person. In this community the old are respected and revered. It is in the care of these people that the community spirit is so evident. The old are not only the responsibility of their kin but also of the community at large. The result is that even the totally infirm are cared for in their own homes instead of having to enter an institution for the aged.

Just as the baby was welcomed with its public parade, the dead are given what is locally termed 'a good send off'. The death of a local person necessitates attendance at his funeral by certain kin, neighbours, workmates and, if he has been held in high regard, representatives from all local businesses. The local people pride themselves in the way in which they 'honour' their dead. A person's status in the community can be estimated from the number of mourners and attenders at his funeral and the number and size of wreaths on the grave.

From this study of Kirkby Stephen it will be seen that the social structure of the society has much in common with that of other more rural and less populous areas of Britain. The people constantly make reference to the 'isolation' of the parish and take pains to align themselves with the rural rather than the urban environment, the rural being 'The Good Life' (Redfield⁽¹⁾ 1963) and the urban the opposite. This is particularly evident in their attitude towards factory work, which is considered urban. In trying to reach an understanding of this orientation towards the rural environment it is necessary to search for the function it fulfils in the society.

First, I wish to examine the concept 'isolation'. The town in which most of the inhabitants live has, as has been described, a main arterial road running through it. It is 24 miles from larger towns which are accessible for most of the year. Further ties with these urban settlements are made through patronising their shops, businesses, entertainments and hospitals. The mass media further acquaint Kirkby Stephen with urban values. From the changes occurring

(1) Redfield, R. The Little Community and Peasant Society and Culture (The University of Chicago Press 1963) pp.61-75.

in the local culture it is evident that some urban values are being accepted. So in reality Kirkby Stephen is only relatively isolated.

Secondly, I seek an answer to the question, How rural is Kirkby Stephen? Using Frankenberg's model⁽¹⁾ of rural as opposed to urban or less rural society, the following conclusions can be drawn. It is a community as opposed to an association; the social fields involve few persons; there are multiple role relationships; role conflict occurs within a role set; a man's status is total, that is, it is the same whatever activity he is engaged in; there is a dense texture of relationship, i.e. the networks are close-knit; the society is dominated by influentials who seek to exercise local power in terms of local values; there is a low density of role texture; latent functions are numerous (for example the activities of the Chamber of Trade); only decisions arrived at by consensus can be successfully implemented; the focus of life is regional; there is general acceptance of norms and conflict within consensus; and within the society the small number of roles and role-relationships are 'arranged with great fluidity into varied patterns with repetitions, stressings, gestures, and a wealth of reinforcing 'redundancy'. (Frankenberg *ibid.* p.21). Frankenberg 'borrows' the term redundancy from communication theory where it has been defined as 'a property of languages, codes and sign systems which arises from a superfluity of rules, and which facilitates communication in spite of all the factors of uncertainty acting against it'. He suggests that the successful organisation of social life is also beset by uncertainty.

Certain elements in the model which Frankenberg creates for his rural society do not exist in Kirkby Stephen - the economy is not simple, i.e. most inhabitants are not engaged in one common activity -

(1) in *Communities in Britain*, pp.286-292.

agriculture. Solidarity is not based 'on uniformity of individuals'. Although his family origin is of major importance in 'fixing him in a social position', great emphasis is placed on a person's qualities. Frankenberg's contention that 'in rural society a person's educational possibilities tend to be dependent on his social status' is inapplicable in the Kirkby Stephen situation. While it is true to say that 'in rural society the difference in economic class is one among many differences', in Kirkby Stephen economic divisions are not as a rule stressed - it is difficult in many cases to determine income and occupations from the style of life of a person. Open disputes in Kirkby Stephen are frequent, which contrasts Kirkby Stephen with e.g. Pentreidiwaith. 'Produce from labour tends to remain in direct relation to' a minority of the workers. It is the lack of these elements in the rural model which, I consider, accounts for the increasing instability of the society. In spite of the wishes of many people in the society it is not truly rural.

When considering that the local people believe their community to be isolated and rural orientated, it is possible to understand why it is to their social and material advantage to act on this belief. Communities which are isolated, physically or socially, tend to have a greater cohesion than would otherwise be the case. This is due to the fact that the division between the community and those outside it is obvious. Due to a lack of faith in, or desire for, external assistance they form a system of self help - e.g. the numerous obligations imposed on kin to give material assistance and the care of the aged being the responsibility of the whole community. If, as in the case of Kirkby Stephen, the isolation is threatened by forces originating outside the community, then those who wish to maintain its supposed isolation must create barriers in the form of opposition to incomers and foreign (urban) values. So

incomers are treated harshly until they appear to absorb a proportion of the local values. All innovations are treated with suspicion and those who initially support them find themselves alienated from the community for a time at least. Such a society must in essence be traditional and its values 'out of tune with the times' (Goldschmidt). So in Kirkby Stephen positions of authority are held by those old in years and residence, who can be counted on to preserve traditions, and the 'good' man in the society upholds the ideals which are based on 19th Century Nonconformism. In fact he personifies them. This accounts for the emphasis on Temperance in the society, the lack of adultery and divorce and the patronage of sectarian activities.

The proof that Kirkby Stephen is a community and not just an association of people, lies in the use of ostracism as a penal sanction and the sovereign power of public opinion.

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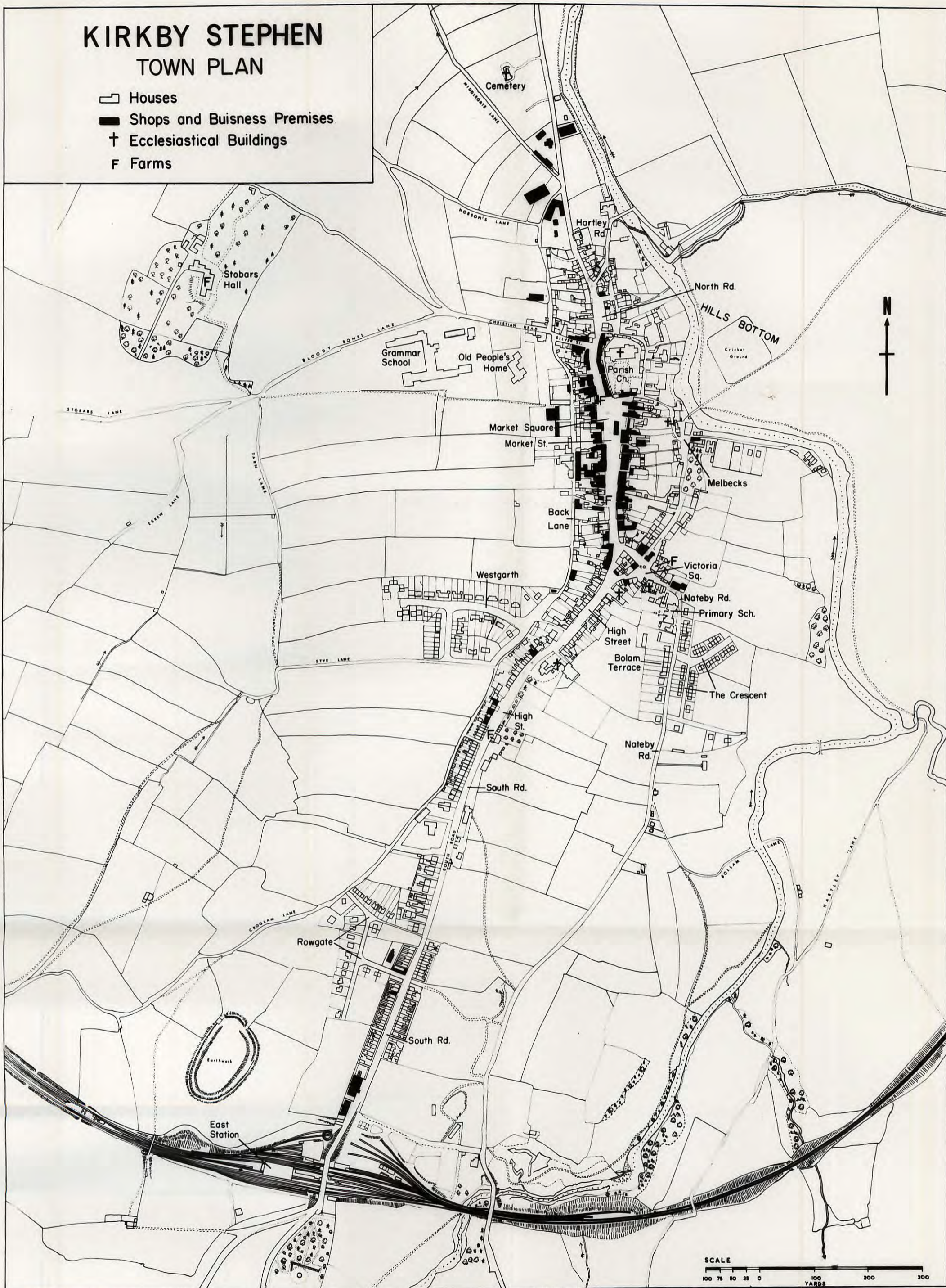
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|---------------|------------------------------|
| Inhabitants | 1650, 1708, 1732, 1750, 1782 |
| Lunatics | 1773, 1783 |
| Orphans | 1736, 1748 |
| Roads | 1682, 86, 1718, 57, 1805 |
| Workhouses | 1736, 1750, 1810 |
| Water (pumps) | 1680-1805 |
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APPENDIX

KIRKBY STEPHEN TOWN PLAN

- Houses
- Shops and Business Premises
- † Ecclesiastical Buildings
- F Farms



Map IV - Town Plan of Kirkby Stephen

TABLE 5.5 Percentage distribution of literates* by religious groups and sexes by districts, East Pakistan, 1911 - 1961.

Districts	1911						1921						1931						1951 ^I						1961 ^I					
	MUSLIM		HINDU		OTHERS		MUSLIM		HINDU		OTHERS		MUSLIM		HINDU		OTHERS		MUSLIM		HINDU		OTHERS		MUSLIM		HINDU		OTHERS	
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F		
Dinajpur	14.56	0.32	11.87	0.63	0.25	-	19.20	0.83	14.74	3.86	0.41	0.02	15.71	0.99	10.85	1.28	0.45	0.16	22.70	7.50	23.10	9.40	18.80	10.80	34.85	9.39	30.82	3.92	21.20	7.54
Rangpur	5.32	0.14	12.32	0.79			9.59	0.36	16.84	1.56			9.86	0.72	16.68	1.60			15.60	5.40	23.70	9.40	37.30	30.00	22.77	6.18	29.17	4.87	24.80	10.33
Bogra	11.51	0.19	20.29	1.90			16.12	0.74	26.41	3.97			17.97	2.25	24.54	5.06			19.80	7.50	25.20	11.40	44.10	34.80	27.63	8.58	32.60	10.34	32.34	18.17
Rajshahi	7.24	0.11	19.77	2.39			8.01	0.29	21.74	3.86			10.65	1.42	26.20	4.77	0.77	-	14.50	5.20	19.00	8.25	16.20	12.70	23.60	7.35	27.93	9.51	11.72	3.97
Pabna	6.79	0.18	25.78	2.90			7.86	0.42	30.71	4.82			7.17	1.24	26.49	4.79			12.90	5.20	25.25	13.25	34.20	34.10	18.00	6.52	21.82	14.78	17.56	15.32
Kushtia	5.13	0.13	20.51	3.45			4.86	0.51	22.92	4.87			5.28	0.63	19.58	5.67			10.10	4.00	22.40	12.15	29.10	37.70	17.42	5.59	29.21	11.40	15.33	13.03
Jessore	8.76	0.21	23.78	2.44			9.42	0.65	24.36	3.04			7.47	0.74	21.30	4.08			15.90	6.10	24.35	11.70	27.00	25.70	23.50	6.39	30.90	9.82	18.04	11.60
Khulna	10.92	0.27	24.25	2.21			14.73	0.55	28.06	3.24			11.72	1.04	21.76	3.59			22.80	11.20	29.75	14.35	37.00	29.70	29.54	10.74	37.45	11.74	26.12	18.66
Barisal	11.45	0.24	32.59	3.64			15.66	0.63	41.62	7.00			14.68	1.65	32.92	8.39			24.30	13.40	33.15	16.30	39.20	25.10	26.63	10.12	39.30	14.03	42.37	27.27
Mymensingh	5.52	0.13	21.85	2.09	1.35	0.03	6.01	0.35	23.06	3.79	3.46	0.37	8.62	2.26	21.88	5.31	11.34	7.18	16.80	11.20	24.60	12.20	20.10	12.10	18.49	6.28	35.22	13.23	29.12	13.30
Dacca	7.37	0.28	30.86	4.65			8.28	0.53	32.66	7.07			10.86	2.95	28.65	7.55			21.30	13.30	25.80	12.80	49.80	51.00	25.00	9.33	34.90	13.00	50.62	54.04
Faridpur	5.13	0.15	26.85	2.86			7.21	0.42	30.45	5.05			8.29	2.18	26.56	4.27			15.00	6.30	28.50	13.70	27.50	24.30	18.71	5.32	31.63	10.11	32.40	22.54
Sylhet	5.94	0.16	17.95	1.43									n.a.						23.90	18.70	23.60	12.95	25.10	11.90	21.56	6.06	32.29	14.04	12.63	8.28
Comilla	9.60	0.25	30.13	2.51			12.01	0.75	34.68	4.66			7.79	1.04	42.91	2.91			22.20	12.90	26.50	11.60	23.00	10.20	27.51	8.96	43.40	18.18	41.86	14.28
Noakhali	9.51	0.28	28.52	2.01			11.65	0.43	38.25	3.33			20.13	1.51	32.99	8.88			24.00	14.30	29.90	12.65	49.00	44.50	27.43	9.37	46.85	15.61	54.09	19.45
Chittagong	9.70	0.26	33.00	2.23	25.30	1.49	9.89	0.41	34.39	3.73	13.14	2.45	12.90	2.25	33.72	5.79	23.28	2.78	31.80	23.50	27.70	13.25	32.70	16.80	29.62	8.30	39.58	19.19	6.56	3.36
Chittagong Hill Tracts	-	-	17.79	0.45	11.65	1.18	-	-	12.33	0.41	11.23	0.46	-	-	17.44	1.00	6.33	0.41	23.50	12.90	9.70	2.05	8.50	1.30	36.73	12.28	26.21	7.15	16.05	1.91

M - Male, F - Female, - Not significant.

* Percentages of population aged 5 yrs and over

Sources: Same as Table 5.2.

I Due to absence of data of population by religions by age groups for the districts literacy rates could not be computed in relation to population aged 5 yrs and over. 1951 and 1961 figures are percentages of total population of respective religious groups. 1951 figures are for total and female population. Data for total male population by religion were not available for this year.