

**A Religious History of Cumbria
1780-1920**

**Thesis submitted to the
University of Sheffield**

for

the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

by

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Summary

A Religious History of Cumbria 1780-1920

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This thesis is divided into three sections. Section one examines the Church of England in Cumbria and concentrates on the work and patronage of the bishops and of the dean and chapter, the archdeacons, canons and chancellors of the diocese, the issue of ritualistic innovation and the work of the parochial clergy. Particular emphasis is given to the episcopate of Samuel Waldegrave. Section two provides an account of the history of the Nonconformists of Cumbria with a chapter devoted to each of the following: the Roman Catholics, the Methodists of the eighteenth century, the Sandemanians together with the Inghamites and the Countess of Huntingdon's Connexion, the Congregationalists, the Presbyterians, the Unitarians, the Baptists and the Churches of Christ, the Quakers, the Brethren and finally the several Methodist connexions of the nineteenth century. The link between sections one and two is a study of the influence of the Lake District and religion. Section three deals with the general importance of religion in Cumbria with chapters devoted to the theme of temperance, the Lawson family and Carlisle, to education, and to each of the following: Barrow in Furness, Ravenstonedale, Popular Religion, Religious Architecture, and to Politics and Religion. The theme of the off-comer in Cumbrian religious history is central to all three sections. There is a final chapter on the twentieth century followed by the conclusions, bibliography and index.

Acknowledgements

The many debts owed to people for help with this thesis are listed in the footnotes of the relevant pages. Special acknowledgements are due to the staff of the county record offices at Carlisle, Kendal and Barrow and to the county archivist Bruce Jones; to the staff of Carlisle public library and to Alec and Florence Alves; to Harry Escott of Langholm, Jim Little and Jim Barton of Carlisle, Mary Chance of Dalston, and Jim Middleton of Heads Nook; to my wife for advice and some of the illustrations, to my father Charles Burgess for drawings, to Gordon Forbes for advice on making maps, and to my supervisor Clyde Binfield for his insight and discipline.

Contents

Summary	1
Title page	2
Acknowledgements	3
Contents	4-5
List of Tables	6-7
List of Maps and Family Trees	8
List of Illustrations	9-10
Abbreviations	11
A note on the use of the term Cumbria	12
Glossary of Terms used	13-18
Introduction	20-31
Section 1: the Church of England	32-218
Introduction	32-37
The Bishops	38-62
The Bishops as Patrons	63-75
The Deans	76-87
The Patronage of the Dean and Chapter	88-95
The Canons	96-98
The Archdeacons and Chancellors	99-108
The Issue of Ritualistic Innovation	109-137
The Clergy of the Diocese:	138-189
Patronage	138-139
Clerical Income	139-149
The Education of the Clergy	150-156
The Number of Clergy	157
Pluralism and Absenteeism	158-160
The Parsonages of the Diocese	161-171
The Incumbents and their Work	172-178
Tithes	179-182
Church Rates	182-184
Discipline and the Clergy	185-189
The Lake District and Religion	191-218

Section 2: the Nonconformists	219-413
Introduction	219-231
The Roman Catholics	232-245
Methodism in the Eighteenth Century	246-257
The Inghamites, the Sandemanians and the Countess of Huntingdon's Connexion	258-267
The Congregationalists	268-301
The Presbyterians	302-316
The Unitarians	317-331
The Baptists	332-343
The Quakers	344-359
The Brethren	360-370
The Methodists	371-413
Section 3: Religion and Cumbria	414-701
Introduction	414-418
Temperance, Sir Wilfrid Lawson and the State Management Scheme	419-447
Education and Religion	448-476
The Religion of a Town: Barrow in Furness	477-504
Ravenstonedale: the Religious History of a Parish	505-539
Popular Religion and the Cumbrian Population	540-561
The Religious Architecture of Cumbria	562-621
Politics and Religion	622-683
Religion and Cumbria in the Twentieth Century	684-701
Conclusions	702-705
Bibliography	706-784
Index	785-809

List of Tables

1.	Largest landowners in Cumbria 1873	25
2.	Cumbrian parishes c. 1850	27
3.	Places of worship in the diocese of Carlisle 1780-1890	29
4.	Clergy, ministers and priests in Cumbria	31
4A.	Patronage in the diocese of Carlisle	64
5.	Average stipends for beneficed clergy in the diocese of Carlisle and for curates	140
6.	Trends in Anglican clerical stipends 1780-1890	142-143
7.	Comparative changes in clerical stipends	145
8.	Augmentations to stipends arranged by bishop Waldegrave 1860-1868	147
9.	Value of Anglican livings in the diocese of Carlisle 1780-1890	149
10.	Qualifications of Anglican clergy in the diocese of Carlisle	151
11.	Qualifications of Anglican curates in the diocese of Carlisle	153
12.	Pluralism in Anglican livings in 1835	159
13.	Benefice houses fit for residence in 1835	163
14.	Cost of new benefice houses in the diocese of Carlisle	165-166
15.	Benefice house restoration	168
16.	Amount spent on benefice houses 1860-1869	170
17.	Location of native born Irish and Scots in Cumbria 1851	222
18.	Cost of non-Anglican ministerial housing	226
19.	Nonconformist ministerial stipends	228-230
20.	Occupational structure of Congregational churches	291-293
21.	Men serving Cumbrian Congregational churches ... of the Scottish Congregational churches	298
22.	Evangelical Union ministers serving in Cumbria	299
23.	Congregational churches: percentage of female members	301
24.	Congregational churches: place of origin or removal	301
25.	Trustees of the Unitarian chapel Kendal	320-322

26.	Entries in the Unitarian chapel Kendal ... occupations	325
27.	Entries in the Unitarian chapel Kendal ... occupations	326
28.	Formation of Wesleyan Methodist circuits	375
29.	Ministerial preaching appointments ... Whitehaven	379
30.	Methodist attendances on census Sunday 1851	388
31.	Appleby UM circuit schedules 1881 and 1919	392
32.	Formation of Primitive Methodist circuits	394
33.	Occupational structure of Whitehaven PM circuit	397
34.	Occupational structure of Penrith PM circuit	399
35.	Schools in Cumbria c.1850 and c.1890	452
36.	Survey of village schools in Cumberland 1857	455
37.	Schools Inquiry Commission 1869	458
38.	School Boards in Cumbria by district	461
39.	Highest School Board expenditure in Cumbria	464
40.	School Boards and Anglican patronage	467
41.	Roll numbers of Wesleyan Methodist Sunday schools	471
42.	Population of Barrow in Furness	478
43.	Barrow church building	483
44.	Landholding in Ravenstonedale 1873	508
45.	Population of Ravenstonedale	516
46.	Ministers of the High Chapel Ravenstonedale	528-529
47.	Anglican church building and restoration 1840-1892	563
48.	Number of electors in Cumbrian constituencies	627
49.	Contested and uncontested parliamentary elections	629
50.	Voting pattern of Anglican clergy in Cumbria	644
51.	Carlisle parliamentary elections of 1847, 1852, 1868	665
52.	Voting patterns of Congregationalists in Carlisle	667
53.	Voting patterns of Methodists in Carlisle	669
54.	Voting patterns of Presbyterians in Carlisle	675
55.	Voting of Methodist officials in Carlisle	677
56.	Voting of Methodist officials in other elections	677
57.	Religious census returns of 1851	685
58.	Comparison between the religious census returns of 1851 and of 1902	687
59.	Comparison between the religious census returns of 1881 and 1902 in Whitehaven	689

List of Maps

Map 1 : Cumbria	19
Map 2 : Economic features of Cumbria	23
Map 3 : Anglican church distribution	37
Map 4 : Carlisle churches	77
Map 5 : Parish of Wetheral with Warwick and Holme Eden	233
Map 6 : Distribution of churches, Quaker and Roman Catholic	243
Map 7 : Distribution of churches, Wesleyan Methodist	256
Map 8 : Distribution of churches, Baptist, Unitarian, Methodist New Connexion, Bible Christian, Welsh Calvinistic Methodist, Inghamite, Sandemanian and United Methodist	259
Map 9 : Distribution of churches, Congregational and Presbyterian	269
Map 10 : Distribution of churches, Primitive Methodist	395
Map 11 : Growth of Barrow in Furness	480
Map 12 : Ravenstonedale parish	506
Map 13 : Administrative Wards	623
Map 14 : Political influences in Cumbria	625

List of Family Trees

Law	46
Percy dukes of Northumberland	50
Villiers earls of Clarendon	54
Waldegrave earls Waldegrave	56
Marshall of Keswick, Patterdale etc.	210
Howard of Corby	237
Lawson of Brayton and Isel	422-423
Howard earls of Carlisle	432
Chance of Morton	445
Wybergh of Clifton and Borrans Hill	447
Lowther earls of Lonsdale	631-632

List of Illustrations

Rose Castle	62
Crosby Ravensworth and Crosby on Eden vicarages	162
Askham rectory	164
Kirkoswald vicarage	171
Tarn Hows and Wetherlam	190
Newlands Valley near Keswick	192
Carver Memorial Congregational church Windermere	215
Unitarian chapel Kendal	318
Isel parish church and hall	420
Sir Wilfrid Lawson second baronet	434
Brayton Hall	435
St. James' church Carlisle	436
St. James' church Carlisle interior	437
North British inn Carlisle	438
Drove inn Carlisle	439
Magpie inn Carlisle	440
Coach and Horses inn Carlisle	441
Charlotte Street Congregational church Carlisle	442
Harvey Goodwin bishop of Carlisle	443
Evangelical Union church Carlisle	463
Abbotswood, home of Sir James Ramsden	485
St. George's church Barrow; flax and jute works Barrow	486
H.W. Schneider; St. James' church Barrow; Furness railway HQ	488
Congregational churches Barrow	493
St. Mary's RC church and Barrow Baptist church	497
Hindpool Road Wesleyan and Barrow New Connexion churches;	
Sir James Ramsden; duke of Devonshire	499
Ravenstonedale parish church	510
Ravenstonedale and Narthwaite Quaker meeting houses	512
Fell End Wesleyan chapel Ravenstonedale	514
Coldbeck, Ravenstonedale	518
Elm Lodge, Ravenstonedale	521
Ravenstonedale Congregational chapel; Anthony Metcalfe-	
Gibson junior	523
Chantry, Ravenstonedale	532
Lucks of Cumbria: Edenhall	551
Kirkby Lonsdale parish church	565

St. John's church Keswick	570
Carlisle cathedral	574
Carlisle cathedral fraternity	575
Brampton parish church stained glass window	581
Brampton vicarage	583
Carlisle Quaker meeting houses	587
Pardshaw Quaker meeting house	589
Briggflatts Quaker meeting house	591
Kendal Quaker meeting house	593
Alston Quaker meeting house	595
Warwick Bridge Roman Catholic church	597
Kendal Sandemanian chapel	602
Sunderland Congregational chapel	603
Sedbergh Congregational church	605
Glasson Primitive Methodist chapel	608
Silloth Wesleyan Methodist chapel	611
Whitehaven Wesleyan Methodist church	613
Penrith Wesleyan Methodist churches	617
Wesleyan and old Presbyterian chapels Plumpton	620
Whitehaven Castle	634
Lowther Castle	636
Sir James Lowther earl of Lonsdale; first and second earls of Lonsdale; John Christian Curwen	638
Sir James Graham; third, fourth and fifth earls of Lonsdale	639
Sir Wilfrid Lawson second baronet	645
Lowther Street Congregational church Carlisle	683

Abbreviations

BRO	Barrow Record Office
CRO	Carlisle Record Office
CWAALS	<u>Cumberland and Westmorland Association for the Advancement of Literature and Science</u>
<u>CWAAS trans.</u>	<u>Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archaeological Society Transactions</u>
EU	Evangelical Union
<u>JPHSE</u>	<u>Journal of the Presbyterian Historical Society of England</u>
KRO	Kendal Record Office
<u>PM Mag</u>	<u>Primitive Methodist Magazine</u>
<u>Procs. WHS</u>	<u>Proceedings of the Wesley Historical Society</u>
UMFC	United Methodist Free Churches
<u>UMFC Mag</u>	<u>United Methodist Free Church Magazine</u>
<u>Un Meth Mag</u>	<u>United Methodist Magazine</u>
URCHS	<u>United Reformed Church Historical Society</u>
<u>Wes Assoc Mag</u>	<u>Wesleyan Association Magazine</u>
WHS	<u>Wesley Historical Society</u>

A note on the use of the term Cumbria

The word Cumbria is employed throughout this thesis to denote the modern administrative county formed in 1974 out of Westmorland, Cumberland, Lancashire North of the Sands (Furness and Cartmel) and the three parishes of Sedbergh, Dent and Garsdale formerly in the West Riding of Yorkshire. The old names are used where a specific former county or district is meant.

Glossary of Terms used

Advowson: the right of presenting or nominating a clergyman to an Anglican benefice.

Archdeacon: a senior clergyman appointed to supervise a particular area of a diocese by the bishop and given rights and duties of visitation of parishes, overseeing church fabric and administrative functions.

Benefice: an ecclesiastical office endowed with revenue, usually referring to rectories, vicarages or perpetual curacies.

Canon: member of a cathedral chapter, divided into honorary and residentiary, the latter having specific functions when in residence at the cathedral. At Carlisle there were four canons residentiary, one being resident for thirteen weeks of each year and required to preach in the cathedral on each Sunday and to read prayers. Though referring to a clergyman who held any income from cathedral estates, the word Prebend was sometimes used interchangeably with canon.

Chancellor: chief legal officer of the diocese with responsibility for all legal matters and sometimes with his own court. The Carlisle chancellor had usurped the archidiaconal right of visitation and was in law the second most important clergyman in the diocese after the bishop.

Church Commissioners: established in 1948 to unite the Queen Anne's Bounty of 1704 and the Ecclesiastical Commissioners of 1836. The Bounty had been created to augment poor livings, the Commissioners to investigate and reform the financial and administrative affairs of the Church of England.

Churchwardens: annually appointed laymen normally two in number, responsible for various duties concerned with the parish church and parish in general. They were accountable to bishop, archdeacon and chancellor during visitations. In some parishes where there were several chapelries there might be up to eight churchwardens.

Connexions: Methodism was organised on a connexional basis, that is with at their head a conference composed of ministers and laymen in varying proportions depending on the individual connexion and the date. This met annually for two weeks and business between conferences was carried on by standing committees and districts composed of a number of circuits in which the ministers were in charge. Each circuit was subdivided into societies or places of worship and further split into classes for religious devotions. Leaders were in charge of each class, and a variety of stewards carried out administrative duties on a society or circuit basis. Trustees were responsible for the connexional property, and local preachers appointed to take services within a circuit. Laymen only entered the Wesleyan Conference in 1878.

Consistory Court: episcopal court at which the bishop with his chancellor and registrar might sit in judgement on matters involving the ecclesiastical law. At Chester the court exists inside the cathedral, and at Carlisle it was in the small north aisle of the cathedral.

Curate: a clergyman appointed as assistant to an incumbent or as his deputy. There was no protected tenure whereas incumbents could only be removed by being found guilty of crimes in a court of law.

Deacons and Elders: in Cumbria Scottish influence meant that Nonconformist congregations might call their most senior members Elders, whereas this was more usually applied to Presbyterian congregations. Deacons were usually the Congregational or Baptist equivalent and there to aid and support the minister. Deacons and Elders had a largely pastoral and preaching role, and were quite separate from the circuit or church committees of management favored by many denominations for secular matters such as finance.

Dean: clergyman appointed in charge of a cathedral and its affairs. As with bishops it is a royal appointment.

Laity and layman: people involved in religious affairs who are not ordained clergy.

Lay Reader: an office in which licensed laymen performed clerical functions. A number were at work in Cumbria encouraged by evangelical clergy and bishops.

Members: the test of Anglican membership was attendance at Easter or Christmas communion although the majority of people never attended either yet considered themselves, and were considered by the parish clergy, to be members of the church. In Protestant Nonconformity being a member was quite distinct from being a hearer, attender or adherent. The Quakers and other denominations had strict rules of membership which generally relaxed over the later nineteenth century, and most congregations placed potential members on trial for a six-month period in order to judge their fitness. By the 1900s it was generally accepted in many quarters that regular attendance at worship qualified one for membership.

Minister: normally the word applied to clergy of the Nonconformist churches but it might be used by some Anglicans and was a part of the Protestant understanding of the ministry of all believers, as distinct from the idea of the Roman Catholic priest.

Parish: territorial area spiritually and *JURIDICALLY* attached to a church and under the pastoral care of the incumbent. The term is used in this thesis to denote this meaning and not the later one of an administrative civil parish which usually did not correspond to the same boundaries.

Parson: the incumbent of a parish, but in common parlance it might refer to any Anglican clergyman and occasionally to ministers of other denominations.

Pastor: the spiritual adviser or minister of a Nonconformist congregation.

Patronage: the ownership of the advowson which might be invested in a person or corporation of some kind.

Perpetual Curate: incumbent of a parish whose tithes and status have been taken over by an individual or body though leaving security of tenure to the clergyman. It was a type of living common in Cumbrian parishes where the patronage was in the hands of the dean and chapter of Carlisle and the earl of Lonsdale.

Priest: normally applied to the clergy of the Roman Catholic church and denoting their special role which no layman could perform. Occasionally the term was applied to high church Anglican clergy.

Rector: incumbent of a parish who enjoyed the full value of the parochial tithes.

Registrar: usually a solicitor or clergyman with legal training who maintained details of legal needs and issues in a diocese, though in practice the deputy or assistant did most of the work in the diocese of Carlisle.

Rural Dean: clergyman in charge of a rural deanery and responsible for the good order of ecclesiastical matters. Appointed by the bishop, rural deans assumed importance when Harvey Goodwin organised them effectively in the 1870s in Carlisle.

Terrier: schedule of lands, buildings and rights belonging to a benefice.

Tithe: a tenth of the income from agricultural produce payable to the Anglican church for the upkeep of the clergy. It was abolished in 1936 but long before that date many parochial tithes were in the hands of laymen and corporations who used it to their own ends.

Vicar: customary title for most incumbents of benefices where most of the tithe or great tithe belonged to other than the incumbent. Originally vicars were parish priests appointed by monasteries to serve their own parishes, and after the reformation some vicars retained their own vicarial tithe income, although they were not of course rectors, who retained all of it.

Visitation: official inquiry into the state and running of ecclesiastical affairs by a visitor, bishop, archbishop or archdeacon. In the diocese of Carlisle the bishop was visitor of the cathedral, whilst the chancellor usually carried out the archidiaconal visitations.

Map 1: Cumbria



CUMBRIA	
○	Settlements
---	National Boundary
...	County Boundary
—	Land over 500 feet

Half One Inch to Four Miles

Introduction

Cumbria since 1974 is approximately one and a half million acres in extent with under half a million people resident within its borders. Created out of Cumberland, Westmorland, Lancashire north of the sands and three parishes in Yorkshire, the county forms a distinctive region in the north west of England, bordering Scotland in the north east, Northumberland, Durham and north Yorkshire from north east to south east, meeting Lancashire in the south before the long seaboard. The Cumbrian coast stretches from Morecambe Bay in the south, along the several Furness peninsulas, up past the Isle of Man, around St. Bees headland and up the Solway Firth to the river Esk which forms the boundary between Dumfriess-shire and Cumbria.

Cumbria possesses a mountainous core in the Lake District which is surrounded by a coastal plain stretching from Carlisle round to Grange over Sands and Arnside in the extreme south. The river Eden cuts a deep and fertile valley running north west from Kirkby Stephen to Carlisle and dividing the lakeland range from the Pennines that form the eastern boundary of the county. Over the top of the Pennines lies Alston Moor, an area which remains part of Cumbria but has all links with the Durham mining dales.

The fells and mountains have affected communications over the centuries and roads and railways follow the valleys where possible. Travelling north from Lancashire many travellers used to take the route over the sands from Hest Bank to Grange or Flookburgh which was full of hazards on a

perilous journey where tides came in rapidly and quick sands are common. It was until the 1760s usual to travel round the coast to Whitehaven, Carlisle and Scotland to avoid Shap , but in the 1760s the main road from Penrith to Kendal was opened and lessened the need for a circuitous route. The lakeland passes offered alternatives to both the above roads, but they had their own problems of landslides, snow, mists, height and lack of speed. From Kendal the road to Cockermouth passed through Ambleside, on to Grasmere and over Dunmail Raise to Keswick and along Bassenthwaite Lake into the Derwent valley. At Keswick it was possible to pick up roads to Penrith in the east or to Carlisle across the Uldale and Caldbeck fells. Trackways for horse trains were common but their adherence to ancient and steep ways meant that they remained unsuitable for wheeled vehicles.

The modern A69 road from Carlisle to Newcastle via the Tyne gap was largely a product of the Jacobite emergencies and was an important link between the east and west coasts. So too the modern A66 road from Scotch Corner via Bowes to Kirkby Stephen, Appleby, Penrith, Keswick, Cockermouth and West Cumberland served as a major way in and out of the region.

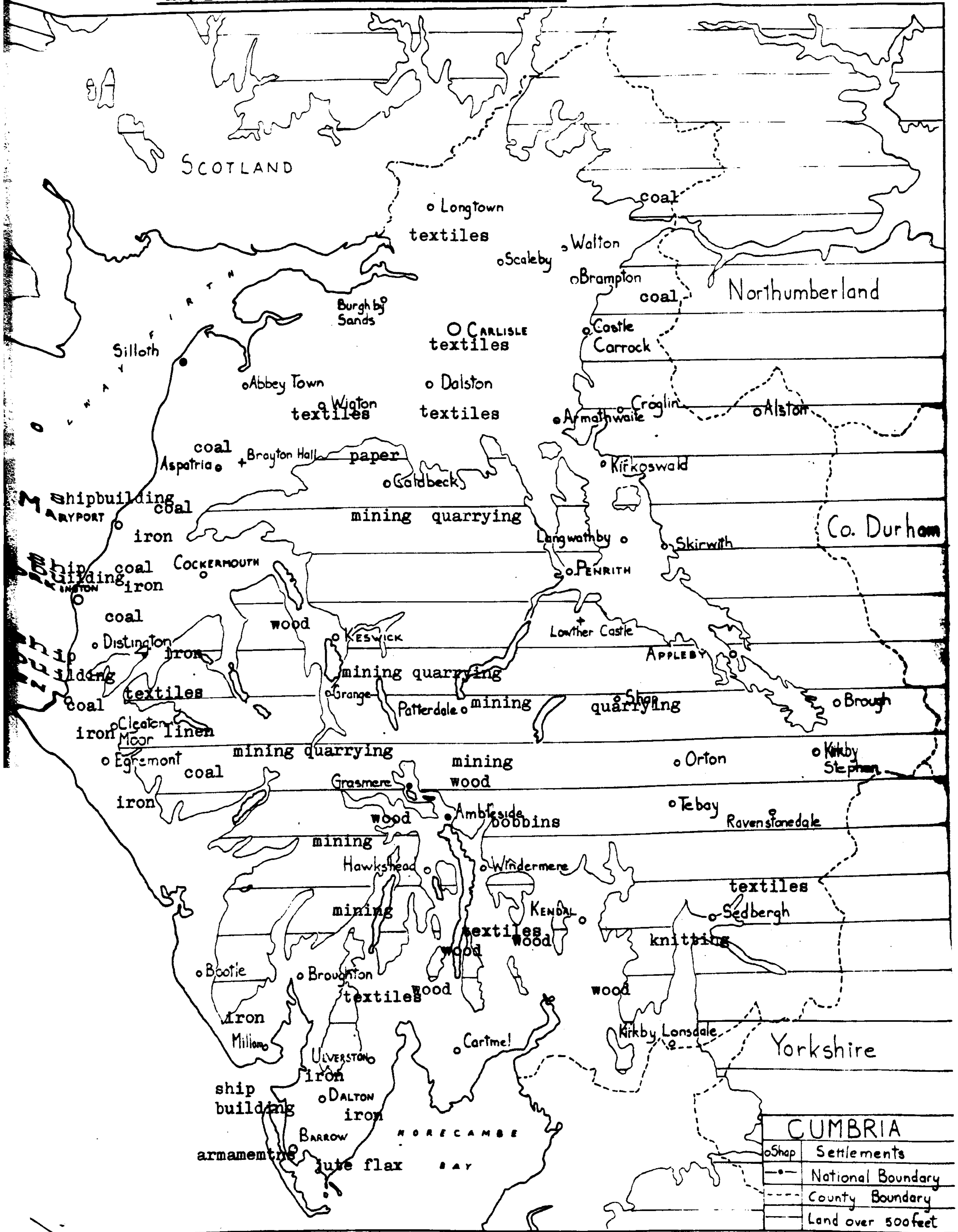
There were a number of ports along the coast, ranging from Sandside near Milnthorpe which was small and silted up, to the busy Whitehaven, Workington and Maryport harbours which dated from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Barrow became the great Victorian port of the region. There were three canals in Cumbria: the Ulverston canal was under two miles long and never of great use, the Carlisle to Fishers

Cross or Port Carlisle canal opened in 1818 enjoyed a short existence and was unprofitable, whilst the Preston canal reached to Kendal via Carnforth, Lancaster and Milnthorpe. This latter canal was opened in its northern reaches during the French wars and brought some trade to Kendal.

Railways played their part in generating economic growth throughout Cumbria. The first line to be fully opened was the Carlisle to Newcastle of 1838, and Carlisle became the railway centre for routes going in all directions from then onwards. By 1846 a railway line from London went via Carlisle and into Scotland, and during the 1840s and 1850s a network of lines crisscrossed Furness and Cartmel. At the same time West Cumberland was joined to both the Carlisle and Furness developments. Branch lines and extensions continued to be added in the 1860s but only the one major link, the Carlisle to Settle, remained to be opened in the 1870s.

These roads and railways brought Cumbria not only the problems of thousands of navvies but great opportunities for the exploitation of mineral and other resources. Though largely rural even today Cumbria came to attract thousands of migrants from Scotland and Ireland in search of work, and proximity to both countries encouraged links through trade. Lancastrians and Manxmen too settled in Cumbria, and the opening of iron mines as well as quarrying and other mineral extraction brought in workers from Cornwall, Devon, Staffordshire and Yorkshire. West Cumberland attracted migrants for several centuries to its collieries, but Barrow and Millom were the major creations of Victorian industry.

Map 2 : Economic features of Cumbria



CUMBRIA	
o	Settlements
- - -	National Boundary
- - -	County Boundary
■	Land over 500 feet

The sometimes spectacular growth of Victorian times should not obscure the ancient industries of Cumbria: the bobbin and woodland trades of the lakes, Kendal snuff and textiles, modest iron and coal and mineral developments, lead on Alston Moor, gunpowder and charcoal, plumbago in Borrowdale and metal products using the abundant water power of the region ¹. The nineteenth century brought in new industries but above all it developed the traditional ones. The economic history of Cumbria was significant for the religious development because the migrants which were attracted brought with them their own ideas and their own denominational ties.

Cumbria remained a rural county of large parishes split between high infertile fells and mountains and fertile lowlands. Sheep and cattle were the main farming interests and arable production was never substantial except for the limited needs of settlements and livestock. Pasture was the dominant preoccupation of the small freehold and tenant farmers, and the higher the land then the greater the proportion of sheep who alone could stand the harsh climate .

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1. R.Milward and A.Robinson The Lake District (1970);
 L.Williams Road Transport in Cumbria (1975); D.Joy
Railways of the Lake Counties (Clapham 1973); C.M.L.Bouch .
 and G.P. Jones The Lake Counties 1500-1830(Manchester 1961);
 J.D.Marshall and J.K.Walton The Lake Counties from 1830
to the mid twentieth century (1981) are the main studies.

Table 1Largest landowners in Cumbria 1873:

<u>Landowner</u>	<u>acres in Cumbria</u>	<u>county seat</u>	<u>politics</u>
Earl of Lonsdale	67450	Lowther	C
Earl of Carlisle	47730	Naworth	L*
Sir F. Graham	25270	Netherby	C
Marquess of Headfort	16848	Underley	C
Sir H. Tufton	16094	Appleby	L
Duke of Devonshire	13664	Holker	L*
Henry Howard	13008	Greystoke	L*
Lord Leconfield	11147	Cockermouth	C
Sir R. Musgrave	10612	Edenhall	C
Hon. Mary Howard	8868	Levens	C
G.E.Wilson	8748	Milnthorpe	C
William Wilson	8698	Kirkby Lonsdale	C
Sir W. Lawson	7388	Brayton	L
W.H. Wakefield	7275	Kendal	L*
Sir H. Vane	7174	Hutton in the Forest	C
E. Curwen	6011	Workington	L*
J.B. Lindow	5934	Cleator	C
Lord Muncaster	5531	Muncaster	C
J. E. Hasell	4841	Dalemain	C
General Le Fleming	4659	Rydal	C

note: C - Conservative L- Liberal * - Liberal Unionist after
1886

Source: Return of Owners of Land, British Parliamentary Papers,
(1874) lxxii part 2 pp.484 ff.

The Lake District was the prime attraction for the tourists and off-comers of the nineteenth century who gradually pervaded every nook of the region in pursuit of the sublime and the picturesque. It remains an agricultural area but one in which tourism presents difficulties which are hard to imagine in other counties. The threat to the lakes from tourism, from water extraction schemes and economic exploitation brought into being the National Trust and turned the Lake District into a unique conservation district.

The Cumbrian landowners often played a leading role in economic growth and none more so than the earls of Lonsdale through their great estates in West Cumberland². The Lowther earls of Lonsdale were owners of the wealthiest property in the region and their estates and political power were concentrated here too. Other noble families such as the Howard earls of Carlisle and the Cavendish dukes of Devonshire had important Cumbrian interests, but the Lowthers were the great influence in landed terms. In Westmorland the landowners generally passively followed the Lowther lead, but in Cumberland the opposite was true³.

The parishes of Cumbria tended to be large and with dispersed population, though it might vary within each of the

2. See table 1 p.25

3. See below pp.622ff.

Table 2Cumbrian parishes c.1850

<u>Administrative</u>	<u>parishes</u>	<u>area</u>	<u>population</u>	<u>average</u>	
<u>Wards</u>		<u>(acres)</u>		<u>area</u>	<u>population</u>
Cumberland:					
Carlisle	2	4000	25000	2000	12500
Cumberland	16	21000	38000	1312	2375
Leath	21	192000	27000	9142	1285
Allerdale above Derwent	23	163000	42000	7086	1826
Allerdale below Derwent	15	139000	22000	9266	1460
Derwent	12	125000	26000	10416	2166
Eskdale	17	192000	20000	11294	1176
Westmorland:					
Lonsdale(part)	2	44000	7000	22000	3500
East	15	219000	14000	14600	933
West	10	88000	8800	8800	800
Kendal	5	155000	29000	31000	5800
Lancashire North of the Sands					
	9	137000	27000	15222	3000
Garsdale, Dent & Sedbergh					
	3	52000	4000	17300	1350

Sources: Mannix and Whellan Cumberland 1847; Mannix Westmorland with
Lonsdale and Amounderness 1851 ; Bulmer Westmorland and Sedbergh 1905

administrative wards and between wards ⁴ . Parochial chapelries had to be employed to supplement the larger parishes like Kendal and Greystoke with large numbers of curates serving these. Stipends were poor and tithes often expropriated or impropriated by the successors to the great monastic houses such as Furness which had once appointed the priests. As was to be expected a rural region meant that the Church of England held sway in most parishes in the eighteenth century, but there was a core of Dissenting communities including Quakers, Roman Catholics and Presbyterians with Congregationalists, and the migrants of the period 1780 to 1920 brought into being many new denominations whilst also expanding the old ones. Rapid population growth encouraged a rapid proliferation of places of worship ⁵ . With this expansion of organised religion the numbers of full time clergy within all denominations rose strikingly in the nineteenth century ⁶ . However popular religion was always to be found by those who knew where to look and how to ask the correct questions even when its organised counterpart, official Christianity, disparaged it ⁷ .

4. See table 2 p. 27

5. See table 3 p. 29

6. See table 4 p. 31

7. See below pp. 540-561

Table 3Places of worship in the diocese of Carlisle:

	<u>1780</u>	<u>1850</u>	<u>1890</u>
Church of England	190	280	390
Wesleyan Methodist	14	131	185
all other Methodists	-	71	128
Congregational	7	32	54
Presbyterian	9	19	32
Quaker	28	31	25
Roman Catholic	6	10	22
Baptist	9	18	23
all others	8	41	65
	—	—	—
	271	533	924

Sources: Nicolson and Burn Westmorland and Cumberland; Mannix and Whellan Cumberland 1847; Kelly Cumberland and Westmorland 1894; Barrow in Furness and Lancashire North of the Sands 1910

Cumbria in the years after 1780 possessed a religious history which embraced several strands -the native Anglicanism and popular religion, the rapid growth of a Nonconformity largely imported by off-comers with notable exceptions, the influence of the Lake District on religion, the impact of the Irish but more importantly of the Scots on denominational existence, and the transformation of the Church of England into a reformed and reforming Establishment. These strands and certain themes: the Lowthers, the Lawsons, temperance, politics, religion and the wider society, and the separate fortunes of individual denominations, form the substance of this thesis.

Table 4.Clergy, ministers and priests in Cumbria

<u>Date</u>	<u>Anglican</u>	<u>Methodist</u>	<u>Congregational</u>	<u>Presbyterian</u>	<u>Roman Catholic</u>	<u>Population</u>
1780	205	6	5	7	8	165,000
1830	230	31	12	8	13	253,000
1850	320	49	18	13	17	288,000
1870	424	70	29	17	26	347,000
1890	446	84	36	22	29	461,000
1920	407	81	31	18	30	430,000

Sources: Carlisle Diocesan Calendars 1869-1920 ; Directories: Mannex Westmorland, Lonsdale and Arounderness 1851; Kelly Cumberland 1910, Cumberland and Westmorland 1894, Barrow in Furness and Lancashire North of the Sands 1910 ; Parson and White Cumberland, Westmorland, Furness and Cartmel 1829; Mannix and Whellan Cumberland 1847. Nicolson and Burn Westmorland and Cumberland 1777.

Section 1

The Church of England

The Church of England

The modern diocese of Carlisle broadly corresponds to the boundaries of the county of Cumbria created in 1974. The present diocesan limits were established in 1856 and before that date the ancient barony of Kendal, Cumberland south of the river Derwent, and Lancashire north of the sands formed the three deaneries of Kendal, Copeland and Furness respectively, administered by the archdeacon of Richmond on behalf of the bishop of Chester. Sedbergh district has never been a part of the diocese of Carlisle and was within Chester until being transferred in 1836 to the new diocese of Ripon. Alston was in the diocese of Durham until 1882 when it was transferred to the new diocese of Newcastle.

Until 1856 there were four bishops involved in Cumbria although in practice only those of Chester and Carlisle possessed extensive interests in the region. This section on the Church of England commences with a study of the bishops of the two dioceses until 1856, and of the bishops of Carlisle alone after that year, because the prelates were so major an influence in Cumbria. Particular attention has been given to the episcopate of Samuel Waldegrave due to the years of his appointment from 1860 until his death in 1869 being the most significant of the century for the fortunes of the Established Church. Waldegrave emerges from his extensive correspondence as the key reforming bishop in the history of the diocese between 1780 and 1920 and the man responsible for the general reform of the Church of England in Cumbria.

Bishops of Carlisle possessed extensive patronage in their diocese, a power denied to bishops of Chester, and a patronage which greatly increased in the years after 1860 as advowsons were entrusted to episcopal hands. The exercise of this patronage forms the second chapter, and this is followed by the important nature of the influence of successive deans of Carlisle. Successive deans too exercised considerable patronage along with their chapters, a patronage denied in Cumbria to deans and chapters of Chester. Once deans became resident in Carlisle during the 1850s their use of advowsons and other forms of patronage were bound to have consequences just as reforming bishops were being appointed to the diocese at that date.

The cathedral chapters were the last part of the Church of England to succumb to reform, and the canons of Carlisle were of minor consequence for the diocese. Archdeacons too played no great or decisive role in religious affairs but largely because their powers had been gradually usurped by diocesan chancellors, who thus wielded a peculiarly pervasive authority into the twentieth century. The changing role of all of these diocesan dignitaries, and of the bishops, forms a major theme within each chapter.

Bishop Waldegrave waged a constant struggle with those of his diocesan clergy who wished to introduce ritualistic innovation, and the problems of ritual which came to a head in the diocese because of the attitude of dean Francis Close and of Waldegrave during the 1860s, forms a chapter on its own.

The clergy of the diocese likewise found that their function and responsibilities changed over the decades. The patronage which placed individual men in parishes was one of the great facts of diocesan and clerical life and requires examination. The region was a poor one and this helps explain the poverty of clerical incomes and the subsequent determination of bishops and some other patrons to augment stipends. The bishops too were aware of the difficulties of attracting qualified clergy to the diocese of Carlisle which led to a deliberate policy of enticing graduates into poor livings, as well as bringing in men with their own private incomes which were put to the use of the Anglican church.

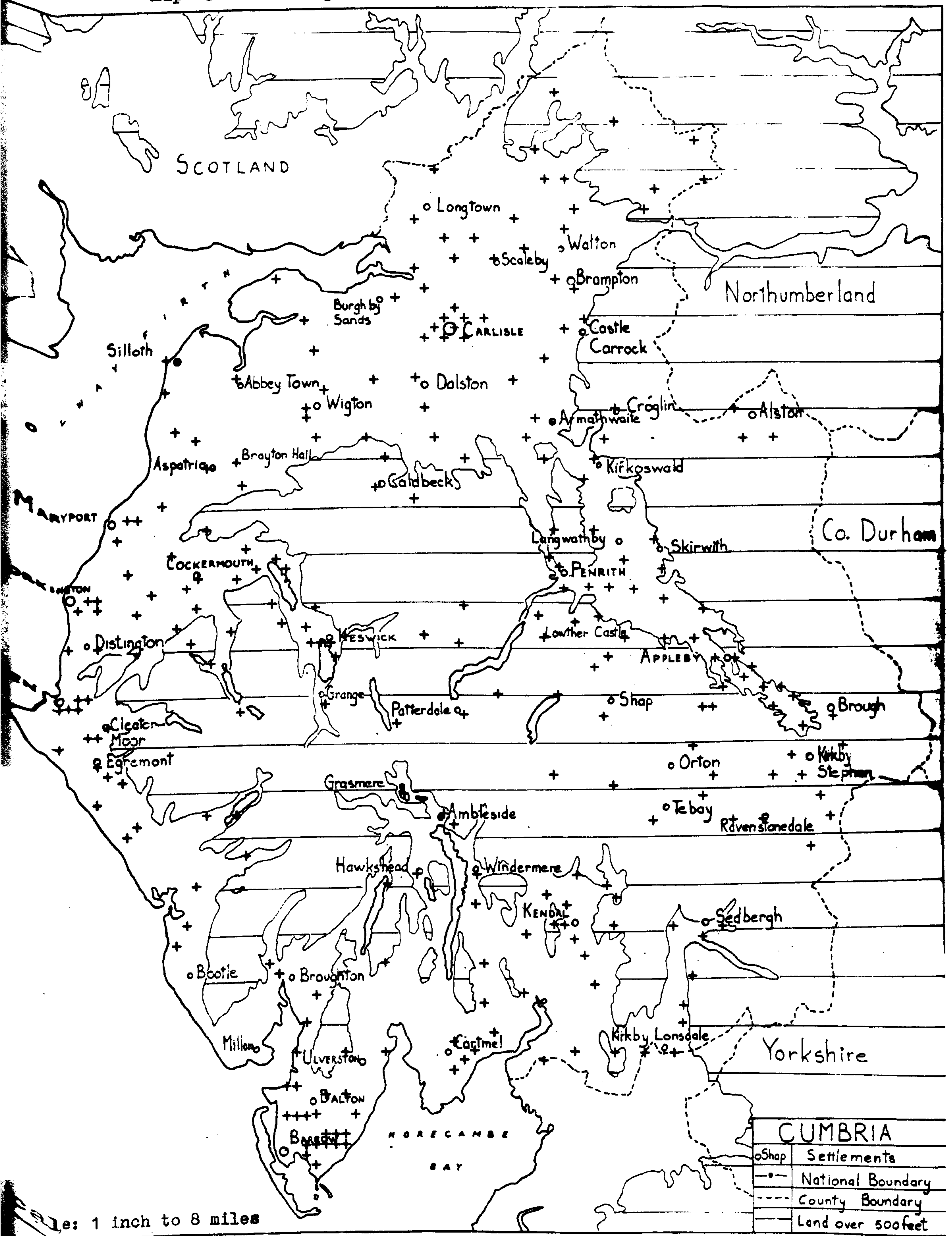
The problems of pluralism and absenteeism were eventually resolved in part by the provision of suitable parsonages in the diocese, but the surprising amounts invested in these gentlemen's residences meant that private incomes were often required to pay for their upkeep although at the time it seemed an obvious way to give the clergy status and a home. As with so much else the years of Waldegrave's rule were central for the mobilising of resources for the diocese.

Both tithe and church rates proved contentious issues at times and in some parishes of the diocese, notably when Quakers or other non-Anglicans were numerous or active, and clergy as well as bishops were forced to face the arguments which broke out. The use of episcopal discipline over the parochial clergy was never relished even by the strongest of prelates like Waldegrave, but it was a sign of the times that the 1860s would witness the bringing to bear of pressure on clergy to

respond to the spirit of the reforming age by cutting down on their drinking or hunting and increasing their communions or confirmations.

It was the presence of the Lake District within Cumbrian borders that led to the diocese of Carlisle playing host to the Keswick convention and disciples of both the broad and the evangelical parties within the Church of England. The attractions of the lakes, the poetry of Wordsworth and of his circle, brought in settlers who found the region to be their ideal place for holidays and living permanently; the association in the public mind of the lakes and evangelical religion was due to the off-comers and to the natives who had spent many years outside the region, and not to those who lived their time within Cumbria. The off-comer and the off-coming native are two of the potent forces that have influenced both Anglican and non-Anglican denominations in Cumbrian history, and provide a link between the first and second sections of this thesis expressed through the shared experience of the Lake District and religion.

Map 3 1900: Anglican church distributions: churches marked +



CUMBRIA	
oShap	Settlements
—	National Boundary
- - -	County Boundary
—	Land over 500 feet

Scale: 1 inch to 8 miles

The Bishops

In the diocese of Carlisle the bishop was the single most powerful influence at work, for it was a small diocese pushed to the Scottish border by the extensive diocese of Chester, and between the years 1750 and 1850 threatened by the economic and political dominance of the Lowther family. A strong bishop was required simply to remain independent of local pressures, and such men were likely to be more important to a small diocese than they would have been to a larger one. Bishops of Carlisle possessed extensive patronage, an asset lacking in other dioceses. On the other hand, a bishop of Carlisle had usually reached the summit of his achievement, whereas bishops of Chester used that diocese as a stepping stone to further preferment. Between 1770 and 1856 there were nine bishops of Chester, all of whom were translated to wealthier sees; at Carlisle there were six, of whom only two, Douglas and Venables, were translated.

Bishops of Chester invariably came from professional, clerical or mercantile families, they were usually men of ability, and after Chester had proved their worth, moved on to more important but less arduous bishoprics. Carlisle's bishops included Law and Douglas, who came from clerical families, but more typical were Harcourt, Percy, Villiers and Waldegrave, aristocrats well connected in church and state. Carlisle was the reward for aristocratic government supporters, Chester the stepping stone for able men to prove their political worth ¹.

1. Victoria County History of the counties of England, Cumberland (1901)
2 volumes, vol. 2 pp. 1 - 127.

As well as differences in the type of bishops appointed, there existed great dissimilarities between the two dioceses. Chester covered the major industrial conurbations of north-western England with over five hundred parishes in eight counties. Carlisle was concentrated in two counties with only one hundred and twenty parishes. To be bishop of Chester might require a daring and expertise of a sort never needed at Carlisle. So far as Chester's three Cumbrian deaneries were concerned, the bishop and his dean and chapter possessed a distant relevance and none of the impact and influence which might be brought to bear by the bishop, dean and chapter of Carlisle. Chester's Cumbrian deaneries would inevitably suffer a measure of neglect because of their remoteness from Chester and the main urban centres. Successive bishops of Chester found that the industrial south of their diocese demanded their attention, and not the distant rural north. Carlisle provided little apparent scope for initiative on the part of the episcopate, but it did necessitate a bishop able to counter if required the aristocratic imbalance perpetuated by successive members of the Lowther family ².

Though no aristocrats, bishops of Chester were nonetheless wealthy men who married well and spent their income freely ³.

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2. J. Addy ' Two eighteenth century bishops of Chester and their diocese ' University of Leeds Ph. D. 1972; C. M. L. Bouch Prelates and People of the Lake Counties : a history of the diocese of Carlisle 1133 - 1933 (Kendal 1948). Both deal with the religious history of the diocese.
 3. R. A. Soloway Prelates and People: Ecclesiastical Social Thought in England 1783 - 1852 (1969) deals with episcopal appointments.

William Markham had been tutor to the prince of Wales before being rewarded with the deanery of Christ Church, Oxford, the see of Chester and translation to York in 1776 after five years at his bishopric during which time he once went north of Preston. Markham was an outstanding scholar and prominent speaker in the house of lords ⁴. His successor at Chester was Beilby Porteous who had followed a similar career of service with the royal household ⁵. Porteous carried out the first thorough diocesan survey since that of bishop Gastrell in 1723, and noted the profound changes taking place and their implications for the Church of England. He encouraged evangelistic endeavours, Sunday schools, work in slum areas, and the notion that the Church should try to reform itself. The translation of Porteous to London in 1787 was recognition of his government work and of his organisational abilities: here he was able cope with the demands of the expanding metropolis ⁶.

These two bishops were considered able and reforming beyond the usual standards of the contemporary episcopal bench ⁷; more in keeping with the times were the next three bishops of Chester: William Cleaver, H.W.Majendie, and B.E.Sparke.

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4. Markham 1719 - 1807, married a Dutch heiress, was headmaster of Westminster school, then dean, bishop and archbishop. Bishop of Chester 1771 - 1776.
 5. Porteous 1731 - 1808, son of a Virginian landowner, royal chaplain 1769, bishop of Chester 1776 - 1787, of London 1787 - 1808.
 6. Addy, thesis, concentrates on Markham and Porteous.
 7. Soloway Prelates pp. 35, 49.

Cleaver remained master of Brazenose college, Oxford, which he had made into a place of intellectual distinction, whilst being at Chester. He received preferment due to the influence of several of his former pupils, most notably the earl of Egremont and the marquess of Buckingham; his translation to the less demanding see of St. Asaph in 1800 was a reward for stoutly defending the tory government and Church of England in the 1790s⁸. Majendie had been tutor to the future William IV before succeeding Cleaver, and in common with the whole episcopal bench save for Richard Watson of Llandaff had abandoned notions of reforming the Church of England. He determinedly opposed attempts to check pluralism and absenteeism in the Church⁹. Majendie was translated to Bangor in 1809 and his successor was one of the most notorious of pluralists, Bowyer Sparke¹⁰. Episcopal appointments were political decisions, and Sparke was a devoted friend to the government, advocating amongst other measures that his parochial clergy ought to act as magistrates and work arm in arm with the secular authorities to check reform and disorder. Sparke's translation to Ely in 1812 gave him greater scope for his pluralism and that of his son and two sons in law¹¹.

8. Cleaver 1742 - 1815, son of a Buckinghamshire incumbent, fellow master of Brazenose 1785 - 1809, bishop of Chester 1787 - 1800 and of St. Asaph 1800 - 1815.

9. Majendie 1754 - 1830, bishop of Chester 1800 - 1809 and of Bangor 1809 - 1830. Soloway Prelates pp. 46, 382.

10. Sparke 1759 - 1836, bishop of Chester 1809 - 1812 and of Ely 1812 - 1836. Soloway Prelates pp. 46, 87, 311.

11. Biographical details from the DNB unless stated.

The appointment to Chester of George Henry Law in 1812 was welcomed in the diocese of Carlisle where he had been raised and partly educated during his father's episcopate there ¹². Law possessed an acknowledged devotion to his duty unusual for that time and with his intimate knowledge of his new diocese was able to establish the first Anglican theological college at St. Bees ¹³.

The fraudulent exploitation of the St. Bees school coal leases by the Lowther family had helped them amass considerable wealth. When the matter was exposed the first earl of Lonsdale provided sufficient compensation for the foundation of a theological college in the parish, and from 1816 until 1896 a supply of trained clergy was provided by the foundation. One of Law's old college friends, George Ainger, was appointed the first principal charged with providing trained men for the poorer northern incumbencies and curacies ¹⁴.

Law's success in such innovation suggests a subtle but effective manipulation of events to ecclesiastical advantage in an age when non - ecclesiastical institutions tended to benefit, and to take advantage of the earl of Lonsdale was indeed a coup. Law was translated to the richer see of Bath and Wells in 1824 due to the influence of his brother, Lord Ellenborough, with the royal family and the government ¹⁵. There was nothing subtle about the personality of Law's successor at Chester, Charles Blomfield.

12. Law 1761 - 1845, son of Edmund Law bishop of Carlisle; bishop of Chester 1812 - 1824, and of Bath and Wells 1824 - 1845.

13. T. Park A short history of St. Bees theological college (1982).

14. Park St. Bees pp.12- 23.

15. See family tree; Baron Ellenborough, Lord Chief Justice,

Blomfield was only at Chester for four years before translation to London where his evident talent for organising and reform were sorely needed. At Chester he told his clergy that they had to work for a living rather than sitting back to enjoy their stipend, and required from them professional commitment in their parish work ¹⁶. Blomfield's ruthlessly energetic example led him to become the major reforming bishop of the age and the power behind the Ecclesiastical Commissioners ¹⁷. A further sign of the changing episcopal pattern was the appointment of John Bird Sumner as Blomfield's successor.

Sumner, like his brother Charles bishop of Winchester, was a reforming bishop and an evangelical promoted because of friendship with bishop Shute Barrington of Durham, and because the duke of Wellington urgently needed political support over catholic emancipation in the house of lords ¹⁸. Sumner spent twenty years carefully encouraging patrons and incumbents to recruit one hundred extra clergy, to build over two hundred new churches and one thousand schools, and to create fifty new parishes ¹⁹. Not everyone agreed

16. Blomfield 1786 - 1857, son of a Bury St. Edmunds teacher, archdeacon of Colchester 1822 - 1824, bishop of Chester 1824 - 1828, bishop of London 1828 - 1857. A. Blomfield A Memoir of Charles James Blomfield (2 volumes 1863). Soloway Prelates 104 - 138, 122 ff.

17. G.F.A. Best Temporal Pillars: Queen Anne's Bounty, the Ecclesiastical Commissioners and the Church of England (1964) gives Blomfield the central role.

18. Sumner 1780 - 1862, bishop of Chester 1828 - 1848 and **archbishop** of Canterbury 1848 - 1862.

19. Soloway Prelates pp. 104 ff.

with Sumner's activities as an evangelical when he installed a principal at St. Bees college who was of the same church party, together with lecturer and tutor. Philpotts of Exeter, Percy of Carlisle and Vernon Harcourt of York refused to ordain candidates trained by these strong evangelicals ²⁰. Sumner seems to have been out of step with the views of many in high circles, and with the three deaneries where traditions did not favour reforming notions.

Long before Sumner was translated to Canterbury in 1848 it was clear that the three Cumbrian deaneries would be added to make an enlarged diocese of Carlisle on the death of bishop Percy. This decision had been put forward in 1836 but Percy refused to agree to it ²¹. The inevitable result was that Sumner paid little attention to Cumbrian parishes and his successor, John Graham, probably paid much less for he was master of Christ's College, Cambridge, where he spent most of the year. Graham had been chaplain to Prince Albert and was one of the old high and dry bishops opposed to the evangelicals. He was also the first bishop for eighty years to die at Chester ²².

20. Park St. Bees pp. 38 - 54.

21. Best Temporal Pillars pp. 264 ff, 404 ff.

22. Graham 1794 - 1865, son of a Durham clerk in business, bishop of Chester 1848 - 1865 .

It was ironic that it was one of the least reforming bishops of Chester who should hand over the deaneries to one of the most reforming bishops of Carlisle. Graham was **not** particularly able and disliked the evangelicals; Villiers was exceptionally able and a strong evangelical, virtues not previously found in combination in the character of episcopal owners of Rose Castle, the bishop's palace six miles from the cathedral, and near the village of Dalston. Carlisle was one of the smallest of dioceses and between 1600 and 1780 bishops, as well as archdeacons, were chosen from amongst the county's clergy. Edmund Law, appointed bishop in 1768, was the last of this line of local men.

Law was promoted to Carlisle due to the influence of the duke of Grafton and after a distinguished career at Cambridge²³. He was a native of Cartmel and had married Mary, daughter of the leading West Cumberland rival to the Lowthers, John Christian of Workington. As incumbent of Greystoke and Great Salkeld in turn, later archdeacon and bishop of Carlisle, Law knew his diocese and with family and friendship ties was firmly in the camp opposing Sir James Lowther. The government felt that the appointment of Law to Carlisle effectively countered the ambitions of Lowther to have one of his own placemen at Rose Castle²⁴. As friend to Richard Watson, the future bishop of Llandaff, Law was regarded with some suspicion by the 1780s since he agreed with Anglican reform²⁵.

23. Law 1703 - 1787, son of the curate of Staveley in Cartmel, prebend of Lichfield, Lincoln and Durham, master of Peterhouse Cambridge.

24. The Laws, Christians, and Curwens supported the duke of Portland.

25. Watson 1737 - 1816, refused the see of Carlisle 1787; bishop of Llandaff 1782 - 1816 though resident at Calgarth, Windermere.

Law

Rev Edmund 1693/1741
 m Patience Langbaine of
 Kendal 1701

Edmund 1703/1787 master of Peterhouse
 and bishop of Carlisle
 m Mary Christian of Ewanrigg 1740

John 1745/ 1810 bishop of Clonfert, Killgla and Elphin m Anne Plaskett of Carlisle	Ewan d 1829 m Henrietta d of Archbishop of York 1784	Edward 1750/ 1818 baron Ellenborough m Ann Towry 1789	Joseph Edmund	Thomas 1756/ 1834	George 1761/ 1845 bish of Chester m Jane Adeane	Mary m 1764 J S Lushington of Carlisle	Joanna d 1823 m Sir T Rumbold
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John Douglas succeeded Law at Carlisle and was one of the few to be translated from the post. There was little in common between Law and Douglas, the former independent and outspoken, the latter a government favourite, opposed to all prospect of church reform and translated, for his loyalty, to Salisbury ²⁶. Douglas's successor at Carlisle was Edward Vernon Harcourt, an aristocrat able to stand up to Sir James Lowther, recently created earl of Lonsdale.

Vernon Harcourt was a cautious, **sensible** and tolerant prelate able to stand clear of political conflicts which lured Douglas to the Lowther side, and to cope with the evangelical clergy then at work with Isaac Milner, dean of Carlisle, as their leader ²⁷. The bishop was translated to York in 1807 where he remained for **forty** years and found himself, like Law of Chester and Bath, a reluctant advocate of Anglican reforms through the influence of Blomfield in the 1830s. At Carlisle Vernon Harcourt was remembered for being a kind man, a type of moderate prelate able to get on well with all shades of opinion ²⁸.

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26. Douglas 1721 - 1807, formerly an army chaplain, canon of St. Paul's, bishop of Carlisle 1787 - 1791 and of Salisbury 1791 - 1807. Compare Douglas in C. J. Abbey The English Church and its Bishops (1887) ^{vol 2.} pp. 261 ff, with Law in W. Paley Life of Edmund Law appended to Law's Considerations on the state of the world with regard to the theory of religion (1820).
27. Edward Vernon Venables 1757 - 1847, son of first baron Vernon, changed his name to Vernon Harcourt on inheriting the estates of the third earl Harcourt but declined the title.
28. Soloway Prelates pp. 250,418; Best Temporal Pillars pp. 300 ff.

Samuel Goodenough was sent to Carlisle by the prime minister, the third duke of Portland, as a reward for tutoring his son and as supporter of the Portland interest in the political disputes with the earl of Lonsdale²⁹. Though not an aristocrat, the new bishop was strongly supported by those families amongst the nobility concerned to restrict the Lowther predominance and his appointment to Rose was an important part of this strategy. The earl of Lonsdale of the first creation had died in 1802, but his heir was created first earl of the new creation in 1807 and remained rival to the Portland interest³⁰. Unlike Vernon Harcourt, Goodenough had poor relations with Isaac Milner and strongly disapproved of co-operation between the evangelical clergy and the Dissenters, the Bible society branch, and the wish of Milner to allow pupils at Anglican schools to attend their own place of worship. Goodenough insisted that all children attending the new school on West Walls, Carlisle, had to attend Anglican services and be taught the Church catechism³¹.

29. Goodenough 1743 - 1827, son of a Hampshire incumbent, founder of a successful private school, intimate of the Portland family, bishop of Carlisle 1808 - 1827.

30. R. S. Ferguson Cumberland and Westmorland M.P.s from the Restoration to the Reform Bill of 1867 (1871) chapter 8. Disputes over the Portland estates with the Lowthers forced the third duke of Portland to sell his Cumbrian estates in 1782 to his brother in law, the fifth duke of Devonshire, to cover costs.

31. M. Milner Life of Isaac Milner (1844) p. 276.

Goodenough's sons were members of Milner's convivial circle each summer at Carlisle, which upset the bishop who disliked their taking rooms near to the deanery on West Walls. During 1815 the dean was co-founder of a new newspaper, the Carlisle Patriot, in order to counter what was seen as the radical political views of some people in the city and the success of the Carlisle Journal. Goodenough disliked Milner's association in this work with the earl of Lonsdale who provided the financial backing, though Milner was strong enough to remain independent of complete association with the earl³². On Goodenough's death the first of three undoubted aristocrats was promoted to Carlisle.

Hugh Percy was a member of one of the great noble houses, and his family credentials were impeccable³³. He was a grandson of the first duke of Northumberland, son of the first earl of Beverley, brother to the fifth duke of Northumberland, and married the daughter of Charles Manners Sutton, archbishop of Canterbury. Percy's preferment was consequently rapid: two lucrative family livings by the age of twenty four, chancellor and canon of Exeter and chancellor of Salisbury by the age of twenty eight, and before long canon, archdeacon and dean of Canterbury. When he was elevated to the bench in 1825 as bishop of Rochester it was expected that he would quickly rise. His translation to Carlisle in 1827 marked the end of his advancement because he fell foul of the Ecclesiastical Commissioners and the whig government in the 1830s³⁴.

32. Milner Life of Milner pp.361ff

33. Percy 1784 - 1856, bishop of Carlisle 1827 - 1856.

34. Best Temporal Pillars pp. 404 ff.

Archibald Tait, dean of Carlisle during Percy's later years, was summoned to a meeting chaired by the bishop in order to remedy the obvious defects in school provision in the diocese. Tait left an accurate description of Percy when he recalled:

The old-fashioned tory bishop was attended by many of the political leaders with whom he chiefly sympathised, by all the chief officials of the diocese, and by the leading whig county gentlemen, of whom he entirely disapproved, and from whom he had long been separated by an almost impenetrable barrier. If my memory serves me right, there was also present at least one whig attorney, a race for whom the blood of the Percys allowed even a bishop to have not more than the standard Christian amount of toleration. The decided Low Church evangelicals were also there - a section of the Church on whom the episcopal frown had long rested ... the bishop, whatever were his prejudices, was in his own nature a thoroughly kind hearted, courteous, Christian gentleman ³⁵.

Percy was an aristocrat at home in a rural diocese where he could ride to hounds whenever he chose, sit down to dinner with landowners each night, and walk round the parish of Dalston dispensing charity and advice to parishioners. As patron of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, for the Cumberland Infirmary, for the Clergy Aid

35. S. Smiles George Moore, Merchant and Philanthropist (1878 edition) pp. 483 - 484.

Society, Percy was in his element, but he was no innovator or administrator, and provisioned Rose Castle with supplies and muskets against threatened disturbances over the Reform Bill in 1831 and against the Chartists ³⁶. His opposition to the Ecclesiastical Commissioners was occasioned by dislike of central government and of the whigs, and compounded by revelations concerning several scandals over the Commissioners' finances. With Philpotts of Exeter and the Durham chapter, Percy proved a long-standing thorn in the workings of the Commissioners after they refused to augment his stipend because he held other lucrative preferment ³⁷.

Percy was the last of the old fashioned bishops aloof from modern developments in diocesan work, a gentleman who expected all of his clergy to be gentlemanly, a bishop who refused to interfere with a patron's rights and who left incumbents to oversee their own work. Attempts to reform or to alter were instinctively resisted by Percy, as Tait discovered when he planned to reorganise the chapter's finances and tried to encourage the four canons to do some parochial work ³⁸. Percy was more closely integrated into the diocese through his family than was true of his successors, and several of his children settled locally.

36. Percy's obituary is in the Carlisle Patriot 9 February 1856.

37. Best Temporal Pillars p. 387.

38. R. Davidson and W. Benham Life of Archibald Campbell Tait
(2 volumes 1891) vol.1 pp175 ff.

Of Percy's nine children, Henry became rector of Greystoke and canon of Carlisle, Hugh settled at Wigton after marrying Ann Story, and Lucy married Henry Askew of Conishead Priory . Percy himself was popular enough with country people, but his work as bishop was shown to be anachronistic by his reforming successors.

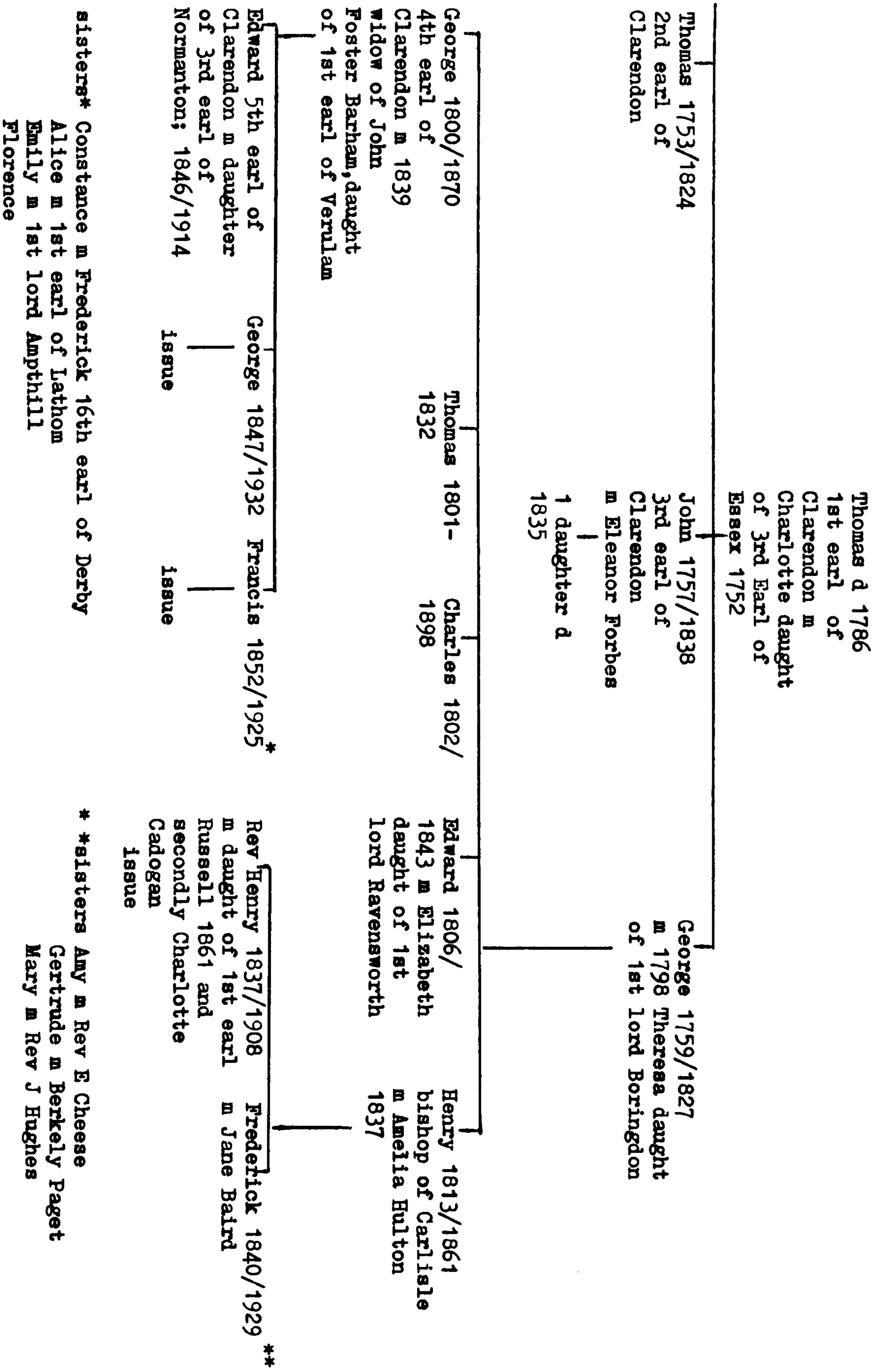
Percy's successor was Henry Villiers, an aristocratic evangelical sent to Carlisle because of Lord Shaftesbury's influence over the prime minister, Palmerston. At first there was some disappointment in the diocese since it had been expected that Tait would be offered the see ³⁹ . However he soon moved to become bishop of London, and the new bishop of Carlisle proved an able and impressive prelate ⁴⁰ .

Villiers was as well connected to the nobility as Percy had been : brother to one and brother in law to two more cabinet ministers, father in law to the first earl Russell and uncle by marriage to the sixteenth earl of Derby. Villiers had been the popular rector of the fashionable St. George's, Bloomsbury, and was sent to Carlisle in order to effect much-needed changes. At his primary visitation Villiers disconcerted incumbents by his careful investigation of educational provision, his obvious ability, his criticisms of the fact that over one hundred clergy earned less than £83 per year, and his icy manner ⁴¹ . To some extent his talents needed a wider field and he became the first

39. Davidson and Benham Tait vol. 1 p. 186

40. Villiers, 1817 - 1861, obituary Carlisle Journal 13 August 1861

41. Charge to the clergy 1857; Jackson Library biographical details 98B.

Villiers

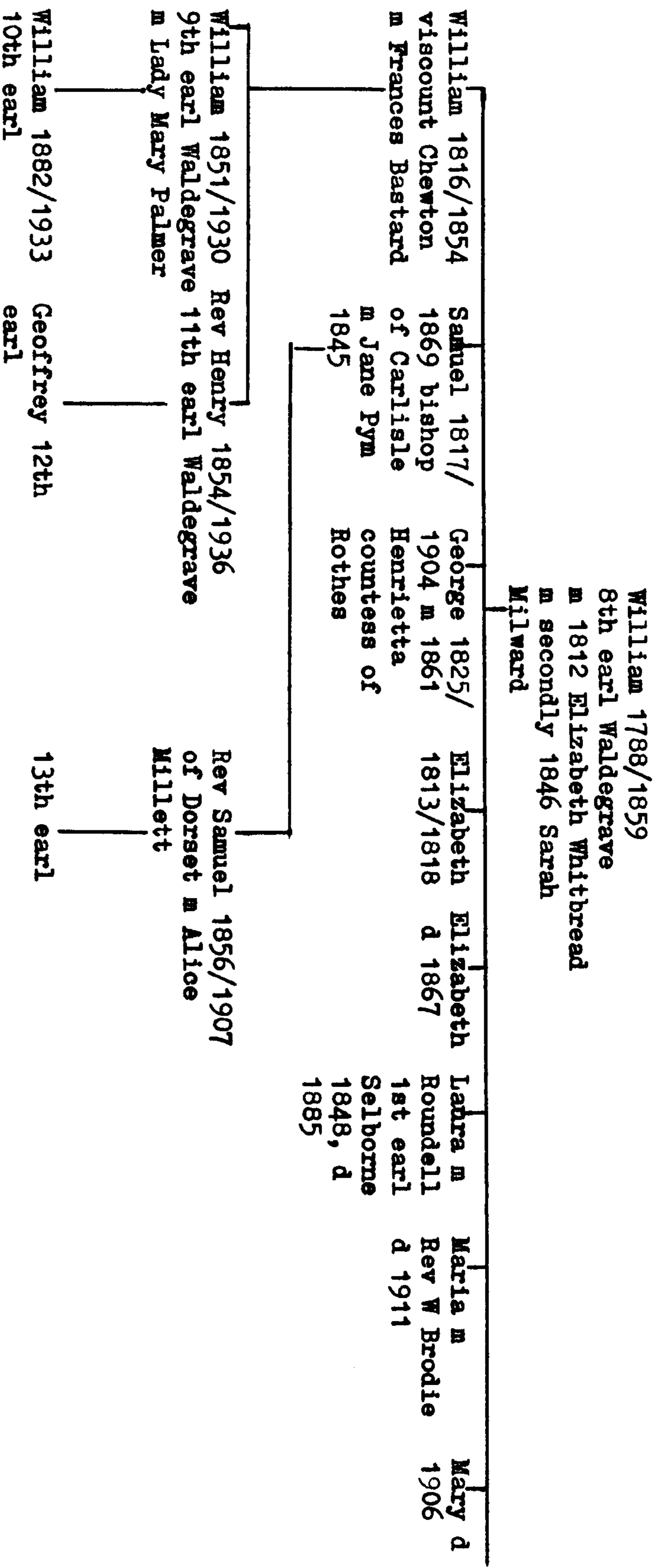
bishop of Carlisle since Vernon Harcourt in 1807 to be translated. Villiers was a controversial character who was sent to reform Durham in 1860 after only four years at Carlisle, but he died only fifteen months later without completing his task, leaving work to be done in both Carlisle and Durham by his successors ⁴² .

Villiers gave a taste of what might be achieved at Carlisle given a reforming prelate with some years at Rose. A revived and reviving Church of England produced a number of important bishops at this time, and amongst these was Samuel Waldegrave, sent to Carlisle in 1860 ⁴³ . Villiers was similar in many ways to Waldegrave : both were tall, dignified, aristocratic, impeccably attired, liberals in politics and evangelical in religion. The new bishop of Carlisle was second son of the eighth earl Waldegrave and brother of viscount Chewton, but in spite of his connections his appointment brought a storm of protest from the high church party led by Samuel Wilberforce, bishop of Oxford. Waldegrave had been for some years a prominent antagonist of the high church and ritualistic parties in the Church and as canon of Salisbury had created difficulties for his high church bishop, Hamilton ⁴⁴ .

42. Best Temporal Pillars p. 423

43. Waldegrave 1817 - 1869, details in the Christian Times
29 November 1867

44. G. I. T. Machin Politics and the Churches in Great Britain 1832 - 1868 (Oxford 1977) p. 300 ; P. Marsh The Victorian Church in decline (1969) pp. 124 - 125.

Waldegrave

Waldegrave had the same dean at Carlisle as Villiers, Francis Close, who possessed the same evangelical religious views. There took place a general onslaught against all signs of ritualistic innovation in churches that made the diocese notorious in high church quarters. Waldegrave was a formidable prelate if somebody were to quarrel with him, but he was also a reformer and vigorously pursued a programme of church and parsonage building, stipend augmentation, and the bringing of evangelical and devoted clergy into the diocese which brought about much-needed changes. For this reason was he seen as a key figure in the reform of the Church of England, and one who is central to this thesis ⁴⁵ .

The work upon which Waldegrave embarked at Carlisle was begun at York the following year by William Thomson ⁴⁶. Thomson was the son of a prominent Whitehaven tradesman and political opponent of the earl of Lonsdale, so that Thomson's appointment to be president of the Queen's college, Oxford was a challenge to the Lowthers who had possessed a traditional influence in the college. Thomson carried out much needed reforms before promotion to the see of Bristol and Gloucester in 1861 and the following year to York. His work for thirty years at York was to be as vigorous as that of Waldegrave

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45. I am grateful to the librarian of the dean and chapter library, Carlisle, for access to the Manuscript Letter Books of Bishop Samuel Waldegrave, referred to throughout as Waldegrave MS.
46. H. Kirk Smith William Thomson, Archbishop of York (1958).
Thomson 1819 - 1892, considered suitably evangelical for the posts.

at Carlisle.

Thomson was as evangelical and as liberal in his politics as Waldegrave, and each bishop put ordination candidates through an intimidating series of interviews which included startlingly basic theological questions. With Waldegrave seriously ill through the winter of 1868 - 1869 Thomson arranged for another evangelical liberal, David Anderson, to act as Waldegrave's suffragan ⁴⁷. Anderson had been ordained by Sumner of Chester in 1837 after a youth spent in the Clapham circle; in the 1840s he had been one of the evangelicals working under Buddicom, principal of St. Bees college, before being appointed first bishop of Rupertsland, Canada, in 1848. After twenty years there Anderson was home on leave, and the evangelical party desperately strove to have him appointed successor to Waldegrave after the latter's death in 1869. They were unsuccessful, and Harvey Goodwin was sent to Carlisle in 1869.

Neither Goodwin nor Anderson was aristocratic, and they each came from good middle-class evangelical backgrounds which illustrates the changing appointments of the day. At one time bishops had usually come from noble families, but partly due to the decline in clerical incomes and their equalisation their appeal declined. Goodwin was politically a liberal and in favour with Gladstone as a devoted Cambridge incumbent and reforming dean of Ely who even though high church, might bring beneficent influence to Carlisle ⁴⁸.

47. Park St. Bees pp. 138 - 141, 155

48. Goodwin 1818 - 1892, Cambridge incumbent 1841 - 1858, dean of Ely 1858 - 1869.

Goodwin was sent to Carlisle as a deliberate counter to the evangelical party, and in his long episcopate of twenty two years he worked to reconcile churchmen of differing parties within the Anglican fold whilst continuing the policies inaugurated and pursued by Villiers and Waldegrave ⁴⁹. He encouraged further creations of new parishes with patronage vested in trustees or the bishop, attracted men of ability with private means to serve in the diocese, and championed the cause of Anglican schools against Nonconformity and the state. Friends were brought into important livings, residential canonries attached to diocesan duty, honorary canonries bestowed on clergy of merit or long dedicated service, and his son in law, Henry Ware, established as Goodwin's suffragan at Barrow in Furness ⁵⁰. As was to be expected, there was a high church bias, but it was a wholesome application of the party spirit tempered with wisdom and common sense ; there was nothing narrow in a high church prelate who could welcome the Keswick convention ⁵¹. It was under Goodwin that the work of church and parsonage provision was completed with eighty new houses and one hundred and thirty six new churches ⁵².

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49. A Ramm The Political Correspondence of Mr. Gladstone and Lord Granville 1868 - 1876 RHS Camden third ser. lxxxi (1952) p. 69; Gladstone wrote ^{on October 20 1869} "Goodwin is no party man but with reference to Carlisle this is a great offence in the eyes of determined party men of that kind ..."
50. Goodwin issued an annual Pastoral Letter
51. H. D. Rawnsley Harvey Goodwin bishop of Carlisle (1896)
52. See table 14 pp.165-166

At Goodwin's death in 1892 it was nonetheless a member of the Islington Protestant Association who succeeded him. John Wareing Bardsley had made his name in London parishes and then as archdeacon in the diocese of Liverpool. He was then promoted to the tiny diocese of Sodor and Man for five years before translation to Carlisle. He was an evangelical, but of a different type to Francis Close and able to exist peacefully with all shades of churchmanship. Bardsley's style was described as humble, sincere and devoted, but unlike previous bishops he was not regarded highly as a leader ⁵³. He had a particular interest in education and was a strong supporter of Anglican schools, but during 1898 he was accidentally poisoned when on holiday in Egypt and never fully recovered his health. At his death in 1904 he had been unable to carry out his diocesan functions for some time.

The elevation of John William Diggle to Carlisle in 1905 was a reminder that the Lake District has not only attracted evangelical admirers but the broad church party too ⁵⁴. Diggle caused great anxiety in the diocese because both high church and evangelical disliked a prelate who wished to embrace Nonconformity and other Christians within the Established Church ⁵⁵. In denominational disputes Diggle refused to support his clergy and was the despair of his clergy over diocesan schools and temperance work since he refused to participate in work for either. Nonetheless he was widely regarded as a good man concerned to lead where he believed it necessary ⁵⁶.

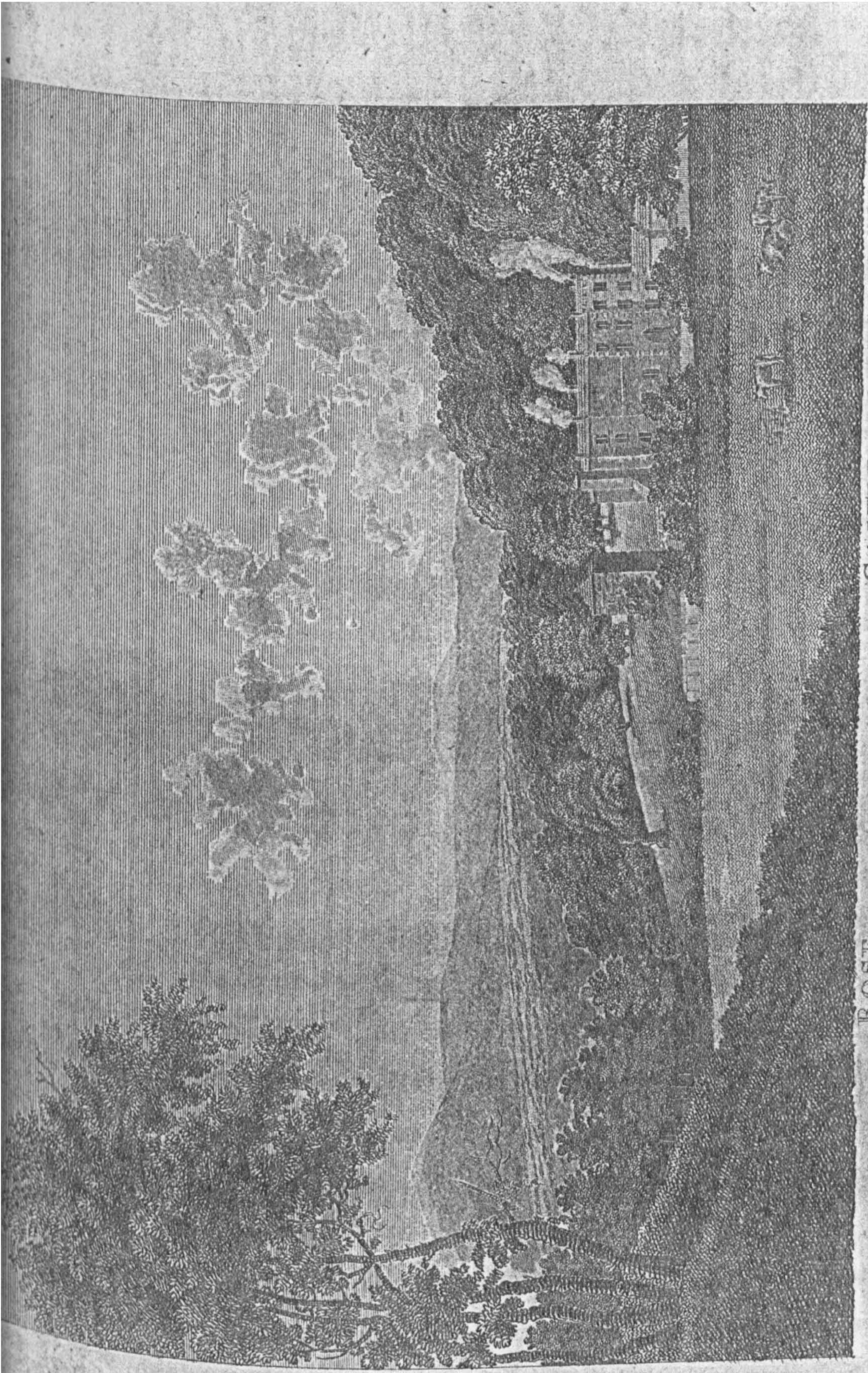
53. Carlisle Journal 6 September 1904 obit. Bardsley 1835 - 1904.

54. See below pp. 191-218

55. Trans CWAAS NS vol.xx 1920 p.259 obit.

56. Bouch Prelates and People pp. 449 - 453.

Diggle died in 1920 and was succeeded by Henry Williams. Bishops were by that date regularly middle-class and invariably able, and no longer the political appointees of the previous century. Gone were the differences between the calibre and origins of men sent to Chester or Carlisle to meet the special needs of industrial conurbations or political control by one family. The power of bishops of Carlisle to influence the work of their diocese had not diminished with the new age however, and the central role of successive prelates in running the diocese depended a good deal on their use of patronage.



ROSE

CASTLE,

*The seat of the Hon. & Rev. E. Vernon, L.L.D.
 Lord Bishop of Carlisle.*

Rose Castle, home of the bishops of Carlisle

The Bishops as Patrons

Successive bishops of Carlisle possessed patronage in their diocese that was denied to bishops of Chester even before 1856. In 1800 the bishop of Carlisle appointed clergy to twenty six parochial livings, to the single archdeaconry, to the four canonries and to minor canonries. Over the course of the century the bishop's patronage increased considerably as a result of the creation of new parishes with the living vested by patrons in bishops of Carlisle after their own death and as a result of deliberate policy by Waldegrave and Goodwin to obtain as much patronage as possible ¹. By 1920 not only did the bishop of Carlisle appoint to sixty three livings, but he was a member of ten trustee bodies acting as patrons.

Other individuals or bodies of course controlled more patronage than the bishops. The dean and chapter of Carlisle in 1780 appointed to twenty five livings, the earl of Lonsdale to twenty two, but during the next century they were not able substantially ^{to} increase their share of the total. There were two other groups who like the bishops greatly increased their share of parochial patronage: Anglican clergy who purchased advowsons with their incomes inflated by tithe and land values, and bodies of trustees.

In 1780 bishops regarded such patronage as a useful means of controlling entry to the diocese, providing friends and relations with preferment and rewards for services rendered, and increasingly as a way to place the workings of the diocesan machinery into the hands of men whom they regarded as able and suitable. A fundamental shift in public opinion encouraged the end to the sale of advowsons

1. See table 4Ap.64

Table 4APatronage in the diocese of Carlisle:

<u>Patron</u>	<u>1780</u>	<u>1830</u>	<u>1870</u>	<u>1890</u>	<u>1920</u>
Bishop of Carlisle	26	27	34	53	63
Dean & chapter of Carlisle	25	25	29	32	32
Earl of Lonsdale	22	30	33	38	35
Anglican clergy	13	46	62	67	54
Trustees	10	10	10	31	36
total livings of all patrons	210	218	270	298	298

Note: Bishop of Carlisle appoints to the posts of chancellor, archdeacon, residential and honorary canonries.

Dean and chapter appoint to minor canonries.

Anglican clergy includes advowsons in the hands of clergy who own the patronage and who present as an incumbent of mother parish.

In 1892 only four trustee bodies had no clergy as trustees, whilst of one hundred and fifteen named trustees fifty four were clergy.

Sources: Nicolson and Burn Westmorland and Cumberland ; Parson and White Cumberland, Westmorland, Furness and Cartmel (1829); Carlisle Diocesan Calendars 1870, 1890 and 1920.

and their concentration in the hands of the Church of England itself so that it could control to a significant extent its own work. The rise of trustees to be patrons of thirty six livings is to be explained in the desire of evangelical clergy and laymen to keep advowsons out of the hands of private persons whom they felt would tend to favour the high church and ritualistic parties, and by themselves appointing further trustees as places became vacant the trusts ensured their wishes would perpetuate².

Earls of Lonsdale possessed extensive patronage in the areas of their estates centred on Whitehaven and Lowther, whilst the dean and chapter of Carlisle appointed to many livings in and around the city of Carlisle and to the east and south of the city on the estates originally owned by Carlisle's monastic bodies. With successive earls of Lonsdale not interested in the welfare of the Church of England beyond its immediate usefulness, and a dean and chapter necessarily restricted in its scope for acquiring further advowsons, it was left to bishops of Carlisle to extend their patronage and to use it for the good of the Anglican body.

The letters of Samuel Waldegrave illustrate the way in which that reforming and powerful bishop exercised his patronage in order to aid the Church. Indeed his was the first opportunity to do this since the only other reforming bishop, Villiers, in his four years at Carlisle had only appointed to six livings. It was Waldegrave who inaugurated the policy of the most punctilious examination of candidates for holy orders and for livings and who brought to bear the first extensive control of which clergy entered the diocese.

2. The Simeon trustees appointed to three livings for example.

Waldegrave possessed several difficulties in the exercise of patronage. There was the attitude of the dean and chapter in Carlisle, for the body had a formidable dean in Francis Close and determined to retain patronage of new city livings. The earl of Lonsdale would never consider seeking the advice or wishes of a prelate whose politics and churchmanship were opposed to his own, even though many patrons might seek Waldegrave's opinions before appointing an incumbent. The bishop too possessed no patronage in the three deaneries formerly under Chester, and had to find ways to remedy this situation.

Waldegrave made it clear to the earl of Lonsdale and his clergy that he regarded it as their own duty to augment livings and provide parsonages, rebuffing archdeacon Jackson's request for episcopal aid with '... where recommendations for augmentation grants are made by myself these will be restricted to benefices where the patronage is public...' ³. Whilst sympathising with the active evangelical work of Close he likewise informed the dean that they must provide for their own augmentation ⁴.

The bishop put pressure on those whom he knew would respond and wrote to those whom he suspected might be amenable to his own preferences. After months of hard work Waldegrave was thus delighted to receive the gift of Arlecdon from the lord chancellor in 1860, but annoyed when Cleator Moor's new living went to the Lindow family ⁵. In Carlisle there was the difficulty for

3. Waldegrave MS Waldegrave to archdeacon Jackson 11 January 1861.

For Jackson, a strong Lowther supporter, see below p. 103

4. Waldegrave MS Waldegrave to Rev. Messrs Trueman and Livingston book 1 7 December 1860. See below p. 89.

5. Waldegrave MS Waldegrave to Isaac Mossop book 1, 12 December 1860.

Waldegrave of countering the ambitions of Francis Close to control every new city parish, but the bishop scored notable successes with the creation of St. Stephens, financed by Baroness Burdett Coutts, and of St. James, financed by Waldegrave's friends outside the diocese, with patronage for each vested in the bishop. Once this was achieved Waldegrave had to write to a protesting dean that ' Considering the state of church patronage in Carlisle it is right that the gift of presentation should be at once and forever vested in the bishop ... ' ⁶ .

Waldegrave was prepared to compromise, especially when others footed the bill or gave up a good deal to establish a new parish. At Maryport he agreed to be one of the trustees appointing because the town had paid for the new parish^{church}, whilst at Arnside he allowed the vicar of Beetham to retain patronage of the new living so long as he remained at Beetham. Thereafter it was to come to the bishop ⁷ . Arnside was carved out of Beetham, but such creation of a new parish was fraught with legal and personal difficulties which emerged over the creation of Raughton Head. Vested interests had to be placated and eventually seven trustees were granted the patronage, of whom the bishop and another clergyman were two ⁸ .

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6. Waldegrave MS book 2, Waldegrave to dean Close 11 October 1867.
 7. Waldegrave MS book 2, Waldegrave to Mr. Senhouse 26 September 1867 and 4 October 1867; book 3, Waldegrave to Rev. Mr Hutton 30 December 1868
 8. Waldegrave MS book 2, Waldegrave to churchwardens of Raughton Head 7 November 1867 and 26 November 1867.

Many patrons asked Waldegrave for advice, though he wrote to one person that ' I never volunteer advice to patrons ' ⁹ . To William Postlethwaite the bishop added that ' It is seldom that I am unable, if consulted, to recommend a suitable candidate for a vacant benefice ' ¹⁰ . Waldegrave was adept at persuading patrons and incumbents not to employ or appoint unsuitable curates, meaning those with known leanings towards ritualistic innovation or men with no evangelical referees who could vouch for their orthodoxy . There remained however a number of patrons who ignored Waldegrave, and in particular incumbents connected with the earl of Lonsdale.

During 1868 Waldegrave appointed William Hodgson to the vacant living of Clifton, situated two miles from Penrith and less than that distance from Lowther castle. It was an area in which the bishop had long regretted ^{the} high church proclivities of archdeacon Jackson, rector of Lowther, and his neighbouring clergy, appointed by the earl of Lonsdale. Having broken the news to lord Lonsdale that he had appointed Hodgson, an evangelical, Waldegrave was surprised to receive three letters off the earl in one day. The bishop wrote:

My dear Lord,

I was not aware of the interest your
lordship takes in Clifton ... ¹¹

And then in explanation:

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9. Waldegrave MS book 2, Waldegrave to unknown patron, 10 November 1867
10. Waldegrave MS book 2, Waldegrave to Postlethwaite, 26 November 1867
11. Waldegrave MS book 3, Waldegrave to Lonsdale, 20 June 1868

My dear Lord,

The rectory of Clifton is no longer vacant. I offered it to a decent Westmorland clergyman only this week... the Rev. William Hodgson, MA, formerly incumbent of Brathay, Ambleside... for some years principal of Moor college, Sydney, NSW... ¹².

Then in response to a stream of complaining letters received from the earl which flooded in almost hourly the bishop responded:

While I regret that I have not been able to meet your wishes, I rejoice that I have provided so suitably for the place in the Rev. William Hodgson... a man of good standing who combines the possession of fair private means with the still greater advantage of an excellent wife ... ¹³.

It was a triumph for Waldegrave as he wrote to his friend canon Jefferson :

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12. Waldegrave MS book 3, Waldegrave to lord Lonsdale 20 June 1868; Waldegrave would write upto twenty letters on one day of the week and none then for several days.
 13. Waldegrave MS book 3, Waldegrave to lord Lonsdale 20 June 1868. Both were then in London and messengers rushed between the two houses.

My dear canon Jefferson,

I have long been anxious to place in the neighbourhood of Penrith a man of position and experience who might be the fighter you desire against Ritualistic innovation... so rife there ... ¹⁴

Waldegrave was committed to introducing evangelicals to the diocese, and especially men with substantial means who could ignore the poor stipends attached to many Cumbrian livings . A vacancy at Ulverston created a perplexing situation for the bishop who spent months searching for a suitable man. Ulverston was one of five benefices in the patronage of the Rev. Arthur Peache, principal of the Anglican Highbury college in London, an evangelical, owner of a Lake District home, and a friend of the bishop's. It was no surprise therefore that when Ulverston fell vacant in 1867 Peache offered the opening to a man of Waldegrave's choice. Months of work is shown in the ensuing correspondence as having taken place ¹⁵ .

The immediate problem was outlined to the rural dean, Ayre, who was instructed to officiate at the parish church:

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14. Waldegrave MS book 3, Waldegrave to canon Jefferson, 30 June 1868; Jefferson, JP, MA, vicar of Brough under Stainmore 1828 - 1870, hon. canon of Carlisle 1862 - 1870.
15. Waldegrave MS book 2, October 1867 onwards; Peache gave the patronage to trustees .

Canon Gwyllym has resigned ... and the curates are certainly disposed in the Ritualistic direction, and I do not like to leave them in possession during the vacancy. ¹⁶

Two letters were written to the Ulverston curates telling them that no 'novelties' were to be introduced into the parish church and that they were only there on suffrance ¹⁷. At the same time Waldegrave had heard that the bishop of Bombay was on leave and was looking for a suitable post:

My dear Bishop,

Hearing that it is not likely that you will return to India, I have, by the very kind permission of the Rev. A . Peache, the patron, the duty of asking whether you will take charge of the third most important parish in my diocese - Ulverston ... ¹⁸

Meetings were arranged and Waldegrave went to stay with Bombay at St. Leonards because his own house had suffered an outbreak of some infection. No decision was reached however and inquiries about other candidates put in hand.

16. Waldegrave MS book 2, Waldegrave to Ayre, 2 December 1867

17. Waldegrave MS book 2, Waldegrave to Ulverston curates,
4 December 1867

18. Waldegrave MS book 2, Waldegrave to bishop of Bombay
December 1867.

Waldegrave was seeking an evangelical, a gentleman, and one of ample private means, promising in return £2000 for a 'suitable parsonage' and freedom to act as he wished within the large parish. The bishop of Bombay played hard to get and Waldegrave had to enter into correspondence which taxed his temperament:

Hitherto, evangelical men have only been seen at a distance, through somewhat coloured glasses...

Am I to take it that you distinctly refuse the offer?

... it is quite a suffragan's post - and how thankful I would be for such a suffragan as you. ¹⁹

Peache was asked several times by Waldegrave if he could recommend suitable men, and candidates were despatched by several friends to be interviewed by the bishop and to view the parish. Lady Roden, a strongly evangelical lady, was asked to give an opinion about one man and his suitability for an evidently unusual post:

The last incumbent had a private income of between two and three thousand pounds and kept three curates, and was widely hospitable. He was rural dean and a kind of suffragan bishop in those parts. ²⁰

19. Waldegrave MS book 2, Waldegrave to bishop of Bombay 19 December 1867

20. Waldegrave MS book 2, Waldegrave to Lady Roden 23 December 1867.

Eustace turned out to be a good candidate, though he only had a thousand pounds a year income. Three Irish clergymen who had seemed promising were likewise deficient in this respect since none possessed over £700 private income ²¹. Eustace was assured by Waldegrave that a Lambeth D. D. would be arranged for the successful candidate but the plan fell through. Approaches were then made to a Mr. Sullivan, a man known to both Peache and Waldegrave, a cathedral canon and parish incumbent. Sullivan was a cousin to Sir Charles Sullivan and 'a true Christian gentleman of ample means' ²². Sullivan was informed by Waldegrave :

A man is required who is decided in his views and is also wise... the last man was NOT decided in his views ... ²³

Sullivan refused the offer, as the bishop suspected he would, '... for the late bishop Villiers made several efforts to induce him to enter his diocese' ²⁴

21. Waldegrave MS book 2, Waldegrave to Peache, 19 December 1867

22. Waldegrave MS book 2, Waldegrave to Mr Pickering, 9 January 1868

23. Waldegrave MS book 2, Waldegrave to Rev. Mr Sullivan 26. December 1867

24. Waldegrave MS book 2, Waldegrave to Pickering, 9 January 1867

For Waldegrave the dangers of ritualistic clergymen interfering in parish work were alarming, and a Mr. Daniel, curate in a neighbouring parish, was banned from going to Ulverston parish church ²⁵. Daniel received an unpleasant letter and was refused a licence to officiate because of his ritualistic sympathies :

I cannot tell you how much astonished and grieved I am at the want of good taste and good sense that your being in Ulverston at all under present circumstances ... it shows a public disregard of Church order ... and my decision is final and must be obeyed. ²⁶

Waldegrave however still had the post to fill and complained to archdeacon Cooper of part of the problem:

My dear archdeacon,

We do indeed feel very much for you and the more so as we ourselves have had and still have much to try us. Great difficulty is experienced in filling up Ulverston... the friends of the former dynasty seem to have frightened off most of the candidates. ²⁷

^{back 4} _____
25. Waldegrave MS, Waldegrave to churchwardens, 24 January 1868

^{back 4}
26. Waldegrave MS, Waldegrave to Daniel, 24 January 1868

^{back 4}
27. Waldegrave MS, Waldegrave to Cooper, 28 January 1868

The bishop noted with some humour that the few influential people who disliked the thought of an evangelical vicar had inadvertently put off a high church cleric with ample means. Finally in February 1868 the Rev. G. G. Moston, a London incumbent, was offered the post and accepted, and the bishop informed Brady, the one loyal and remaining curate, of this decision ²⁸ .

Waldegrave was using patronage to bring in outsiders into the diocese who would then deploy their private incomes to good effect in their parishes. Goodwin too secured the services of as many clergy as possible from outside the region and diocese, partly by using the canonries to augment their stipends as incumbents and then attaching other duties to the posts. It was a sign of how far changes had gone that these bishops were using canonries and other patronage to help the Church rather than to provide for their relatives and friends as so many sinecures. However the problems of patronage included the disposal of canonries in that last bastion of the unreformed Church of England : the cathedral chapter. Before changes could be carried out in the chapter, it was necessary for the deans of Carlisle to change, and this theme occupies the next section.

28. Waldegrave MS book4, Waldegrave to Brady, 24 February 1868

The Deans

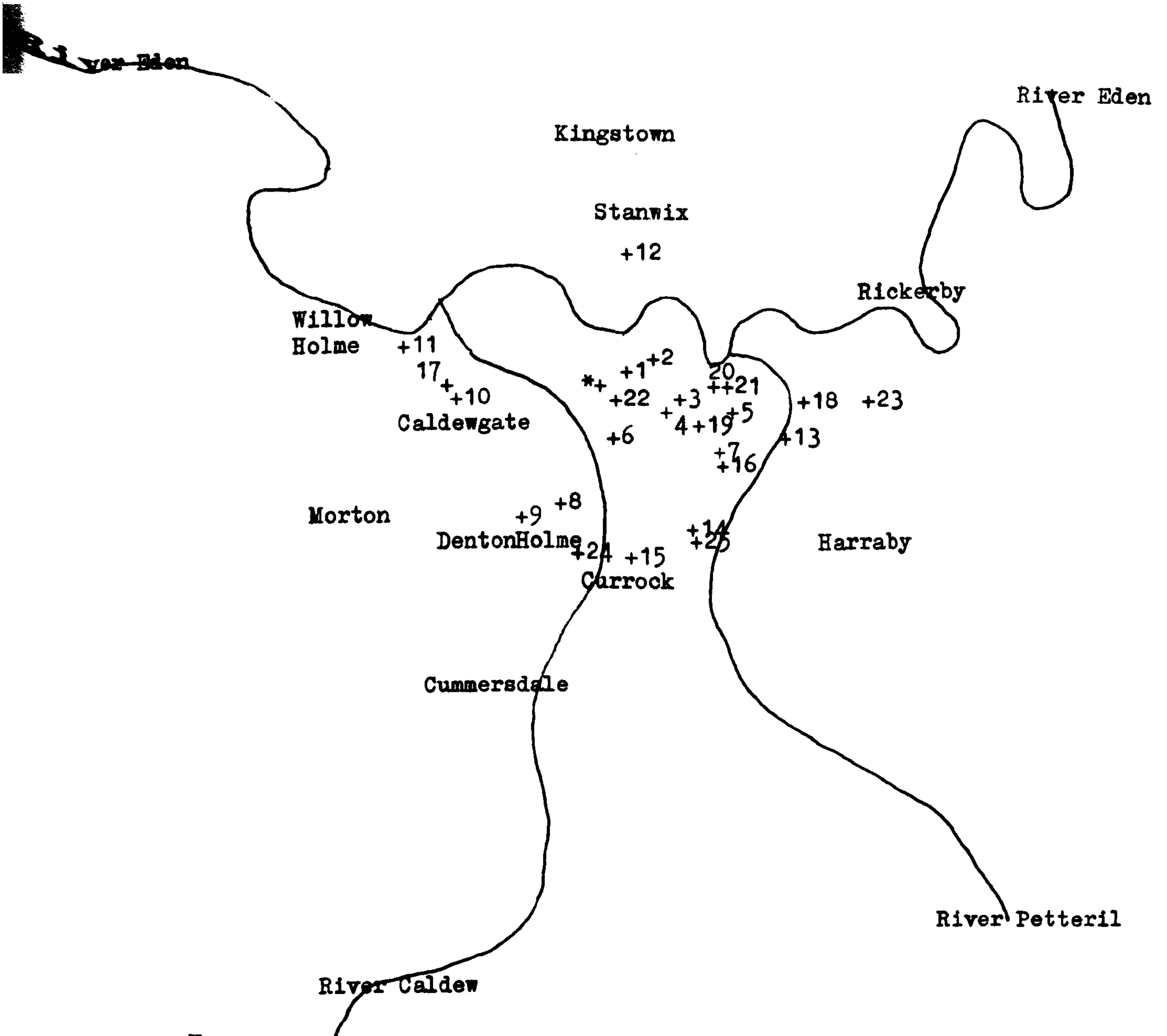
Deans of Chester possessed little relevance for parishes in Cumbria because they had no patronage in the county. However the deans of Carlisle, together with their chapter, were as important in terms of patronage as the dean and chapter of Chester was unimportant. After 1850 deans of Carlisle were resident in West Walls throughout the year and no longer the pluralists that they had once been, and with the expansion of Carlisle as a communications and industrial centre their scope for action was correspondingly increased. As with the bishops, so the deans had to be men able to keep aloof from the political squabbles which erupted from time to time in the diocese, and to be able to withstand pressure which might be exerted by the earls of Lonsdale.

Deans, like bishops, were rewarded with deaneries for their services and usefulness to an administration, so that when Thomas Percy was appointed dean of Carlisle in 1778 it was owing to his patrons, the earl of Sussex and the duke of Northumberland¹.

His surname was misleading for he was from a Shropshire tradesman's family and no relation to the noble Percy family. Much of his time was devoted to antiquarian pursuits and his visits to Carlisle perfunctory and ended in 1782 with his promotion to the bishopric of Dromore, Ireland. He was dean simply to keep out a Lowther follower.

1. Percy 1729 - 1811, biog. in T. Brown Round Carlisle Cross
(Carlisle 1922) pp. 58 - 67.

Carlisle : Churches



Key

*cathedral churches: +

- 1. Quaker 2 Fisher St Presbyterian 3 Fisher St Wesleyan 4 St Mary C of E
- 5 Warwick Rd Presbyterian 6 St Cuthbert C of E 7 Cecil St Evangelical Union
- 8 Charlotte St Congregational 9 St James C of E 10 Holy Trinity C of E
- 11 Old Primitive 12 St Michael C of E 13 Aglionby St Baptist 14 Bothergate Brethren
- 15 Currock Wesleyan 16 Cecil St Primitive 17 Caldewgate Wesleyan
- 18 Warwick Rd Catholic 19 Lowther St Congregational 20 Chapel St United Methodists
- 21 Chapel St Presbyterian 22 Old Brethren meeting
- 23 St Aidan C of E 24 St Herbert C of E 25 St John C of E

Scale 1 inch to 1 mile

The importance of frustrating the designs of Sir James Lowther in 1782 led to the appointment of Jeffrey Ekins to the deanery². Ekins had been tutor to Frederick Howard, later fifth earl of Carlisle, who had presented Ekins to the Howard living at Morpeth, Northumberland, in 1776 and to Sedgfield in 1777. Acting as Howard's chaplain and secretary whilst the former was lord lieutenant of Ireland, Ekins was rarely in Carlisle and as was normal for the day did little work for his stipend. At his death in 1791 a sign of the changing religious attitudes of the day was the appointment of Isaac Milner to the deanery.

Milner was a friend of William Pitt the younger, and an intimate of the Wilberforce family, Charles Simeon and the other prominent evangelicals of the day. Pitt had briefly acted as member of parliament for Appleby thanks to the influence of Sir James Lowther but he broke with his erstwhile patron³. Pitt promoted Milner to Carlisle as a strong personality and opponent of the earl of Lonsdale. The new dean was in the West Walls deanery from late June until late September of each year, spending the other months of the year as *president* of Queen's college, Oxford. Milner's evangelical circle were often on holiday in the Lake District and William Wilberforce stayed in Carlisle during 1796. He wrote to a mutual friend, James Stillingfleet :

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2. Ekins 1735 - 1791, T Brown Round Carlisle Cross (Carlisle 1925) pp. 38 - 41.
 3. Earl Stanhope Life of the Right Honourable William Pitt, 4 volumes (1861) vol. 1 pp.46ff.

There is a slacking among them [the people of the city].
 There seems to want a follow up of the blow of Milner's
 preaching by a constant repetition of such preaching;
 for many hear with eagerness ⁴ .

The earl of Lonsdale had recently just lost his final attempt to
 take over both parliamentary seats in the city, a fact which
 intensified his hostility towards Milner and the other
 evangelical preachers. The dean's brother, Joseph Milner, was
 in Carlisle the following year, 1797, and also sent a letter on
 the work in Carlisle to Stillingfleet :

The people here, the aborigines, are a well behaved
 simple people; the refin^sness, shall I say, the lewdness
 and impudence, of the southern part of the island, they
 know not ... they are sheep without a shepherd... There
 are here some Methodists and Dissenting interests, but
 feeble and of little weight, nor is there a Dissenter
 here of any popularity, nor as it should seem, of any
 religious zeal. What a fine field for a pastor, steady,
 fervent, intelligent and charitable. ⁵

4. M. Milner Life of Isaac Milner (1844 edition) p. 57

5. Milner Life of Milner pp. 71 - 72

Milner was soon able to use his patronage to bring in able and devout evangelical clergy, most notably John Fawcett who became incumbent of St. Cuthbert's in 1799 and for fifty years led the evangelical party amongst the parochial clergy of the diocese ⁶. Milner himself brought to bear a strong influence on the city and its leading families, and during each summer became the central figure in the social life of the cathedral precincts. William Paley was a congenial archdeacon and chancellor, and formed a part of the friendly circle which included the Grahams of Netherby, the Curwens of Workington, and the Losh and Blamire families who lived locally. It was Milner who was the religious and social leader of this fraternity ⁷.

Milner's vigour showed what role an active dean might play in the city and diocese if he chose to exercise his influence. For a time in his later years Milner sided with the first earl of Lonsdale in espousing the government's plans to suppress radical and reforming notions which cost him some admirers. On the other hand he organised work for the three thousand unemployed textile workers, including the construction of banks to channel the river Eden and laying out raised footpaths on city walks ⁸. Milner's biographer put the matter succinctly:

6. C. H. Terrot Sermon on the life of the Rev. John Fawcett
(Carlisle 1851)

7. H. Lonsdale The Worthies of Cumberland (1873) pp. 41 - 107,
117 - 238

8. Milner Life of Milner pp. 342 - 343.

He had long observed with sorrow the increase and dissemination of a democratic spirit in the city and neighbourhood of Carlisle, and had thought very seriously on the subject with a view to the adoption of some practical means of checking the growing evil.⁹

The establishment of the Carlisle Patriot was the result, but Milner was too independent to simply to the government line on suppressing dissenting voices and advocated remedial measures to ameliorate post-war economic hardship. Milner's successor at Carlisle in 1820 was Robert Hodgson, a sound government man who had been dean of Chester and was despatched to Carlisle in order to counter in the distant north any suggestions that the senior clergy were not wholly in agreement with the government. His appointment was likewise a sign of Anglican decline into general inactivity which allowed other denominations ^{simply to} increase in numerical strength.

Hodgson retained his rich living of St. George's, Hanover Square, but so assiduous was his attention to London and the court that he displayed little interest in Carlisle¹⁰. He shared bishop Percy's views on Church reform and announced in 1833 that the diocese of Carlisle was a model of excellence and needed no further changes, which brought scorn and ridicule on his head from the opposition press. His dislike of the Ecclesiastical Commissioners was well known¹¹.

9. Milner Life of Milner p. 367

10. S. Jefferson History and Antiquities of Carlisle (Carlisle 1837) p. 253. Hodgson, rector of St. George 1803 - 1844.

11. Carlisle Journal 16 March 1833

Hodgson was succeeded by J. A. Cramer, an Oxford scholar and historian who made no impression in the diocese ¹². He visited Carlisle three times between 1844 and 1848 and was replaced at his death by Samuel Hinds ¹³. Hinds was a learned and tolerant man who was in favour of moderate ecclesiastical reforms and found favour with the government who promoted him after just thirteen months to the bishopric of Norwich where he instituted the type of changes needed at Carlisle at that date. It was appropriate that although bishop Percy was opposed to changes, the new dean of Carlisle in 1850 should be one of the great figures of the reviving Church of England, Archibald Campbell Tait.

Tait was like Hinds in that he sympathised with the broad church school of religious thought as developed by Stanley and Arnold. His appointment to a traditional diocese like Carlisle with a run of tory bishops and deans was adventurous ¹⁴. Tait was the first dean to be resident in Carlisle for most of the year and showed what might be achieved by an able man committed to active diocesan involvement where previously the reward of a deanery was an opportunity for relaxation. One of Tait's former pupils, Samuel Waldegrave, future bishop of Carlisle, urged his old teacher to be a tireless worker, and Lord John Russell and his government must have suspected that so active and able a man would not sit idly back enjoying his preferment ¹⁵.

12. Cramer 1793 - 1848, formerly regius professor of modern history.

13. Hinds 1793 - 1872; Machin Politics and the Churches p. 198

14. Tait 1811-1882, headmaster of Rugby 1842, dean of Carlisle 1850, bishop of London 1857, archbishop of Canterbury 1868 - 1882.

15. Davidson and Benham Life of Tait vol. 1 chapters 6 and 7.

Tait was shocked to find only ten people at his first cathedral communion and that the chapter met irregularly because of the failure of the four canons to fulfil residentiary duties. He introduced Sunday afternoon preaching, appointed active men to take charge of chaplaincy duties to city institutions, and commenced the overdue restoration of the cathedral fabric. At the same time he was a prominent member of the royal commission on the reform of Oxford university and an important liberal politically. The new dean's most lasting achievements included the coming to terms with the Ecclesiastical Commissioners over the chaotic state of the chapter's finances which was typical of cathedral bodies of that time ¹⁶. Percy was at loggerheads with the commissioners over their cutting his subsidy from £2000 a year to £1500, and had an innate suspicion of a body which had suffered two serious scandals in the fraudulent affairs of John Patterson and C. K. Murray ¹⁷. With the aid of Sir James Graham of Netherby, formerly home secretary and a commissioner, Tait came to terms with the commissioners and made Carlisle into the second cathedral body in England, after York, to so modernise its finances. In some dioceses it was twenty years before such reforms took place ¹⁸.

16. Best Temporal Pillars pp. 423, 459

17. Best Temporal Pillars pp. 404-405, 224, 387

18. Davidson and Benham Life of Tait pp. 175 ff; Best Temporal Pillars pp. 424, 459; Hereford and Durham were the least amenable to reform.

Tait hoped that he would be appointed bishop of Carlisle in 1856 on the death of Percy, but the post went to Villiers. Months later the dean lost five of his children in an outbreak of scarlet fever, and Queen Victoria, moved by his grief and by her own sufferings in similar circumstances, pressed the government to appoint him bishop of London. The move succeeded partly because Shaftesbury regarded Tait as suitable in spite of his broad party leanings, and influenced his stepfather in law, the prime minister, Palmerston¹⁹.

The lack of sectarianism in Tait and his work, his liberal sympathies for things both secular and religious, were not shared by his successor Francis Close²⁰. A high churchman commented on Close some years later :

The Carlisle clergy are completely over - ridden by an ultra Protestant clique, the strength of which lies in the dean and a powerful tradition left by the late two bishops.²¹

For most of his life Close was the most unswerving of evangelicals, narrow minded, dedicated to promoting the cause of teetotalism and ending gambling and smoking, a formidable preacher and somebody that contemporary opinion either loved or hated.

19. Davidson and Benham Life of Tait pp. 189-192

20. Close, 1797 - 1882, son of a Suffolk incumbent, incumbent of Cheltenham 1824 - 1856, dean of Carlisle 1856 - 1881, incumbent of St. Mary's Carlisle 1865 - 1868, published over seventy sermons.

21. Memorials of Dean Close by one who knew him (Carlisle 1885)

At Cheltenham Close had ruled the religious, educational and social life of the town so much that he had been nicknamed the pope of Cheltenham. He could be a genial, attractive and lively character at social gatherings, but by the time he came to Carlisle the townspeople saw a large, fiery, zealous and disgruntled cleric who lashed all with whom he disagreed from the pulpit. It was a sign of his failure to have inherited the sympathies and tolerance of Simeon and Milner in their evangelical labours, or to develop into the type of evangelical preacher best shown in the kindly and popular T. D. Harford Battersby, founder of the Keswick convention, that Close opposed all suggestion of co-operation with non - Anglicans and possessed no flexibility in his pronouncements and condemnations. Right at the end of his life, the old silver-haired dean was roundly condemning the Salvation Army as agents of the devil. Close was an anachronism within the Anglican fold long before his death ²² .

Close could not get on with Harvey Goodwin because of the bishop's high church opinions. What the crusty old dean thought of his own successor, John Oakley, a modern high churchman, is not recorded but can be imagined as having been unfavourable ²³ .

Oakley was as daring an appointment to make as Tait had been, for he was a humane and progressive clergyman who encouraged a new attitude in the cathedral precincts.

22. T. Brown Round Carlisle Cross(1923) pp. 52 - 53 provides a good portrait of Close; Brown was one of the many terrified of him.

23. Oakley 1834 - 1890, London incumbent 1857 - 1879, dean of Carlisle 1880 - 1882, dean of Manchester 1882 - 1890.

Oakley first of all took down the wrought iron gates placed in the cathedral in order to restrict the movements of people attending services who might disturb his preaching. It was a physical sign of the spiritual freedom brought to the cathedral precincts as the new dean invited trade union leaders, actors, racing crowds and public house patrons to attend his services. His work with travelling people, his insistence that any sort of dress was appropriate for services, would have appalled Close, as would have his music and harvest festivals and use of the cathedral for all manner of celebrations and events. Oakley was moved to the deanery of Manchester where he was put under the sort of strain lacking in Carlisle, sorting out financial disputes amongst the clergy of the city of Manchester and arbitrating in labour troubles between masters and men ²⁴ .

Oakley's successor at Carlisle was W.G. Henderson, a man lacking both his predecessor's abilities and his controversiality, and a clergyman not given to innovation or strange notions. He fitted in well with the diocese and remained dean until his death in 1916 ²⁵. Henderson was not conspicuous in his churchmanship, but his successor was Hastings Rashdall, an eminent historian and broad church proponent ²⁶ .

24. O. Chadwick the Victorian Church (2volumes 1966 and 1970) vol. 2 pp. 282, 392

25. Henderson for so long a tenure of the deanery left nothing like as many stories as Close and did not fire the public's imagination.

26. Rashdall 1858 - 1924, canon of Hereford, dean of Carlisle 1916-1924.

Rashdall was a man towards the end of distinguished career as member of Hereford's chapter and as a historian, but he suffered from considerable bouts of ill health at Carlisle which were ascribed to the harsh climate for a man accustomed to the south of the country ²⁷. Like Henderson he was popular enough in the diocese but he was not the decisive figure that Close had been, or as hard-working as Tait, and the cathedral precincts became something of the sleepy confines ^{they} had been in the 1830s. It certainly could not be said that Rashdall ruled the city's religious life, but this was a sign of the churchmanship best seen in the opinions and beliefs of bishop Diggle at that date. The dean and chapter retained its extensive patronage in the diocese which could so alter the type of clergy to be found in Cumbria. For the deans of Carlisle, there were all shades of opinions represented; perhaps rather aptly, Close lies head on to Goodwin, in marble effigy, in the south aisle of the cathedral, providing a contrast of which the old dean would have approved. Close is in white marble, his bishop in black, and there are no shades of grey to be seen.

27. P. E. Matheson the Life of Hastings Rashdall (1928)

The Patronage of the Dean and Chapter

The extensive patronage in the diocese of Carlisle exercised by the dean and chapter of Carlisle made that body as influential as the bishop and the earl of Lonsdale. However it was a patronage based on the former monastic estates in Carlisle, to the east of the city towards Brampton, and south towards Penrith and the old forest of Inglewood, and as the nineteenth century progressed it was a patronage not greatly augmented by new parishes. Trustee bodies or wealthy benefactors preferred to vest the advowson in the bishop to giving the patronage to the dean and an unreformed chapter of indeterminate quality. There was too the danger that in the future the chapter bodies might be destroyed or so reformed as to end their separate existence, whereas bishops were thought of as going on indefinitely. The result was that only in the city of Carlisle was dean Close able to capture further patronage¹.

Dean Milner had done his best to secure the appointment of men of his own evangelical beliefs and was deeply committed to promoting the interests of the evangelical party². His successor Hodgson was equally concerned not to promote the interests of that church party but favored the old fashioned high and dry men, a group in the diocese who looked to bishop Percy too for favours. Tait as the first resident dean had the advantage over canons who really cared little for appointments, but few fell vacant in his patronage between 1850 and 1856. Francis Close was more fortunate and filled all but four of the thirty or so livings, and some he filled several times over.

1. See table 4p. 64.

2. Milner Life of Milner pp. 142-143; he complained of the task.

Close regarded Carlisle and its parishes as his own personal concern, and as the city and its residential and industrial suburbs expanded into farming land the need for new parishes provided the dean with his opportunity for acquiring further patronage. To the original three city incumbencies which Close found on his arrival a further five were to be added in the 1860s, but a struggle broke out between the dean and bishop Waldegrave over the patronage and absorbed a good deal of energy on all sides ³.

It was Close's ambition to annex all four cathedral canonries to city livings in order to enhance the prestige and income of the incumbencies and to attract a coterie of leading evangelical preachers who would otherwise avoid the diocese and its apparent lack of suitably wealthy posts ⁴. For the bishop there were obvious advantages in that he would thus be provided with a strong group of canons, active and able, and a reformed chapter, at one blow. On the other hand it would have been a serious erosion of his patronage, and encourage further such exploits by the formidable dean. Though an evangelical, Waldegrave was not a narrow party man like Close.

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3. Carlisle parishes: St. Cuthbert (dean and chapter), Holy Trinity (dean and chapter 1834), Christ Church (dean and chapter 1854), St. James (five trustees 1863), St. Paul (bishop of Carlisle 1865), St. Stephen (bishop of Carlisle 1865), St. John (five trustees 1867), St. Mary (dean and chapter 1868), St. Aidan (bishop of Carlisle 1902)
4. Waldegrave MS, book 1, Waldegrave to Close, 12 September 1861

Close for example would only consider suitably evangelical men for his livings and high churchmen complained to Waldegrave about this partisanship⁵. As the bishop told them, there was really nothing that he could do. Concerning the annexation of the canonries to the city livings, Waldegrave used delaying tactics and suggested that city livings should first be augmented to £300 each, and that Sir James Graham, at that time member of parliament for Carlisle, should be allowed to pursue his attempts at cathedral reform without involvement by Close or Waldegrave⁶. Graham died the following year and Close encouraged the new city member, the industrialist Joseph Ferguson, to take chancellor Burton to court during 1863 in order to deprive him of his canonry. Burton had agreed to relinquish it some years previously but had later refused, but the case was withdrawn, probably under pressure from Waldegrave who did not wish the canonry to be held in perpetuity by a city clergyman⁷.

Waldegrave went ahead with plans to finance the new parish of St. James in Denton Holme, funded mainly through Joseph Ferguson and with the patronage vested in five trustees. There were no insoluble problems because the trustees were all evangelicals and presumably satisfied Close⁸. More thorny was the path towards creating St. Stephen into a parish the following year.

6. Waldegrave MS book 1, Waldegrave to Close, 12 September 1861

7. Brown Round Carlisle Cross (1923) pp. 54 - 55

8. Waldegrave MS, book 1, Waldegrave to Rev. J. Tasker 9 October 1862

The business commenced auspiciously when Waldegrave wrote to the city council and asked for a church site on land owned by the corporation, to be built with money given by baroness Burdett Coutts and other of the bishop's friends outside the diocese⁹. Close however complained in a letter to the Carlisle Journal that more consultation concerning the creation of a new parish and of the siting of the church was required. Waldegrave took the dean to task over the importance of maintaining a united front in the project when so many of the town council were against promoting the interests of the Church of England:

My dear Dean,

I was not a little surprised, and I must add pained, at reading your letter to the Journal of Tuesday last.¹⁰

Within days the council had voted for the provision of a site notwithstanding the dean's objections. Waldegrave was gratified at the way in which Isaac James, a prominent Wesleyan Methodist, and a Mr. Perring, a tory, had voted for the site being given¹¹.

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9. Waldegrave MS, book 1, Waldegrave to mayor and corporation of Carlisle, 4 May 1863
 10. Waldegrave MS, book 1, Waldegrave to Close, 21 May 1863
 11. Waldegrave MS, book 1, Waldegrave to mayor and corporation of Carlisle 25 May 1863

Waldegrave was always reluctant to seek money for the benefit of livings where he possessed no influence, or where the patrons were able themselves to provide extra finance. This explains the way in which he refused to help livings with the earl of Lonsdale as patron, and similarly where the dean and chapter were owners of the advowson. As he explained to Close in a letter of March 1864, public opinion found it hard to understand why so apparently wealthy a body as the Carlisle chapter could not pay its incumbents a good deal more than ^oit did. It was all a question of dealing responsibly with the Ecclesiastical Commissioners, the bishop explained at great lengths to the dean, for when a canon of Salisbury Waldegrave added that £16,000 a year had been raised by efficient husbanding of chapter resources for stipend augmentation ¹².

The bishop continued to mobilise the resources of important landowners and industrialists and during 1867 was able to recruit the duke of Devonshire for the creation of a new city parish centred on the old parish church of St. Mary, which until that date took up part of one of the aisles of the cathedral for its worship. Close was determined to obtain the patronage but initially the bishop would only promise to support the dean's resolve to become the first incumbent ¹³.

12. Waldegrave MS, book 1, Waldegrave to Close, 8 March 1864; one parish brought £2,000 in tithes to the chapter but the incumbent was paid only £200 per year.

13. Waldegrave MS, book 2, Waldegrave to Close, 11 October 1867

Waldegrave wrote to Close that ' I am prepared if you desire it to stand by my promise that I would reserve the patronage for you during your incumbency ' ¹⁴, that is whilst Close remained dean. However at the same time the bishop was pressing the duke of Devonshire to state that patronage should be vested in the bishop in perpetuity ¹⁵. Disagreement broke out between bishop and dean within weeks when Close and the chapter were dragging their feet in the matter of deciding on patronage. Waldegrave wrote to Close :

My dear Dean,

I do not like to accuse so august a body as your chapter of unbusiness like ways but let me say that ... ¹⁶

The bishop went on to point out that a chapter should meet more often than twice a year and that it should be a decisive and responsible body. A strongly worded reply was received next day because Waldegrave wrote in conciliatory fashion:

14. Waldegrave MS , book 2, Waldegrave to Close, 11 October 1867

15. Waldegrave MS, book 2, Waldegrave to duke of Devonshire, 11 and 14 October 1867

16. Waldegrave MS, book 2, Waldegrave to Close, 24 November 1867

My dear Dean,

I must begin by very heartily
apologising for the letter which somewhat
importunately I wrote yesterday... ¹⁷

The breach was healed and affairs continued smoothly until the earl of Lonsdale reneged on an alleged promise to provide a site for the new parish church and threw all into confusion ¹⁸. However, both earl and duke agreed to patronage being put in the bishop's gift, with Close to be the first incumbent because of his complaints of lack of income. However for unspecified reasons and after a gap in the bishop's correspondence on the matter, Close had the victory and patronage was given to the dean and chapter. It was the last battle over patronage between bishop and dean, and the last new parish until the creation of St. Aidan's in 1902 .

The 1860s remained a key decade for the diocese in that both bishop and dean were engaged in ceaseless activities to obtain money for the establishment of new parishes and new churches. With two such strong-willed and impressive personalities, clashes of opinion were bound to happen, but the momentum for Church

17. Waldegrave MS, book 2, Waldegrave to Close, 27 November 1867

18. Waldegrave MS, book 2, Waldegrave to Close, 8 January 1868,
and Waldegrave to duke of Devonshire , 22 November 1867

reform and work was not slowed down and it was a sign of the reinvigoration of Anglicanism as a whole that such impressive activity took place. Comparison between the three main patrons of the diocese - the bishop, dean and chapter of Carlisle and earl of Lonsdale - shows that the process of pouring money into livings varied considerably between the three, and that Lonsdale benefices were increasingly neglected by their patron just as the other two patrons were busily investing more in stipend augmentation. The total annual incomes of all benefices in the gift of the three patrons likewise illustrates the dramatic changes wrought by clerical patrons and the inadequate attention given by the major lay patron of the diocese, with obvious implications and results ¹⁹ . Waldegrave's attitude to patronage was affected more by his desire to benefit the Church of England than to help the evangelical party within it, so that although permanently wary over ritualistic endeavours in the diocese he did not generally let this affect his judgement over arranging augmentation of stipends or the provision of new parsonages or churches. The result was an impressive amount of investment in the Church of England in the 1860s ²⁰ .

19. See table 7 p. 145.

20. See table 6 p. 142.

The Canons

To be appointed one of the canons residentiary at Carlisle brought a good income with nothing more onerous in the way of work than occupying the allotted canon's dwelling in the precinct for thirteen weeks of each year, and preaching one sermon each Sunday of one's residence. The income for doing this was considerable. In the 1830s each of the four canons received one sixth portion of the entire revenue, the remaining two sixths going to the dean, and each portion amounted to £850¹. By that decade public opinion was questioning the correctness and justice of the so-called four gentlemen pensioners in receiving so much money at a time when ten perpetual curates in dean and chapter livings had under £180 each per year.

Of course a number of cathedral bodies had far larger incomes divided amongst their chapter members, but in a poor diocese like Carlisle where clerical stipends were near the bottom of the diocesan league table, the existence of such sinecurists became increasingly untenable. Criticism was vocal, particularly when bishops provided for their own family². Goodenough presented his sons Samuel, Robert and Edmund to the three stalls which fell vacant during his episcopate, their respective tenure of the canonries being forty-eight, fifteen and nineteen years³. Robert was the sole son to adequately fulfil the duties largely because he lived in the diocese close to his friend dean Milner and other city dignitaries. Edmund was dean of Wells and invariably failed to

1. T Brown Round Carlisle Cross (Carlisle 1923) pp. 50 - 57

2. Carlisle Journal 9 September 1837 and 26 June 1860

3. Brown, in note 1, recalls the canons in the 1850s and 1860s

keep residence at Carlisle. Archbishops Markham and Vernon Harcourt of York each presented sons to Carlisle canonries in defiance of popular opposition in the diocese, and the latter's installation of his son occurred at an especially unfortunate time because it coincided with the exposure of chapter financial irregularities⁴.

It was not solely the fact of canons taking a large income for doing little work which upset reformers as the century progressed, but that the stall holders were not usually men connected with the diocese and usually held their canonry until death. Bishop Law of Chester held his canonry from 1785 to 1824, Roger Baldwin vicar of Edenhall from 1764 to 1801 during which time he lived in the south of England, and young Vernon Harcourt held his for over sixty years and just outlived William Vansittart's fifty-eight year record.

When the first reforming bishop, Villiers, arrived in the diocese in 1856 he found no canon in residence and the men concerned living in their other preferments at Greystoke, Hertford, Morpeth and in Devon⁵. The twice-yearly chapter meetings were not usually held, the reason being canonical incapacity. Canons were regarded as learned, elderly, aristocratic and infirm pensioners of the diocese and took no part in city life.

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4. S. Jefferson History and Antiquities of Carlisle (Carlisle 1837) pp. 260 - 268 provides a list of canons and small biographies.
 5. Carlisle Journal 16 November 1856 relished this; Brown Round Carlisle Cross 1923 pp. 20 - 49.

Villiers had little opportunity to alter this state of affairs but Waldegrave commenced the practice of using each canonry to augment a diocesan living and providing the incumbent with other duties too. Samuel Boutflower, vicar of Appleby, and Edmund Carr, vicar of Dalston, received residentiary canonries on becoming rural deans and archdeacons thanks to Waldegrave. Goodwin, who had radically reformed the Ely chapter when dean there, continued the same policy of using canonries to attract into the diocese gifted clergymen as administrators and organisers. Typical of his appointments was J. E. Prescott, his chaplain and friend, and then successively diocesan inspector of schools, archdeacon and chancellor of Carlisle⁶.

Such ideas of making canons work for their stipend received public and diocesan approval, but when H. D. Rawnsley, vicar of Crosthwaite, was instituted to one stall before the First World War he found that there continued a good deal of adverse comment about canons being on their annual three months holiday in Carlisle⁷. As was to be expected, Rawnsley was an active part of religious life in the cathedral, but it remained a possibility that canons could be appointed who did exceedingly little work, and the process of the reformed church had not entirely worked itself through the system.

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6. Prescott, 1832 - 1920, son of a wealthy Gibraltar merchant, canon and archdeacon 1883 - 1920, chancellor in succession to R. S. Ferguson 1900.
7. E. Rawnsley Canon H. D. Rawnsley (Glasgow 1923) pp. 199 - 201.
He was co-founder of the National Trust

The Archdeacons and Chancellors

The usual diocese possessed a chancellor, the chief legal officer of the diocese, usually a clergyman, and one or more archdeacons, who could hold their own visitations and generally administer their allotted portions of diocesan duties. In the diocese of Chester the archdeacon of Richmond possessed full visitation rights for the deaneries of Furness, Kendal and Copeland, and the archdeacon of Carlisle acted for the whole of the diocese until 1856. In that year the doubling of the size of the old diocese of Carlisle necessitated the creation of an archdeaconry of Westmorland, and the development of Barrow in Furness and district required a new archdeaconry of Furness which was founded in 1884. However, due to the peculiar circumstances existing in the diocese, it was the chancellor who possessed visitational powers until the late nineteenth century¹.

This assumption of archidiaconal powers was explained by the archdeacon of Carlisle, later chancellor himself, J. E. Prescott in 1888 :

The whole story seems to be perfectly plain. By a composition with the bishop, the general or fixed court of the archdeacon was united with the diocesan court, the archdeacon's power of visitation and his visitation court being retained, and the money considerations

1. R. S. Ferguson Diocesan History of Carlisle (1889) pp. 208-216

to synodals, court fees and fines being paid to him by the bishop. The difficulty both of travelling and raising his procurations becoming very great, the archdeacon's visitations became less frequent, and gradually fell into abeyance. Meanwhile the bishop's official principal held official general chapters, at different centres every year, for the correction of morals and other legal business. These general chapters in the years when the bishop did not visit, assumed at length, in the last century, irregularly, the name and character of visitations. But this was under no authority, either from the bishop or as inherent in the office of chancellor.

The result has been the gradual, but practical, extinction of the general archidiaconal court, though it still legally exists, and the reduction of the jurisdictions of the chancellor in the diocesan courts to little more than the granting of faculties. The position then of the archdeacon of Carlisle, say some sixty years ago, was reduced to this - the power of inducting clergy who had been instituted by the bishop, the right, not often exercised, of presenting candidates for ordination, and the occasional visiting of parochial churches .²

2. J. E. Prescott Visitation in the ancient diocese of Carlisle
(1888) p. 29

There had been two outstanding chancellors in the later eighteenth century, Richard Burn and William Paley. Burn was vicar of Orton, Westmorland, and chancellor from 1765 until his death in 1785³. He was a legal expert of national standing and author of standard books on both ecclesiastical and common law. So important was Burn to the running of the diocese during the episcopate of bishop Law, that Law felt the post should go to another scholar of repute, Paley. Paley had been at Cambridge with Law's son and had been a frequent guest at Rose during the summer vacations. His theological works, his attachment to the Law family, and his opposition to the earl of Lonsdale brought Paley several preferments in the diocese, including the archdeaconry. It was in part the tying of the post of chancellor to that of archdeacon and to two such eminent men which created the confusion over archidiaconal functions⁴.

The necessity of keeping the position out of the hands of the Lowther family led to the chancellorship being offered to one of the friends of both Paley and the Laws, J. D. Carlyle⁵. Carlyle was a local man and a distinguished Arabic scholar at Cambridge, so that his diplomatic usefulness on foreign trips by government officials led to much of his diocesan work being carried on by Paley, by then living for most of the year at his new living of Bishop Wearmouth. Carlyle died in 1804 and Paley the following year, and there was some difficulty experienced in finding a suitable chancellor.

3. Burn 1710 - 1785, vicar of Orton 1736 - 1785

4. Paley, 1743 - 1805, incumbent of Appleby, Dalston, Musgrave and Gt. Salkeld, chancellor 1785 - 1795

5. Carlyle 1759 - 1804, chancellor 1795 - 1804, incumbent of

Eventually the headmaster of the cathedral grammar school and a minor canon of the cathedral, Brown Grisdale, was appointed ⁶. He was regarded as independent of the Lowther interest and had been friendly with Milner, Paley and Carlyle, but his appointment as a friend to the bishop and dean was simple expediency, and his character made no impression on the diocese. At his death in 1814 the post was given to his son in law, Walter Fletcher, vicar of Dalston and an early schoolmaster for James Graham, the future home secretary and Netherby baronet ⁷. It was a sign of the general decline in the merits of senior clergy in those years that after men of the calibre of Burn and Paley there should be men of mediocrity like Grisdale and Fletcher as successive chancellors and Hodgson as dean. Both Grisdale and Fletcher possessed the virtue of being opposed to the Lowther interest, but it was a high price to pay for the diocese's administration. Their signal lack of activity contrasted badly with the involvement of Paley and Burn. On Fletcher's death in 1846 one of the earl of Lonsdale's most trusted aides gained the post.

Torpenhow, Castle Sowerby, Newcastle upon Tyne and St. Cuthbert's Carlisle, in turn, and professor of Arabic at Cambridge. He receives some mention in the two biographical sources for Burn and Paley: M .L.Clarke Paley:Evidences of the Man (1974), and in the introduction to Nicolson and Burn History and Antiquities (1976 edition) by B. C. Jones, pp. v - xxvi

6. Grisdale died 1814 aged about 70, still headmaster.

7. Fletcher 1768 - 1846, prebend of York, incumbent of Dalston, Bromfield and Lazonby; son of a Derbyshire incumbent.

William Jackson was son of the rector of Grasmere, Thomas Jackson, who was also the agent for the Fleming family⁸. He had come to the attention of the first earl of Lonsdale in the 1820s as a reliable political ally when incumbent of St. James's Whitehaven, and his promotion was rapid. As chancellor, canon and archdeacon of Carlisle Jackson was on good terms with bishop Percy but found his path more difficult under Villiers and Waldegrave. This resulted in his being offered the provostship of the Queen's college, Oxford, in 1862, where he resided until his death. At Oxford he devoted himself to preventing further reforms in university life after the recent activities of William Thomson, and hampered those reforms already put into action. His post as chancellor was accepted in 1856 by his old friend, Charles Burton, who proved every bit as awkward for the reforming bishops as Jackson did at Oxford.

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8. Jackson 1792 - 1878, incumbent of St. James, Whitehaven 1821 - 1833, rector of Lowther 1828 - 1878, archdeacon and canon of Carlisle 1856 - 1862, chancellor 1846 - 1856, provost of the Queen's college 1862 - 1878. He was a notorious opponent of the evangelical Anglicans and of Dissenters: Rev. A. Jack (Congregational minister of Whitehaven) Letters to the Rev. William Jackson on the subject of Nonconformity (Whitehaven 1826) and R. H. Hodgkin Six Centuries of an Oxford College : a history of ^{The} Queen's college Oxford 1340 - 1940 (1949) pp. 178 - 180.
- His brother Thomas succeeded as Rydal agent, and the whole family were amongst the most ardent Lowther champions.

The arrival of bishop Villiers brought an unusual agreement between the bishop and the chancellor, Charles Burton⁹. In return for Burton obtaining a canonry, he was to pass to the new archdeacon of Westmorland, R. W. Evans, full powers as enjoyed by other archdeacons in other dioceses. Burton passed the previously assumed rights of visitation to Evans, in charge of the new archdeaconry of Westmorland, and to Jackson, archdeacon of Carlisle. As in other affairs, the 1860s were to be decisive years for the future of the diocese when Waldegrave decided that the office of chancellor needed regulating.

Burton, after the translation of Villiers and then his death in 1861, announced to a surprised Waldegrave that the arrangement over the restoration of archidiaconal powers was only good for the life of Villiers and of the two archdeacons. After Jackson's resignation as archdeacon in 1862 Waldegrave expected his new archdeacon to have the same powers as those enjoyed by Jackson. This did not happen and Waldegrave determined to sort out the business once and for all. The bishop wrote to Burton :

9. Burton 1791 - 1887, chancellor 1855 - 1887, published thirteen charges as chancellor between 1863 and 1886, doing so after the death of Evans in 1863 who had published his own charges as well as a number of books, notably Parochial sketches in verse (1850), and Rectory of Valehead or the edifice of a holy home (1850 14th edition). Charges by both men are in the Jackson Library.

My dear Chancellor,

I am most anxious that there should be a clear understanding on the official relations in which the future archdeacon will stand to you as chancellor. ¹⁰

Waldegrave tried to press Burton into allowing the agreement to continue as it had between Jackson and Burton, but there was no chance of the chancellor giving up his power to a man who both in politics and churchmanship was his complete opposite. Burton was older than the bishop, the new archdeacon and other diocesan dignitaries, and after some months of correspondence and complaint during which time it was evident that Burton would not move an inch from his position, the matter was allowed to rest presumably in the hope that Burton would die first and allow the position to be regularised. It was ironic that Burton should outlive all of his contemporaries and plague Goodwin until 1887 ¹¹ .

The result of his failure was predictable for Waldegrave, who virtually abandoned using his chancellor and employed his secretary, George Gill Mounsey, in every aspect of diocesan work ¹² . A large amount of correspondence to Mounsey contrasts with rare four-line notes to Burton merely informing him of episcopal decisions .

10. Waldegrave MS, book 1, Waldegrave to Burton 26 January and 9 February 1863

11. Burton aged ninety five preached his usual ninety minute sermons in the cathedral and continued to send most people to sleep.

12 . Mounsey 1797 - 1874, mayor of Carlisle 1836, 1841, 1861, married Isabella, daughter of Dr. John Heysham, and inherited his estates and took the name Mounsey-Heysham.

Waldegrave's intense dislike for Burton was shown in further correspondence during 1868, starting with a letter sent to the chancellor ostensibly ^{to} congratulate him on his second marriage:

It may be that I have been misled by what I have seen, as well as heard, for one day I saw you in Penrith market in a group which reminded me strongly of the clerical sportsman who follows the hounds... Now my dear Chancellor, I do not believe that the pursuit of the hunt is a pastime worthy for a dignified clergyman ... ¹³

The bishop went on to complain of Burton's bad example in hunting and how it was not consistent with the profession of being a clergyman. Waldegrave also paid attention to Burton's alleged ritualistic leanings and as friend to the earl of Lonsdale and William Jackson the chancellor remained under suspicion ¹⁴.

Bishop Goodwin left Burton alone to pursue his work but on the latter's death :

The bishop took the opportunity to rearrange the cancellarial duties and make the archdeacon answerable, as in other dioceses, for the annual visitation and the appointment of churchwardens ¹⁵.

13. Waldegrave MS book 4, Waldegrave to Burton, 23 October 1868

14. See below pp. 109 ff.

15. Rawnsley Harvey Goodwin p. 291; Rawnsley called him that 'gentle kind old man' which seems inaccurate in the extreme.

Goodwin broke with precedent and appointed Richard Saul Ferguson, a barrister, as the first lay chancellor who served until his death in 1900¹⁶. Ferguson's family had a long connection with the diocese and city and were prominent industrialists, and his own brother was an important architect at work in the north of England and London¹⁷. The appointment was made partly to avoid complications with the new archdeacon, J. E. Prescott, whose enhanced powers might have offended a clerical chancellor raised under the old Burton regime. Ferguson was a wise and able man and the diocese's outstanding historian, writing on almost every aspect of local and regional history and founding the CWAAS. At his death in 1900 the post of chancellor was given to Prescott, a talented and wealthy evangelical clergyman brought to the diocese by Goodwin and finding favour with bishop Bardsley¹⁸. Prescott was a vigorous and eloquent preacher and administrator and a man of balanced views without any of the rigidity which characterised dean Close. On the other hand he made many controversial decisions in his later years which included refusals to allow statues to deceased people in churches, to allow war memorials in churchyards, to allow second altars, or crucifixes.

16. Ferguson 1837 - 1900, chairman quarter sessions 1886-1900, mayor of Carlisle 1881-1883, son of Joseph Ferguson.

17. Charles James Ferguson 1840-1904, see below pp. 571ff.

18. Prescott 1830-1920, Charges 1880, 1891, 1895; Cumberland News 26 February and 8 April 1916; Carlisle Patriot 31 May 1907, 31 July 1908.

Prescott died shortly after over-exertion at a particularly arduous court session in 1920, aged ninety, in the same year as the death of bishop Diggle, the broad churchman disliked by the old chancellor. At Prescott's death it was the end of diocesan officials who had known the 1870s when Goodwin had taken over from the initial reforms of Waldegrave and much still required doing to reform the old Church of England's machinery and attitudes. Yet Prescott's tenure of both archdeaconry and chancellorship emphasised that the roles were mutually compatible in one figure, and suggested that the chancellor still remained the single man after bishop and dean most important to the diocese. It had been the failure of Waldegrave to deprive Burton of his authority which made the bishop's disputes over alleged ritualistic innovation so irritating because the bishop was pressed by evangelicals like Francis Close to act against ritual innovation but on the other hand had neither the power nor the strictly legal sanction to do so. At base there was little a bishop could do before the Public Worship Act of 1874, but what could be done was to pressure recalcitrant patrons and their clergy.

The Issue of Ritualistic Innovation

One of the most contentious issues within the nineteenth century Church of England was that of ritualistic innovation. Tampering with the rubrics of the Anglican establishment was regarded as beneficial by one sector of the Church who were named tractarians in the 1830s, and some of whose qualities and ideas continued to surface within the Church in the Victorian years as ritualists. In spite of what their opposing faction, the evangelicals, alleged, the tractarians had a desire to alter the theory and essence of worship as practised at the time, whereas the ritualists of the 1860s and 1870s were more concerned with the trappings and paraphernalia of worship, and not the basics¹. It was this point which bishop Percy's obituarist misconstrued when he wrote that 'he was of the high church, but no tractarian and set not his affection on medieval frippery'². It was too easy to confuse the tractarians of the 1830s who were concerned with the nature of state - church relations, the position of the clergy within, and the very nature of, an established church, with the ritualists of the 1860s who were concerned with clerical movements during worship, the position of the altar, the use of communion wafers and the priestly vestments worn.

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1. M. Crowther Church Embattled: religious controversy in mid Victorian England (Newton Abbot 1970); P. Marsh The Victorian Church in decline (1969); J. Bentley Ritualism and Politics in Victorian Britain: the attempt to Legislate for Belief (Oxford 1978)
 2. Carlisle Patriot 9 February 1856

In the diocese of Carlisle there was little in the way of tractarianism in the 1830s or 1840s, and conflicts took place in dioceses more under the influence of Oxford and the Oxford movement. However, the idea of sympathy with ritual innovation made an appearance in a few places, including in particular the building of Wreay church in 1842, and the ministry of Edward Hughes in West Cumberland.

The Losh family of Wreay, three miles south of Carlisle, included amongst their members the industrialist and barrister James Losh, a friend of Henry Brougham the politician and later lord chancellor, and his nieces, Sara and Katherine³. James Losh was a Unitarian, but his brother John, the girls' father, was Anglican and an energetic churchman in the 1800s. Sara Losh inherited her father's concern and on the death of her sister she built Wreay church as a memorial. The village was then a chapelry with dean Milner's old friend, parson Gaskin, the incumbent⁴. Using local joiners, stonemasons and her own estate workers, Sara created a building of singular beauty complete with stained glass from a Parisian archbishop's palace, an altar which required the parson to face the congregation, and an exciting array of symbolic carving including owls, butterflies, lilies, beetles, alligators, snakes and fowl in alabaster, marble and oak. Bishop Percy may have entertained qualms about the strict liturgical implications of all of this, but these were quelled by the reliable Gaskins and devout Miss Losh.

3. A. Hall Wreay (Carlisle 1929)

4. H.Lonsdale The Worthies of Cumberland (1873) pp. 197-238; Gaskin argued in Latin and Greek with Milner and Paley at the deanery whilst despatching a crate of port.

Wreay remains unique and it seems to have caused no great discussion or gossip at the time. Far more controversial was the work of Edward Hughes in Whitehaven in 1852. Hughes was a new type of high churchman greatly influenced by the tractarians but liable to effect changes in worship which proved unacceptable to orthodox Cumbrian Anglicans ⁵. Hughes was the son of an army officer and had been educated at St. Bees theological college between 1847 and 1849 in order to avoid the expense of a university training ⁶. Richard Parkinson, himself a high churchman with tractarian sympathies, persuaded the archbishop of York to ordain Hughes, who worked as a curate in Whitby for several years before returning to West Cumberland where he stood in for an absentee incumbent for one year.

What Hughes did was to refuse to agree to the practice of private baptisms but insisted on their being public and in church. He advocated intercessory prayer, urged on parishioners the words and works of the tractarians and especially Keble and Newman, and introduced weekly communion. The final straw was when he tried to found a chantry in Whitehaven and refused to bury people who were to his mind not good Christians. In the face of a threatened riot, he left the area and died not long afterwards in a Norfolk cure ⁷.

5. C. Wray Four Years of Pastoral Work: the ministry of the Rev. Edward Hughes (1854)

6. For the college see below pp.150ff.

7. Hughes died in 1853; he had lodged with relations in Whitehaven.

Hughes was a devoted and kindly pastor, but his ideas were just too advanced for the diocese and consequently led to his rejection by the whole community. What mobilised the evangelicals of the diocese against further intrusions by ritualistic clergy was the appointment of Close to the deanery in 1856, for he was one of the major antagonists of high churchman of all shades, and it was assumed that first under Villiers, and after 1860 under Waldegrave, the dean would be able to hold sway in the diocese. The 1860s indeed proved once more to be a watershed for the diocese, for in those years it was proved beyond all doubt that to legislate or pressurise for ritual innovation was impossible, and Waldegrave realised this more clearly than the embattled dean. Ultimately common sense prevailed, and Harvey Goodwin effectively prevented extremes of action by Close in ritual matters. The whole argument over ritualistic innovation of course continued nationally, but the 1860s finished it in Carlisle.

Close was straight away into action in order to rid the diocese of excessively high churchmen, commencing with the cathedral body. His opportunity was immediately to hand in the shape of the Rev. T. C. Livingston, the cathedral precentor and a minor canon⁸.

8. T. Brown Round Carlisle Cross (Carlisle 1920) pp. 102-110, and Round Carlisle Cross (Carlisle 1922) pp. 26-30; the author was a choir boy at the time and witnessed much of the following drama.

Livingston had caused problems for the previous dean, Tait, who had borne his complaints with fortitude in spite of constant irritation. The precentor came late for services, failed to practice, altered tunes to suit himself, wore a surplice and praised Keble and Newman to the choirboys. He was regarded as the only Puseyite in the precincts, and Close determined to be rid of him. When Livingston refused to agree to tunes favored by Close the dean called a chapter meeting and had him removed from both posts that he held. Villiers, as visitor, was appealed to, and the matter went to court in September 1858⁹.

Villiers and the chancellor of the diocese of London, Travers Twiss, found in favour of the precentor. However in order to keep the peace, Villiers was able to prevail on Livingston to resign as precentor in return for presenting him to an episcopal living and allowing him to keep his minor canonry worth £150 a year¹⁰. The costs were shared equally, and the precentor remained in debt for twenty years.

Close's refusal to compromise led to the resignation of the headmaster of the grammar school, William Bell, the friend of Livingston and accused of corrupting schoolboys with Romish practices by the dean, the chairman of the school trustees¹¹.

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9. Assiduously reported by the press, Carlisle Patriot and Carlisle Journal March to October 1858
10. Livingston became incumbent of Lazonby and died in 1891
11. Though both Bell and Livingston were recalled pleasantly by Brown, as in note 8 above.

The attack on Livingston occupied Close between 1856 and late 1858, that on Bell until his resignation in 1861. The arrival of a second forcefully evangelical bishop in 1860 promised a further attack on ritual innovators, or men branded as such, by dean and bishop in partnership. However, Waldegrave realised the limitations of what could be achieved when faced with awkward incumbents, a fact of life which Close seemed reluctant to accept. It was impossible for a bishop in the 1860s to punish a clergyman whose only fault was ritual innovation, Waldegrave explained to one correspondent:

I sometimes think that my evangelical brethren do not realise the immense importance of so aiding me in my strictly episcopal work as to take away all just grounds of unfavourably comparing my diocese with those of High Church prelates.¹²

In the matter of curates the bishop was on stronger ground since it was simple to refuse to renew licences to officiate or to grant new ones. It was incumbents in livings where the earl of Lonsdale was patron who caused most anxiety for Waldegrave, and in his extensive correspondence the matter of ritual innovation assumes the proportions of intense concern and worry.

12. Waldegrave MS book 2, Waldegrave to the Rev. Charles Bell,
12 November 1867

William Jackson, rector of Lowther and archdeacon of Carlisle, caused Waldegrave to write to him on a number of occasions concerning his employment of 'unsuitable' curates who had not been interviewed by the bishop or submitted testimonials from three beneficed clergy. Thus in 1861 :

I cannot consent to Mr. Curzon's continuance
in my diocese ... his presence is not desirable...
on grounds of ritual ...¹³

Waldegrave was clear to Curzon:

A man with your own particular sympathies ... I
decline to permit you to officiate in my
diocese .¹⁴

Jackson was admonished for not seeking his bishop's advice on securing a safe man, though it was clear from Waldegrave's comments that Jackson had done as he liked when Percy was bishop. Curzon's 'very offensive reply' was forwarded to Jackson to examine as a sample of what to expect from ritualists.

13. Waldegrave MS book 1, Waldegrave to Jackson, 21 June 1861

14. Waldegrave MS book 1, Waldegrave to Curzon, 12 June 1861;
Waldegrave wrote to the churchwardens and others to warn them of Curzon's designs.

It was a recurrent theme of the correspondence that Jackson was suspected of being a member of the English Church Union, a body of high churchmen sympathetic towards ritualist innovation. Under episcopal suspicion too was the principal of St. Bees college, G. H. Ainger, friend of the earl of Lonsdale and of William Jackson. The bishop, ever watchful, wrote to Ainger:

My dear Dr. Ainger,

My attention has been called to the fact that since the resumption of public service in the parish church of St. Bees the sermon has been preached in the surplice, instead of the black gown as heretofore ...

I am well aware that you have publicly as well as privately assured me of your entire want of sympathy with all ritualistic innovations such as are being introduced and accepted in other quarters. But my dear Dr. Ainger your acts will go further than your words... ..it is in many cases but the first of a series of Romeward movements increasing in rapidity and intensity, you will not be surprised if I counsel you to wipe away any suspicion...

And this brings me to refer to your position as head of St. Bees college ... ¹⁵

15. Waldegrave MS book 2, Waldegrave to Ainger, 23 August 1867; Ainger, principal and incumbent of St. Bees 1858 - 1870, canon of Carlisle 1870-1882, rector of Rothbury 1871-1886, canon of Newcastle 1882-1886.

Waldegrave occasionally came across curates who had been put out of the diocese by Villiers, as at Great Asby, and the bishop knew precisely what to do ¹⁶. Apart from the Lowther incumbents, one town in particular contained clergy who were a constant trouble to Waldegrave: the clergy in Barrow in Furness. Despite misgivings from Close, the Rev. T. S. Barrett was appointed as incumbent of St. George's, Barrow, in 1861, and proved to be a conscientious incumbent dedicated to the poor of the new industrial town ¹⁷. Unfortunately it proved impossible to recruit for Barrow livings any but clergy with innovatory ideas, just as in other towns with extensive social and slum problems, so that it was no surprise when one of the prominent Barrow industrialists, H. W. Schneider, wrote to complain about Barrett during 1863. Waldegrave was cautious in his approach, and unlike Close had no wish to trample underfoot clergy of another party. He wrote in kindly manner to Barrett:

... there are complaints ... and dissatisfaction at certain alleged principles and practices of yours which have created in Barrow an amount of suspicion which in a newly formed town is highly prejudicial to the firm attachment of the Church in the affection of the people ¹⁸

16. Waldegrave MS book 1, Waldegrave to Rev. H. Gay, 2 December 1860

17. Barrett, vicar of St. George's 1861-1878, died 1903 aged seventy.

18. Waldegrave MS book 1, Waldegrave to Barrett, 17 April 1863

Waldegrave added that he was pleased to hear of some compromise taking place, but insisted that the Rev. T. D. Dove, the curate, be dismissed by Barrett for having caused most of the trouble. Dove was alleged to be a curate without licence, formerly aiding the 'notorious W. J. E. Bennett... and Bryan King of St. George's in the East', men said to be in the forefront of ritualistic work. Nothing was done so Waldegrave became more specific:

Mr. Dove ... a gentleman who in his past ministerial labours identified with the most unyielding ritualist of the day ... I altogether decline to license the Rev. T. Dove ... he will forthwith cease from officiating in that parish ... ¹⁹

Schneider, the churchwardens and the duke of Devonshire were united against Dove's continuing in the diocese, and the bishop wrote to Dove in May:

My opinion however as to your eligibility to the curacy of Barrow in Furness is entirely unaltered ... under no circumstances ought you to have entered ... a diocese such as my own . ²⁰

19. Waldegrave MS book 1, Waldegrave to Barrett, 28 April 1863

20. Waldegrave MS book 1, Waldegrave to Dove, 8 May 1863

Barrett continued to caused difficulties with his actions and Waldegrave was forced to write to him again some time later:

Circumstances have recently occurred at Barrow which compel me to request that you will give me in writing your assurance that any curate who may assist you will confine his services to your duties exclusively, and not be permitted to introduce novelties too well known at present to require detailed mention, either in your present living or with future curates. I have your assurance already that you will work no such innovations. ²¹

Unfortunately for Barrow and Barrett it was not the end of the matter and there was trouble for some years whilst Goodwin was bishop. However, it was too not the end of the matter under Waldegrave, and the bishop brought in the rural dean of Furness to investigate rumours he had heard from Close:

My dear Mr. Macaulay,

I have heard on trustworthy authority that a 'mission' is about to be opened in Barrow by a clergyman not of this diocese. Will you oblige me by putting Mr. Ramsden on his guard and taking care that I am immediately informed if any stranger officiates in the church of St. George or elsewhere.

21. Waldegrave MS, book 4, Waldegrave to Barrett, 24 January 1868

The greatest mischief goes on at Liverpool and in Bristol mission chapels. The only licenced curates at Barrow are Mr Arnott and Mr Allen.²²

Barrett would not suggest compromise or give in to pressure, so that shortly afterwards Schneider was bringing charges, and Waldegrave wrote to his archdeacon:

My dear Archdeacon,

You will receive an official letter from Mr Mounsey requesting you to visit St. George's church, Barrow and report on certain matters to which Mr Schneider has called my attention formally...

only keep copies of all letters ... and show no-one the documents ...²³

At the same time as Barrow occupied his thoughts, the bishop was more successful at Wetheral where the Rev. W. Blake had run into dispute with his churchwardens, but compromise had been reached and the bishop was relieved to hear that his mediation was not required. Nonetheless the Wetheral case was not finished and reared its head once more under Goodwin²⁴. Waldegrave was concerned to mobilise his episcopal friends in order to press for legislation over ritual and sent off a barrage of letters. To the bishop of Lincoln:

22. Waldegrave MS, book 4, Waldegrave to John Macaulay, 19 February 1868; Macaulay, brother to Thomas Babington, Lord Macaulay; rector of Aldingham 1849-1874 and rural dean of Furness.

23. Waldegrave MS, book 4, Waldegrave to archdeacon Cooper 5 March 1868 and to Schneider, 5 March 1868

24. See below p.134; Waldegrave MS, Waldegrave to Blake, 18 February 1868.

Could you arrange for a meeting of Protestant bishops ?

It appears to me that we should move by way of questioning the new government as to what they intend to do - or should we question the archbishops ? - ... in this question of ritualism ... ²⁵

And to the bishop of Durham:

My dear friend,

... over ritual it seems necessary that we act ... ²⁶

To the archbishop of York:

My dear Archbishop,

Surely something should now be done to bring the matters to a point and compel the Ritual Commission to act ... ²⁷

The occasion for the meeting of bishops was to coincide with an ordination, and Waldegrave was eager to prepare the ground.

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25. Waldegrave MS, book 4, Waldegrave to the bishop of Lincoln, 6 March 1868
26. Waldegrave MS, book 4, Waldegrave to the bishop of Durham, 6 March 1868
27. Waldegrave MS, Waldegrave to the archbishop of York, 6 March 1868

1868 was the most active year for Waldegrave's countering of ritualist sympathisers, for he discovered that a Penrith branch of the dreaded English Church Union was subverting his loyal clergy in that rural deanery. There was also the need to oversee the activities of men like Henry Ware, vicar of Kirkby Lonsdale ²⁸. Ware first irritated his bishop when he put his choir in surplices, himself used vestments, and brought in slight alterations in the form of worship. Waldegrave wrote:

I remember a remark of yours which I ought to have noticed on the spot: it was to the effect that you were in favour of short - very short - sermons ... ²⁹

Thus easily were ritual sympathisers unmasked. Ware agreed to make no further innovations without consulting Waldegrave, and although the bishop regarded him in a kindly light after such concession Ware was a marked man. Just as Waldegrave refused to confirm or to take part in services in Barrett's Barrow church, so Ware was treated in suspicious manner:

My dear Mr. Ware,

You were so good as to say that you would order rooms for my sister in law at the Royal Hotel. I therefore write to you to say that she finds herself unable to come, as she had hoped, to Kirkby Lonsdale. She will therefore not require your kindness.

28. Ware 1830-1909, vicar of Kirkby Lonsdale 1862-1888, bishop suffragan of Barrow 1888-1909.

29. Waldegrave MS, book 4, Waldegrave to Ware, 29 May 1868

It was I think clearly understood between us that the service this day week is to be of the simplest character - hymns or psalms (metrical) and chanting of the canticles - but no monotonous, the rest of the service, both reading and responding, unmusical, and I am sure that you will carry out my wishes upon the point, which, as you well know, I feel sharply. ³⁰

Ware was therefore satisfied with his high church vicar at Kirkby Lonsdale. Where an incumbent was thought by the bishop to be a good man, competent vicar, and ready to compromise, Waldegrave would leave him alone. This was not the case at the Furness parish of Woodland, when in 1867 the bishop had written to the Rev. J. Robinson to seek his help:

Have you any influence at Woodland ? This incumbency has been vacant a long time and there is considerable worry over it ... There is a good man, the Rev. Joseph Hindley, but influence is brought to bear on the landowners ... Mr. Stephenson is advertising for candidates. This is a scheme worthy of the tractarians to retain that little parish under ritualistic influence. Can anything be surer ?

30. Waldegrave MS, book 4, Waldegrave to Barrett, 20 July 1868 refusing to attend confirmation services because of Barrett's 'disloyalty and disobedience'; book 4, Waldegrave to Ware, 7 July 1868

Of course I know that all the candidates will assure the patrons that they are not ritualists - but it will be a different matter when they are in the saddle. Mr. Hindley is a sincere man with good private means - and likely to be temporally also a great help to the parish. ³¹

There then followed a dozen letters recruiting people to achieve the appointment of Hindley by the patrons, the landowners of the parish, and to stop the advertising of the post ³². Stipend augmentation and £800 for a new parsonage was promised by the anxious bishop, but to no avail, and in January 1868 Waldegrave complained:

My dear Sir,

I am concerned to learn that a Mr. Shufflebotham Liverpool - a person who has not been more than two years in holy orders - and a high churchman - has been elected for Woodland; for I am afraid that the landowners have not been called together properly as is required ... ³³

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31. Waldegrave MS, book 2, Waldegrave to Rev. J. Robinson, 22 November 1867
32. Waldegrave MS, book 2, Waldegrave to William Postlethwaite, Thomas Ellwood, and the Rev. Mr. Gaskarth, and others, 22 November 1867
33. Waldegrave MS, book 2, Waldegrave to churchwarden, 8 January 1868

Waldegrave failed to convince the patrons that an injustice had been perpetrated, and Shufflebotham took the post. Within weeks the bishop was in pursuit of his quarry when he heard that the new incumbent was 'introducing serious and dangerous changes ... though he professed to be no ritualist', and the rural dean was sent to interview him ³⁴. It made no difference, and later that year Waldegrave asked Ainger of St. Bees to report on special musical festivities and services being arranged at Woodland. Ainger's report evidently possessed some comfort:

My dear Dr. Ainger,

I am much obliged by your kind letter of the 5th and am glad to find that the proceedings at Woodland on that day were so much less noticeable than the announcement that a choral service was to be celebrated by persons coming from Liverpool for the purpose, and general invitation to the clergy to bring surplices, led some people to imagine that they would observe ... did Mr. Shufflebotham tell you that he has recently joined the English Church Union ? ³⁵

Waldegrave was in no doubt as to who the main culprit for introducing the English Church Union into his diocese had been, and the Rev. C. Pixell received several letters:

34. Waldegrave MS, book 4, Waldegrave to Rev. L. Gaskarth, 19 February 1868

35. Waldegrave MS, book 4, Waldegrave to Ainger, 7 October 1868

I speak in love to humble yourself for that forward zeal which has made you since you entered the diocese of Carlisle the instrument of no little evil to my flock and of great pain to myself .³⁶

Waldegrave urged Pixell to make no alterations to the communion service because of 'the evils which will accrue', but he was ignored. The Penrith rural deanery contained Lowther parish and castle, and Waldegrave was as ever especially on his guard regarding that district and its clergy. To William Jackson, by then resident at Oxford, he sent a cautionary letter:

My dear Provost,

... the chanting of psalms and the intonation of the responses are in my judgement, apart from other considerations ... not to be so performed. I am therefore sorry that such practices should have been introduced in Lowther church by persons who, with the disregard for episcopal and all other authority ... which characterises a certain school in my church, and have availed themselves of your unrestricted absence in the south to force their fancies upon your flock.³⁷

36. Waldegrave MS, book 4, Waldegrave to Pixell, 28 December 1868

37. Waldegrave MS, book 4, Waldegrave to Jackson, 8 August 1868

The work of the English Church Union constantly alarmed Waldegrave, but it did not prevent him from gaining grants for stipend augmentation or parsonage building for suspected clergy. Having gained £800 for Shufflebotham, the bishop felt aggrieved at the incumbent's failure to thank his bishop or to stop innovations. Clergy who were known to teeter on the brink of the Union were exposed to their prelate's opinions:

My dear Sir,

I am very anxious to know what steps are being taken in the matter of the new parsonage at Culgaith. It is very important to spend the money when you have it - so ascertain for me the state of affairs at present ... It is also my fond hope that the absence of your name from the list of English Church Union members at Penrith last week is the result of my having discovered that you were deceived when persuaded to join that organisation. High churchmanship is a mask. Romanism works behind and uses such high churchmen as are unwary enough to be taken into its work .³⁸

Satisfied at Atkinson, vicar of Culgaith, being safe, the bishop wrote the following letter on the same day to the vicar of Edenhall:

38. Waldegrave MS, book 4, Waldegrave to Rev. G. Atkinson, 23 October 1868

My dear Mr. Porteous,

Do not think me very harsh if I express to you my great dissatisfaction at finding your name in the latest list of clergymen at the English Church Union meeting at Penrith lately.

For indeed it has been a pain to me that a senior incumbent in the diocese should have been induced to lend his name in good faith for such a movement.

If it were merely high church I could not forbid a high churchman joining it. But high churchmanship is a mere mask. Rome lurks beneath and this a recent correspondence fairly and clearly proves. 39

Enclosures were sent with this letter to Porteous, and on the same day Waldegrave wrote to chancellor Burton :

In the same way then I will tell you how thankful I am that you have not been induced to join the English Church Union. To call that body^a high church society is an affront to genuine high churchmen, and I only wish they would speak and say so. I love and respect many a high churchman - but I do so because they are loyal to the reformed Church of England. May God enable them to see that they must not be afraid of names if that Church is to be handed down to our children ... 40

39. Waldegrave MS, book 4, Waldegrave to Porteous, 23 October 1868

40. Waldegrave MS, book 4, Waldegrave to Burton, 23 October 1868

Four lines in Greek closed the letter. On the same day, Waldegrave sent a letter to the friend of both Porteous and Burton, William Jackson, about the matter:

My dear Provost,

I feel that an apology is due to you for the subject of this note. But the agents of the English Church Union are so busy and so unscrupulous that I wish to have the best authority for depriving them of a tool of sorts they have been using at your expense. It has been asserted I am told by an unattached clergyman - whose name I need not write down - that you are a member of that association at Oxford, though you think it wise to stand aloof at Penrith. I repudiated the charge, for such I take it to be - which was made about a year and a half ago (and not by any one now connected with Lowther) - with indignation ... that mischievous organisation has given me so much trouble recently that I feel constrained to speak : for ingenious and unjust as such an imputation is they use the statement as an argument with younger men, when pressing them to join their ranks.

You may not have seen the paper enclosed. I cannot understand a man of Mr. Porteous's character allowing himself to be used as a catspaw by such a party. I have always found him a considerate gentlemanly man. But he seems to forget himself when brought into contact with that restless young man who, in an evil hour, was put into the place of our worthy friend - the late Christopher Parker. ⁴¹

41. Waldegrave MS, book 4, Waldegrave to Jackson, 23 October 1868.

The reference is to Pixell of Skerwith.

A number of other letters were sent off to incumbents about the English Church Union, including further ones to Porteous and one to Henry Ware about his wish to appoint a curate. The incumbent of Brougham, W. S. Salman, was taken to task about his flirtings with the Union and influencing Porteous⁴². John Mulcaster, incumbent of Great Salkeld, brought the bishop hope by resigning from the Union. In his congratulations Waldegrave added :

... the undisguised advocacy of prayers for the dead by members of the Penrith branch of the English Church Union - a fact which demonstrates to my mind that they do not differ in their Romanising character and designs from that society itself ...⁴³

Though Waldegrave was ready to criticise clergy who offended him, he himself had no doubts that he was just in his dealings, he told a clergyman called Fenton:

I can only say that there is not a clergyman or layman in my diocese with whom I have any other than a kindly feeling ... but ... I cannot allow personal feeling to override my judgement .⁴⁴

42. Waldegrave MS, book 4, Waldegrave to Salman, 27 October 1868

43. Waldegrave MS, book 4, Waldegrave to Mulcaster, 27 October 1868; Mulcaster 1809-1879, native of Laversdale, curate in Mungrisdale and Greystoke 1836-1855, incumbent of Great Salkeld 1855-1879.

44. Waldegrave MS, book 4, Waldegrave to Fenton, 27 October 1868

Waldegrave cited the evangelical clergyman who regarded the bishop as far too lenient to high churchmen - it may well have been Close - and he added that he would appoint worthy men of any party to livings if they were competent and good. In reply to one hostile evangelical Waldegrave stated that there was really nothing a bishop could do in confrontation with the English Church Union, and suggested that people 'greatly overestimate my influence'⁴⁵. The bishop was always ready to advise patrons of the suitability of candidates for vacant benefices, and counselled Mrs Dixon of Holme Eden:

You will not I hope commit yourself by any promise, until you have allowed me to communicate the result of my enquiries. You know that I came from the diocese of Salisbury, and I know how full it is, with bright exceptions, of unsound divinity ...⁴⁶

Close was quickly informed of the death of the Bassenthwaite incumbent so that the dean and chapter as patrons could act quickly to find a suitable successor⁴⁷. Patrons in other diocese would regularly seek Waldegrave's views on men known to him or the diocese. During the last few months of his episcopate, Waldegrave was mindful of those clergy with the wrong opinions, amongst them Ware of Kirkby Lonsdale, who wished to appoint as his curate a member of the English Church Union at Oxford. Ware agreed not to when his bishop wrote:

45. Waldegrave MS, book 4, Waldegrave to Rev. Mr. Golding, 5 November and 28 November 1868.

46. Waldegrave MS, book 4, Waldegrave to Mrs Dixon, 5 November 1868

47. Waldegrave MS, book 4, Waldegrave to Close, 26 October 1868

My dear Mr. Ware,

It grieves me to have to interfere with the plan upon the success of which you may be relying for much personal help and comfort. But I am forced to say that I have two good reasons for thinking that the person previously named to me by you is a member of the English Church Union.

I cannot for one moment believe that you would wish to introduce a person connected with, and for some years, to that disloyal organisation, into this diocese. I have to inform you of my suspicion and beg you to convey to him my and your understanding, to defer to me, and my reluctance to receive a candidate who has thus early taken the steps of joining it ... ⁴⁸

Not only did Waldegrave consult and advise patrons on suitable clergy, but he also offered plenty of advice to bishops with whom he concurred over ritual matters. Waldegrave dreaded the appointment of the high church Samuel Wilberforce to the vacant archbishopric of Canterbury in 1868, and was delighted when it was secured by Tait. When his friend the bishop of Lincoln was translated to London in place of Tait, Waldegrave was equally enthusiastic- and each man was offered detailed advice ⁴⁹. One of Waldegrave's final letters was devoted to enlisting help in stopping the appointment of a member of the English Church Union to the living of Low Wray, Windermere :

book 4

48. Waldegrave MS, Waldegrave to Ware, 28 October 1868
49. Waldegrave MS, book 4, Waldegrave to Tait, 16 November 1868, and to Bishop of Lincoln, 19 November 1868

My dear Mr. Bell,

Be so kind as to take an early opportunity of seeing Mr. Inman and begging him not to tender his resignation of Low Wray until he hears from me again.

I am much afraid that Mr. W. R. Morris who has been named for it is a ritualist ... what influence might be brought to bear on Mr. Dawson to prevent his inflicting such a blow upon your neighbourhood and our diocese ? ⁵⁰

The death of Waldegrave in 1869 did not end the debate over ritual, but it did rob Close of the influence with Waldegrave and led to a damping down of ritualistic alarms. Harvey Goodwin was a moderate high churchman who upset the ageing dean on a number of occasions over ritual. In 1872 Close informed Goodwin that the Brethren of the Holy Cross were hoping to establish an oratory in the mainly Irish Caldewgate area of Carlisle, near to Holy Trinity church and a Wesleyan mission ⁵¹. In spite of unpleasant letters to the press, and a barrage of letters from the dean, Goodwin refused to make any comments. His acceptance of an ivory and silver crozier the same month confirmed Close in his opinions of Goodwin ⁵².

50. Waldegrave MS, book 4, Waldegrave to Charles Bell, 20 November 1868

51. Memorials of dean Close p.51; Carlisle Journal 24 May 1872

52. Rawnsley Harvey Goodwin p. 178

Goodwin of course could do nothing about the foundation of an oratory provided the people were moral and not criminals, as he tried to explain to Close. Nor for a time was there anything to be done with Blake of Wetheral, whose churchwardens presented him to the consistory court for using flowers, candles and vestments in church services ⁵³. Goodwin dismissed the case and said that Blake had brought 'sweetness, light and cheerfulness' to a dry liturgy. Later attempts to prosecute Blake failed for the same reason: Goodwin's common sense and sympathetic ear for innovation. Close persevered, and when a Mr. Gem, a Penrith curate, was suggested for a Carlisle living in the gift of the dean and chapter, Close led a petition against high churchmen in general and Gem in particular ⁵⁴. The matter came to nothing but it showed how sensitive some clergy and part of the public were to fears of ritualistic accusations.

The passing of the Public Worship Act in 1874 gave a weapon for use against those clergy who wished to effect change in forms of worship or to the Anglican rubrics, which were themselves anything but clear over worship. The sole diocesan case brought to Goodwin concerned the Rev. T. S. Barrett, the much persecuted incumbent in Barrow in Furness, who having survived Waldegrave's anxieties was prosecuted under the new act in 1878 for:

53. CRO Blake v. Hoadley and Howe of Wetheral 1874, transcripts of court action, DRC 3/54; Carlisle Journal 17 April, 1 May and 6 June 1874

54. Carlisle Journal 27 March, 31 March, 14 April 1874

1. use of stole, albe and other illegal vestments during public worship
2. lighted candles on communion tables at communions
3. standing facing east, away from communicants, and making a variety of body movements
4. unlawful bowing and prostration during the saying of prayers
5. repeatedly making the sign of the cross
6. the use of unleavened bread and wafers in communion ⁵⁵ .

To this list was later added the use of the crucifix in church, the kissing of holy books, the use of a bare communion table and the aiding and encouraging of other clergy to do likewise. Goodwin's response ended further use of the act in the diocese:

Proceedings should not be taken thereon for the following reasons:

1. Upon former occasions ... the said unlawful things have been abandoned upon my injunction. I have reason to believe that any other unlawful thing will be in like manner abandoned upon my injunction, without the painful process of litigation.
2. Some of the matters ... are in my opinion too frivolous to be brought into a court of law, and to do so would set an example that might be followed with very mischievous effects in many churches which ought not to be afflicted with legal interference.
3. ... the refusal on my part to sanction proceedings ⁵⁶ .

55. Representation to the Bishop of Carlisle by W.E. Hurford 17 July 1878.

56. Statement of the Bishop of Carlisle's reasons for exercising his veto, 31 July 1878; printed copies in the Jackson library .

Barrett was working with two curates amongst sixteen thousand parishioners, had founded a hospital and schools, and was popular with the poorest sectors of society. These of course did not count, and sadly to Goodwin's mind the pressures for Barrett to resign increased. He eventually retired to Kent, and within weeks of his resignation the prominent laymen of the district had promised £24,000 towards building four new churches and creating new parishes, whilst the stipend of his successor was augmented from £190 to £370 per year. Church needs were thus in the hands of a few men - Schneider, James Ramsden, the duke of Devonshire - who would not stand for Barrett's work being continued ⁵⁷ .

The final trouble over allegedly ritualistic innovations occurred at Holy Trinity^{Carlisle}, where the Rev. William Taylor experienced stormy meetings over his using church funds to provide surplices for the choir, flowers for the church, and fermented wine for the extra weekly communions ⁵⁸ . Close was in his last year at the deanery but the city willingly followed his lead and Taylor was pressured on all sides for trivial practices. He resigned and left the diocese, the dean's last victim.

57. Rawnsley Harvey Goodwin pp. 180 ff; Goodwin opposed the 1874 Act and was distressed by the imprisonment of some clergy. Henry William Schneider 1817 - 1877, Furness industrialist and pioneer of developing Barrow and the railway system; Sir James Ramsden, 1822-1896, prominent Furness entrepreneur and first mayor of Barrow; their co-worker and the most powerful of all was the eighth duke of Devonshire.

58. Carlisle Journal 9 March 1880

The way actually^{to} succeed in introducing innovations to the Church of England was shown in the work of Henry Whitehead, vicar of Brampton and brought to the diocese by George Howard from London⁵⁹. He was both a liberal in politics and broad in his churchmanship but as his biographer noted:

... it is worthy of notice that almost all the changes in ritual and the conduct of services of the church, attempts to achieve which, prior to his coming, had elicited such fierce opposition, were finally brought about by him with scarcely a dissentient voice.⁶⁰

The conflict between church parties could hardly have a pleasanter conclusion.

59. Whitehead 1825-1896, incumbent of Brampton 1874-1884, Newlands 1885, of Newton Reigny 1885-1890, and of Lanercost 1890-1896.

60. H. D. Rawnsley Henry Whitehead: a memorial sketch (Glasgow 1898) p. 120

The Clergy of the Diocese

Patronage

Patronage remained in the hands of a wide variety of people and organisations but in 1800 there were several major factors. Three patrons possessed by far the largest amount of advowsons: bishops of Carlisle, the dean and chapter of Carlisle, and the earls of Lonsdale. Of the three, the latter possessed the greatest contrast within their gift, evenly divided between wealthy rectories and desperately poor curacies, spread across Cumberland and Westmorland and centred on the two castles at Lowther and Whitehaven. The bishops had an even spread of livings across the ancient diocese of Carlisle, and after 1856 they alone of the three increased their patronage extensively. The dean and chapter livings were primarily concentrated in Carlisle itself, and to the east and south of the city¹.

The gradual increase in clerical control of livings came about in the course of the nineteenth century not only through the bishop, but due to enrichment of stipends caused by tithe and enclosure awards, and later on as a result of new parishes being created on the understanding that the incumbent of the mother parish would retain the advowson during his incumbency and as a trustee thereafter. The use of trustee bodies by evangelicals like the Peache family has been noted, and the use of trustee bodies increased over the century, often with the bishop of Carlisle as a member.

Much patronage remained in lay hands, particularly in gentry families. There was usually a Graham at Arthuret and Kirkandrews on Esk parsonages, a Curwen at Workington and Harrington, a Wybergh or

1. see table 4p.64 ;see also above pp. 63 ff, 88 ff.

a Lawson at Isel. These were the richer livings and remained so. Institutions controlled a few strategic livings. Trinity college , Cambridge, presented the vicar of Kendal who in turn held the advowson of eight of the thirteen chapelries in his 76,000 acre parish.

These then were the forces at work for the appointment of clergy to Cumbrian livings, and the way that advowsons or individual presentations might be sold and bought in the free market ensured that there were changes in patronage. More importantly, the Church of England gradually gained more control over its own patronage through the bishops and the trustee bodies, which invariably had at least one clergyman on them, whilst the creation of new parishes brought many into Church hands. The diversity of patronage ensured that the clergy appointed would be as variable in outlook as their benefactors, and as the stipends which they received ² .

Clerical Income

The clergy of Cumbria lived in a region where property values and the cost of living were both low ³ . This partly accounts for the ability of incumbents and curates to survive on some of the lowest stipends in England, and which remained low throughout the nineteenth century. A parsonage was a considerable bonus for until the 1860s rented accommodation was usual and wealthier men bought their own house⁴ . Under Waldegrave the first important and concerted efforts were made to regularise income, to replace payment in kind with payment in cash,

2. Chadwick the Victorian Church vol. 2 pp. 207ff, 328, 379-380.

3. Bouch and Jones Lake Counties pp. 228-245, 290-315

4. See table 6 p. 142.

Table 5

Average stipends for beneficed clergy in the diocese of Carlisle,
and for curates: in £s

<u>date</u>	<u>incumbents</u>	<u>curates</u>
1835	175	50
1868	205	60
1883	250	120
1889	238	150
1892	220	150

Sources: Report of the Commissioners appointed by His Majesty to
inquire into the ecclesiastical revenues of England and Wales (1835)
Carlisle Diocesan Calendars 1868, 1883, 1889, 1892

and to provide parsonages. Some livings remained notoriously poor and it was often expected that clergy would possess private means to subsidise their stipend ⁵.

Between 1780 and 1890 there were dramatic changes in income as large injections of capital were given to augmentation. Where a majority of incomes were under £100 per year in 1780, over half were worth £200 by 1890, and the ^{under} £100 category had been all but eliminated. There remained many stipends below the national minimum figure and increasing attention was paid to these.

It is interesting to examine what happened to livings over the course of the period 1780 - 1890 ~~to~~ their separate categories. The ten wealthiest livings in 1835 tended to decrease in value after 1870 because of reductions in tithe and the impact, albeit limited in Cumbria, of the agricultural depression of the 1880s. They remained the richest benefices, but no longer were they separated by a great gulf from the average livings of 1835. Certain of the poorest livings of 1835 remained poor, and embarrassingly so, whilst others had been steadily augmented towards the desired total of over £250 per year. There was an uneven[^]ness which suggests that augmentation was patchy or haphazardly applied ⁶.

Comparative changes in stipends for the main three patrons shed light on what was happening ⁷. It was quite clear that the bishop, dean and chapter were more concerned with increasing stipends than the earl of Lonsdale, who used the church to finance his own standard of

5. Waldegrave MS, book 4, Waldegrave to Rev. J. Rimmer, 24 January 1868, stresses the need for private incomes.

6. See table 6 p. 142

7. See table 7 p. 145

Table 6Trends in Anglican clerical stipends 1780 - 1890

<u>Benefice</u>		<u>annual income in £s</u>				<u>Patron</u>
		<u>1780</u>	<u>1835</u>	<u>1870</u>	<u>1890</u>	
Ivegill	c	13	46	92	300	Bishop of Carlisle
Martindale	c	10	43	95	93	lay
Newlands	c	3	51	90	105	vicar of Crosthwaite
Newton Reigny	c	22	51	95	115	Bishop of Carlisle
Loweswater	c	5	76	110	140	earl of Lonsdale
Troutbeck	c	10	43	55	165	rect. of Windermere
Ulpha	c	5	49	200	183	vicar of Millom
Wasdale Head	c	3	49	84	64	incumb. of St.Bees
Wythop	c	2	51	56	69	landowners
Threlkeld	c	8	53	70	125	earl of Lonsdale
St.Mary's Carlisle	c	7	179	300	300	dean&chapt of Carlisle
Denton	r	16	196	195	296	Bishop of Carlisle
Edenhall	v	50	178	120	220	dean&chapt of Carlisle
St. Michael Appleby	v	40	175	180	350	" " " "
Morland	v	70	177	150	300	" " " "
Cliburn	r	40	188	288	175	Bishop of Carlisle
Orton	v	-	192	220	227	landowners
Warcop	v	45	194	216	225	Rev. W. Preston
Millom	v	26	189	215	281	duchy of Lancaster
Burton	v	31	199	199	210	Simeon trust
Aikton	r	165	546	580	450	earl of Lonsdale
Arthuret	r	170	687	1209	640	Grahams
Lazonby	r	70	551	550	500	Bishop of Carlisle
Kirkby Thore	r	155	959	615	370	earl of Thanet
Long Marton	r	145	673	480	707	" " "

table 6 continued

<u>Benefice</u>		<u>annual income in £s</u>				<u>Patron</u>
		<u>1780</u>	<u>1835</u>	<u>1870</u>	<u>1890</u>	
Aldingham	r	200	1093	1000	654	the crown
Bootle	r	70	525	466	370	earl of Lonsdale
Workington	r	100	966	975	800	Curwen
Heversham	v	60	516	570	600	Trinity, Cambridge
Bolton Gate	r	90	512	512	380	earl of Lonsdale

Note: c - perpetual curacy in 1835

v - vicarial in 1835

r - rectorial in 1835

Sources: Nicolson and Burn Westmorland and Cumberland ; Ecclesiastical Commissioners report(1835); Carlisle Diocesan Calendars 1870 and 1890

living . From an average value of £230 per year, Lonsdale livings declined between 1835 and 1870 to £190, and then rose over the next twenty years to £209, still well below what they had been sixty years before. Dean and chapter livings show a steady increase from £139 to £184 in 1870, and up to £235 in 1890. The bishop's incumbencies show the same hefty rise from under £200 each in 1835 to £260 by 1890. This was not high in national terms, but for Cumbrian parishes it was highly significant. The total income from the combined stipends provides further evidence that clergy in the earl of Lonsdale's livings had an income scarcely increased over the nineteenth century, whilst the value of episcopal or dean and chapter livings had more than doubled over the same period.

The important decade for improving stipends was the 1860s, though the work was started by Villiers and even Percy had done a little. Waldegrave's correspondence illustrates his assiduous attention to all aspects of the matter, and a mobilisation of the Ecclesiastical Commissioners was central to his policy. Other possible benefactors were not ignored, and such patrons as Arthur Peache, Joseph Ferguson and the duke of Devonshire were enlisted ⁸ . Of the parishes which thus benefited, only one had the earl of Lonsdale as patron, and the money was invested in parishes where there was a more concerned patron, and especially in those parishes with the bishop as patron, or where Waldegrave wished to be involved more. This latter point meant the bishop would help parishes where there was a lack of wealthy patron or lay involvement.

8. See table 8 p. 147.

Table 7Comparative changes in clerical stipends:

<u>Patron</u>	<u>average stipend value</u>			<u>gross stipends value</u>	
	<u>1835</u>	<u>1870</u>	<u>1890</u>	<u>1835</u>	<u>1890</u>
Bishop of Carlisle	£198	£231	£260	£5940	£13780
Dean and chapter of Carlisle	£139	£184	£235	£3750	£7520
Earl of Lonsdale	£230	£190	£209	£7360	£7942

Sources: Carlisle Diocesan Calendars 1870 and 1890; Report of the Commissioners appointed by His Majesty to inquire into the ecclesiastical revenues of England and Wales (1835)

Waldegrave was reluctant to help improve stipends where the patron was the earl of Lonsdale, as he told William Jackson⁹. The bishop's opinion of the state of livings in the 1860s was summed up in a letter to the strongly evangelical Lady Gainsborough in 1867:

My dear Lady Gainsborough,

I can easily give Mr.

Concannon a curacy, such as curacies are here, but probably when I told him the stipend etc. , he will say no. As to livings, such things scarcely exist at all in this diocese - they are all starvings and such as they are I must keep them for men already at work amongst us, or I cannot hope for curates.¹⁰

This poverty of many livings accounts for Close's attempts to link livings to canonries, and explains Waldegrave's desire to recruit men of private means for his parishes¹¹. The pay for curates was also a worry for Waldegrave, and he had to cajole and press many an incumbent to provide a proper income. William Leach, vicar of Egremont, wished to give his curate £60 per year, but Waldegrave refused to allow this and spent a six months' correspondence obtaining £120 and a house¹².

9. See above p. 66.

10. Waldegrave MS, book 2, Waldegrave to Lady Gainsborough, 25 November 1867

11. See above p.p. 70 ff, 89 ff.

12. Waldegrave MS, book 2, Waldegrave to Leach, 8 October 1867

Table 8*Endowments for*Augmentations to stipends arranged by bishop Waldegrave 1860-1868:

<u>Living</u>	<u>Patron</u>	<u>Amount £</u>	<u>Donor</u>
Maryport	Senhouse	500	Eccl. Comm.
Flookburgh	Devonshire	1000	Duke of Devonshire
St Mary's Carlisle	bishop of Carlisle	1600	Duke of Devonshire
KirkbyIreleth	vicar of Dalton	1000	Eccl. Comm.
Silloth	Simeon trust	1000	Eccl. Comm.
Threlkeld	earl of Lonsdale	1000	Eccl. Comm.
Holme Cultram	univ. of Oxford	250	Eccl. Comm.
Appleby	dean&chapter Carlisle	300	Eccl. Comm.
Crosby on Eden	bishop of Carlisle	300	Eccl. Comm.
Penrith	bishop of Carlisle	3000	messrs Scott& Gibson
Muncaster	Muncaster	700	Eccl. Comm.
St James, Carlisle	trust	3400	J Ferguson&others
Murton	bishop of Carlisle	1000	Eccl. Comm.
Blawith	Buccleuch	1000	Eccl. Comm.
Beckermet(both)	lay	600	Eccl. Comm.
Dacre	Lord Chancellor	600	Eccl. Comm.
St Stephen, Carlisle	bishop of Carlisle	10000	Burdett-Coutts
Ulverston	Peache	1000	Rev A Peache

Source: Waldegrave MS

When one incumbent wished to become an absentee he informed the bishop that he could only afford £35 a year, to which Waldegrave replied:

May I venture to remind you that the average of curacies, even in the poor diocese of Carlisle, is now £100 per year; some are above, as far as £150, some below down to £80 - but £100 to £110 may be taken as an average. ¹³

Waldegrave was satisfied if an incumbent would provide £80 for a curate, but his delight was unbounded when in 1868 the duke of Westminster provided £6,000 for improving poor livings ¹⁴.

Harvey Goodwin believed that poor incomes had a serious effect on the recruitment of able clergy, who would seek posts in dioceses where the incomes were considerably higher. 1883 was the year when stipends reached their peak in Carlisle as an average, and thereafter incomes declined as a result of declining tithe and land values, and the industrial and economic disasters in Barrow, Millom and West Cumberland. Nonetheless it needs to be remembered that to many, especially Nonconformists, Anglican clerical incomes seemed generous. The Church of England's clergy were gentlemen, lived the life of gentlemen, and were expected to have the qualifications of gentlemen.

13. Waldegrave MS, book 4, Waldegrave to unknown person, 19 November 1868

14. Waldegrave MS, book 4, Waldegrave to unknown person, 10 November 1868; the duke's sister Jane Grosvenor had married the 4th lord Muncaster.

Table 9Value of Anglican livings in the diocese of Carlisle:

<u>date</u>	<u>under</u> <u>£100</u>	<u>£100 to</u> <u>£149</u>	<u>£150 to</u> <u>£199</u>	<u>£200 to</u> <u>£249</u>	<u>£250 to</u> <u>£299</u>	<u>£300 to</u> <u>£399</u>	<u>£400 to</u> <u>£499</u>	<u>£500 and</u> <u>over</u>	<u>average</u> <u>£</u>
1780	183	9	3	1	-	-	-	-	45
1835	105	42	20	13	9	10	3	10	175
1870	48	44	82	15	24	20	5	14	205
1890	18	28	83	24	68	57	4	13	220

Sources: Nicolson and Burn Westmorland and Cumberland ; Carlisle Diocesan Calendars 1870 and 1890;

Report of the Commissioners appointed by His Majesty to inquire into the ecclesiastical revenues of

England and Wales (1835)

The Education of the Clergy

Though Cumbria was considered by some people as a backward region it was progressive in one respect: its theological college at St. Bees, south of Whitehaven on the coast, and the first college of its type to train Anglican clergy¹⁵. Yet its impact on the diocese of Carlisle from its inception in 1816 until its closure in 1896 was small, and where a Nonconformist college was considered to be an essential adjunct to the national life of the denomination concerned, an Anglican college possessed little significance. At any one time between 1816 and 1896 there were never more than thirty five, occasionally only ten, and on average seventeen St. Bees men at work in Cumbrian parishes, and more often than not they were curates, not incumbents¹⁶. One half of the usual output of thirty clergy a year went into the missionary field between 1840 and 1860, but rarely did any attain distinction at home and abroad. To the workings of the diocese of Carlisle, or before 1856 to the life of the diocese of Chester, the college was not of great importance. The clergy of the region were trained or prepared elsewhere.

In 1780 the clergy in Cumbria were divided into graduates of Oxford and Cambridge, who numbered about a third or less of the total number, and *lit erati*, that is untrained and generally unqualified men. The latter tended to fill the many perpetual curacies, whilst the graduates were holders of the wealthier livings and might expect to gain the preferment normally denied to *lit erati*¹⁷.

15. T. Park A short history of St. Bees College (1982)

16. I am grateful to Mr. Park for access to his notes on St. Bees

17. See table 10 p.151.

Table 10Qualifications of Anglican clergy in the diocese of Carlisle:

<u>date</u>	<u>clergy</u>	<u>undifferentiated</u>	<u>Cambridge</u>	<u>Oxford</u>	<u>Durham</u>	<u>Dublin</u>	<u>St Bees</u>	<u>St Aidans</u>	<u>other</u>
		<u>graduates</u>	<u>grads</u>	<u>grads</u>	<u>grads</u>	<u>grads</u>	<u>trained</u>	<u>trained</u>	<u>college</u>
1780	205	58	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1830	230	62	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1870	424	45	53	36	5	14	14	1	1
1890	446	5	82	63	15	30	37	6	32
1920	407	8	81	63	26	7	17	8	45

Note: total clergy includes curates but curates listed separately ^{in table 11} for qualifications

Sources: Nicolson and Burn Westmorland and Cumberland; Parson and White Cumberland, Westmorland, Furness and Cartmel (1829); Carlisle Diocesan Calendars 1870, 1890 and 1920

The single largest increase in graduate clergy at work in the diocese of Carlisle was recorded between 1830 and 1870, and most of this was achieved under Waldegrave between 1860 and 1869. It was his policy to attract graduates into the diocese and to promote worthy and trained men working in Cumbrian parishes already. Not only was Waldegrave eager to recruit graduates, but he was as concerned to make sure that they were suitable. His selection process of suitable men was as rigorous as ^{that of} any bishop on the bench, and he was wary of some men as he told one of them:

My dear Mr. Keane,

I always hesitate at accepting a candidate for holy orders declined by a brother bishop and especially any by our primate whose liberality and wisdom I have learned to trust. ¹⁸

Ordinands had to submit to several interviews and searching examination which normally took place at Rose Castle, sometimes with senior diocesan clergy, and often Francis Close, in attendance. The bishop's correspondence is full of letters to men refused ordination or a living or curacy, normally for unexplained reasons ¹⁹. The bishop maintained a list of suitable clergy and was ready to extend a hearty invitation to those whom he knew, as in the following letter to the Rev. J. Pearson:

18. Waldegrave MS, book 2, Waldegrave to Keane, 6 November 1867

19. Waldegrave MS, book 3, Waldegrave to Rev. Mr. Eckersley, 17 October 1867 for example

Table 11Qualifications of Anglican curates in the diocese of Carlisle:

<u>date</u>	<u>curates</u>	<u>Cambridge</u> <u>grads</u>	<u>Oxford</u> <u>grads</u>	<u>Durham</u> <u>grads</u>	<u>Dublin</u> <u>grads</u>	<u>St Bees</u> <u>trained</u>	<u>St Aidans</u> <u>trained</u>	<u>other</u> <u>college</u>
1870	78	14	5	-	3	4	1	2
1890	89	25	16	6	8	14	3	6
1920	49	17	5	6	-	1	1	6

Sources: Carlisle Diocesan Calendars 1870, 1890, 1920

My dear Sir,

The advertiser is indeed an evangelical vicar - if you would like to work under him in a parish of two thousand souls on the sea coast of Cumberland write to him telling him who you are and that I have accepted you and can, D.V., ordain you in lent ...²⁰

Others received welcome on actually securing an incumbency in the diocese :

Reverend and dear Sir,

I shall have much pleasure in welcoming you into my diocese. May the Good Shepherd make you a very efficient and happy pastor.²¹

Waldegrave was cautious about ordaining even suitable non - graduates as he informed one scripture reader, stating that ' I rarely ordain such men ... though some are ... the best men I have in my diocese and the most suitable ' ²² . To another correspondent he added :

20. Waldegrave MS, book 2, Waldegrave to Pearson, 11 January 1868

21. Waldegrave MS, book 4, Waldegrave to correspondent 12 August 1868

22. Waldegrave MS, book 4, Waldegrave to unnamed person 31 July 1868

I do not ordain lit erati save when I am assured by my own examination and other testimony of competent witnesses that they are of such value that to keep them back would be a fraud on the Church of England. ²³

One man was so frightened of the bishop's reputation that he could not find courage to attend for interview even though he was certain to be passed and licensed to a curacy: 'he has nothing at all to fear' added a less than convincing bishop ²⁴ . Waldegrave was careful over the placing of satisfactory men, as when enquiring after the suitability of a good candidate for

... a town curacy, where with a slight, very slight, but still discernible, admixture of aristocracy, there is a large preponderance of mercantile and seafaring people. ²⁵

Whilst a Mr. Voysey was an excellent man, the bishop believed his virtues to be ' of the home spun variety 'which would suit a ' simple and homely ' living ²⁶ .

23. Waldegrave MS, book 4, Waldegrave to unnamed incumbent, 18 November 1868

24. Waldegrave MS, book 4, Waldegrave to Rev. G. H. Hodgson, 21 August 1868

25. Waldegrave MS, book 2, Waldegrave to Rev. B. Arthy, undated but November 1867

26. Waldegrave MS, book 2, Waldegrave to Rev. A. Handley, 2 December 1867

Waldegrave was concerned to recruit well educated men for the diocese, which helps account for his use of patronage²⁷. By the end of Goodwin's episcopate over eighty five per cent of clergy were either graduates or trained at theological college, with a continued bias towards Cambridge colleges in preference to Oxford, and substantial numbers of Durham and Dublin graduates. By 1920 the number of clergy had fallen, as had the numbers of Dublin and St. Bees men, but this was countered by larger proportions of college trained clergy and greater reliance on Durham. The clergy were well on the way towards becoming a trained professional body because of the concentration on formal qualifications by the reforming bishops. The use of so many theological-college-trained men in Cumbrian livings may have added to financial burdens for the diocese since they were less likely to possess the private means needed for university courses, whilst the equalisation of stipends tended to discourage some from prominent families applying for Cumbrian parishes. On the other hand there remained the undoubted attractions of the Lake District, poor incomes notwithstanding, for clergy, which induced many into the diocese²⁸.

27. See above pp. 63 ff.

28. See below pp. 191ff; Goodwin's Charges and Annual Pastoral Letter remained concerned with stipends and the expense in maintaining large parsonages.

The Number of Clergy:

The number of Anglican clergy in the whole of Cumbria greatly increased as the population rose between 1780 and 1920. However it was evident that the clergy were not necessarily living where the concentrations of population did, and whilst two resident clergymen catered for the small rural living of Low Wray and its three hundred people, twelve clergymen battled with Barrow in Furness's sixty thousand inhabitants . There existed a contrast between similar-sized places - Carlisle had eighteen resident clergy in 1900 when Barrow had eleven. Some clerics were notorious for congregating in favored parishes, regardless of duties, so that there were in 1847 five clergy in Ambleside, four in Hawkshead, ten in Keswick, fourteen in Carlisle and six in St. Bees ²⁹ . A number of clergy inhabited desirable villages or other parts of the Lake District and had no parochial duties, so that total numbers of clergy were misleading.

The peak of clerical numbers was about 1890, when there were 446 living in the diocese permanently, a figure which roughly kept pace with population increases, except in Barrow and West Cumberland, where there were too few, and in the rural parishes, where there were too many, clergy. Numbers alone were not necessarily vital to the diocese: absenteeism and pluralism might be more significant.

29. See table 4 p31; for other denominations see also p.31.

Pluralism and Absenteeism

One difficulty which faced Cumbria was the poverty of livings, which in turn led to pluralism when one man held more than one incumbency in order to earn sufficient to live on. There was too a good deal of less excusable pluralism and absenteeism, the most popular excuse being the lack of a parsonage. The reports of the 1830s suggested that the scale of both problems was worse in livings where the earl of Lonsdale was patron³⁰. Some absenteeism was perpetuated into the twentieth century, some of it insoluble: vicars of Grinsdale never lived in that parish but commuted from Carlisle, Beaumont was always held by rectors of Kirkandrews on Eden, and Wetheral had been held in plurality with Warwick since the seventeenth century. As with so much else in the history of the diocese, the 1860s witnessed a tightening of existing laws on absenteeism because of Waldegrave. He would certainly allow incumbents to be absentee but only on good grounds- and lack of a parsonage was not good grounds in his mind - but only if the parish were provided for adequately, and if falsehood were exposed his ire was great.

His attitude was summed up in one brief letter to Mr. Cheese, vicar of Gosforth:

My dear Mr. Cheese,

I cannot forbid your taking the leave of absence which is necessary. You will I am sure provide wisely and well for Gosforth and will come back as soon as you can.³¹

30. See table 12 p. 159

31. Waldegrave MS, book 2, Waldegrave to Cheese, 4 October 1867

Table 12Pluralism in Anglican livings 1835

	<u>Living total</u>	<u>held by pluralists</u>
Diocese of Carlisle	128	56
Diocese of Chester	112	33
(deaneries of Furness Copeland & Kendal)		
livings in patronage of earl of Lonsdale	31	16

Source: Report of the Commissioners appointed by His Majesty to
inquire into the ecclesiastical revenues of England and Wales(1835)

Waldegrave was concerned when clergy stayed too long away from their parish duties, and his disquiet over the mischief occasioned by William Jackson's absence in Oxford has been mentioned ³². Incumbents like J. B. Kayss were informed that they could not simply travel from their old home to conduct services in their new parishes, even when not far away, and were expected to be resident incumbents ³³. When the bishop discovered that Daniel Ace, vicar of Dacre, and an absentee on health grounds for over a year, was doing duty at Richmond in Yorkshire some hard words were said in his letters. Ace was informed that his leave of absence was terminated ³⁴.

For Waldegrave the most sensible course of action over absenteeism was to provide parsonages in order to demolish the main excuse for living elsewhere, and the 1860s witnessed a resolute effort to complete the work begun by Percy and Villiers. Once reforming bishops in the diocese were allied to the Ecclesiastical Commissioners in London then the days of absenteeism and pluralism were numbered, but the provision of parsonages was one major weapon to be employed.

32. See p.129 above.

33. Waldegrave MS, book 1, Waldegrave to Kayss, 22 April 1861

34. Waldegrave MS, book 4, Waldegrave to Ace, 6 October 1868, and to Rev. Mr. Hales, 20 October 1868 concerning the matter .

The Parsonages of the Diocese

The most absentee and pluralistic clergyman of the diocese in 1850 was the bishop of Carlisle, who spent three or four weeks annually at Rose Castle even though he had lavished over £40,000 on improving and extending the old fabric. Of course Percy had to attend the House of Lords for much of the year and did the round of the spa and resort towns. His successors Villiers, Waldegrave and Goodwin spent increasing amounts of time in their diocese and concentrated on the provision of parsonages. Waldegrave started the Church and Parsonage Building and Benefice Association in 1862, and that decade was the first to see concerted efforts to end the dearth of clergy homes.

In 1835 about half of the livings in Cumbria possessed an adequate parsonage in proper repair, but in the three deaneries of Chester the situation was considerably more serious than in the small diocese of Carlisle³⁵. Poorer incumbents took lodgings, stayed with relations, or took free board and lodging as part of their stipend. When they were able to, clergy bought or rented a house or farm in their parish if none were provided. Waldegrave saw it as his task to provide every parish with a residence fit for a gentleman to inhabit, which accounts for the impressive amount of funds put into parsonage provision and for the inordinate size of today's remaining Victorian vicarages and rectories.

It was not usually economical to renovate old parsonages, and it was usually preferable to provide a new building at an average expenditure of £1,400³⁶. The amount that Waldegrave was able to

35. See table 13 p. 163

36. See table 14 p. 165



Crosby Ravensworth vicarage c.1670, extended and rebuilt c. 1750, generally improved c.1850. 4 reception and 5 main bedrooms, with 2 dressing rooms as in most parsonages, but only 1 acre of grounds.



Crosby on Eden vicarage built c.1800, 3 reception but only 4 bedrooms.

Table 13Benefice houses fit for residence 1835:

	<u>Fit for</u> <u>residence</u>	<u>unfit for</u> <u>residence</u>	<u>no house</u>
diocese of Carlisle	84	31	13
deaneries of Furness, Copeland and Kendal	49	10	53

Table 14

Cost of new building

Structure

Interior

Exterior



Decorative

Paintwork

Plumbing

Parsonage: Askham rectory originally built c.1630, extended 1802, with 2 acres of grounds,
 5 main and 2 minor bedrooms, 3 reception rooms and cellars.

Table 14Cost of new benefice houses in the diocese of Carlisle:

<u>Benefice</u>	<u>date</u>	<u>cost £s</u>	<u>expenditure on church</u>
Hesket	1870	1600	-
Brampton	1880	2100	7000
Burgh by Sands	1885	1700	1300
Crosby on Eden	1867	1400	1800
Holme Cultram	1817	1000	-
Holme St Paul	1852	1000	850
Holme St Cuthbert	1851	700	800
Kirkandrews on Eden	1847	800	-
Kirkandrews on Esk	1846	800	2000
Kirkbride	1800	1600	420
West Newton	1878	1500	1000
Braithwaite	1886	1000	180
All Hallows (Mealsgate)	1812	300	2000
	1882	1400	
Borrowdale	1842	900	300
Culgaith	1869	1400	-
Ireby	1880	1500	500
Sebergham	1873	1750	600
Skerwith	1859	1800	7500
Threlkeld	1857	500	-
Cleator Moor	1873	1500	4500
Millom	1877	1800	9000
Moresby	1899	1700	2000
Whitbeck	1785	200	-
Flimby	1841	275	400

Table 14 continued

<u>Benefice</u>	<u>date</u>	<u>cost £s</u>	<u>expenditure on church</u>
Kirkclinton	1839	500	-
Dent	1891	2500	2700
Barbon	1872	1200	3000
Crosby Ravensworth	1855	2500	16000
St. George(Kendal)	1849	850	4500
Natland	1883	1300	1100
Staveley	1860	1000	2000
Troutbeck	1872	1000	-
Finsthwaite	1870	1200	-
Ambleside	1861	1200	4000
Torver	1865	1200	1100
Rosley	1868	1400	800
Gosforth	1867	2100	3000
Renwick	1868	1200	600
Scaleby	1863	1100	1000
Hutton Roof	1849	1000	2500

Sources: Bulmer Westmorland and Sedbergh 1905; Bulmer Cumberland 1901
 Bulmer Westmorland 1885; Kelly Cumberland 1910; Kelly Cumberland and
 and Westmorland 1894; Barrow in Furness and Lancashire North of the
 Sands 1910

obtain from the commissioners varied between £400 and £2,000 for houses, but around £1,400 was commonly provided, and might be augmented by private grants or a wealthy incumbent himself ³⁷ . The average parsonage was built with stabling and extensive outbuildings, between five and seven bedrooms, two attics for servants, and at least three downstairs rooms including study which ideally had to overlook the between three and four acres of grounds provided - though this might go as low as one acre in towns ³⁸ .

Some concerned patrons provided houses for their incumbents. The Howards commissioned Philip Webb not only to design the Brampton parish church in 1874 but to draw up plans for a vicarage ³⁹ . The earl of Lonsdale did nothing to provide for his incumbents, but some clergy looked after their own interests. Canon Weston, incumbent of Crosby Ravensworth, spent £2,500 on his own house, whilst Thomas Lowry, vicar of Crosby on Eden, built himself one of the largest mansions on the east side of Carlisle ⁴⁰ . Thomas Ellwood of Torver had an experience common to many incumbents in the late 1850s and 1860s, when he found no house in his new living. The previous incumbent,

37. See table 16 p. 170.

38. For instance at Rosley, recently sold; Waldegrave MS, book 4, Waldegrave to archdeacon Boutflower, 24 November 1868

39. For Henry Whitehead. It was called Green Gables and is on the outskirts of the town on the main road from Carlisle, the A69. A large and imposing older house in the centre of Brampton is now the vicarage and Green Gables is a guest house.

40. Lowry, 1762-1832, vicar of Crosby 1791-1832, rector of Ousby 1807-1832; member of an important local family. Weston, incumbent of Crosby Ravensworth 1848-1887, died aged seventy nine.

Table 15Benefice house renovation

<u>Living</u>	<u>Date</u>	<u>Cost of work (£s)</u>
Newton Arlosh	1860	600
Thornthwaite	1860	600
Matterdale	1890	1,200
Thursby	1892	500
Bridekirk	1857	600
Dearham	1883	900
Wigton	1870	950

Sources: Directories: Bulmer West Cumberland(1883), Bulmer East Cumberland(1884), Bulmer Cumberland(1901), Kelly Cumberland and Westmorland(1894).

Matthew Carter, had spent weekends at a farm he rented in Torver, and lived for the rest of the week at the Carter home in Kendal ⁴¹ .

Ellwood was advised by Villiers to set about building a parsonage straight away and raised £1,200 from several people including Arthur Peache. It is in a commanding position in the requisite acres of grounds and with six main bedrooms. Ellwood then set about restoring the church and school, and filling his attic bedrooms with private pupils ⁴² .

The Victorian parsonages so determinedly provided between 1860 and 1890 were in one sense white elephants because with declining incomes after the 1880s a decreasing number of clergy were able to afford the staff and repairs needed. The vicarages still haunt the Cumbrian landscape, though decreasing numbers are serving their original purpose ⁴³ . It is worth noting that at a time when the diocese was spending £1,400 on the average new parsonage, new three-bedroomed terraced houses were being sold by Laings in Carlisle for £100; that was in 1870, and in the 1900s the same firm was building four-bedroomed terraced houses for £185. Nonetheless, the work of providing each parish with a resident incumbent was a signal success of the period.

41. T. Ellwood Forty five years in a mountain parish in Lakeland (Carlisle 1908) pp. 15-30 . Ellwood, master of St. Bees school, incumbent of Torver 1858 - 1912.

42. Ellwood Forty five years in a mountain parish throughout; see also his Leaves from the annals of a mountain parish in Lakeland (Ulverston 1888)

43. A common practice today is to build a new and expensive house in the grounds of the old one, which is then sold. Three are for sale at the present time.

Table 16Amount spent on benefice houses 1860-1869 in the diocese of Carlisle:

<u>Benefice</u>	<u>date</u>	<u>amount granted by Waldegrave £</u>	<u>total cost £</u>
Plumpton	1863	700	900
Workington	1863	800	1400
Bampton	1863	500	900
Dacre	1863	500	800
Brathay	1863	800	1000
Kirkland	1867	1400	1400
Silloth	1868	1000	1450
Ulverston	1867	2000	2800
Cockermouth	1867	800	1200
Woodland	1867	800	800
St. Mary's Carlisle	1867	1600	1600
Farlam	1863	1000	1000
Penrith	1862	1000	1000
Murton	1863	1000	1000
Culgaith	1868	1400	1400
Bolton(Morland)	1868	1400	1400
Crosby on Eden	1868	1400	1400
Ireby	1868	1400	1400
Rosley	1868	1400	1400
Cross Canonby	1868	1400	1400
Gilcrux	1868	400	1300

Source: Waldegrave MS



Kirkoswald vicarage: built 1867 with 4 main and 2 minor bedrooms, 3 main reception, 1 acre of grounds, extensive outbuildings.

The Incumbents and their work

It has already been seen that the parson of 1880 was better housed, better paid, and better qualified than his counterpart of 1780. The clergy of 1780 were usually recruited from Cumbrian families, but by 1880 a larger proportion were off-comers, either attracted to the diocese by the beauty of the Lake District, or deliberately recruited by Waldegrave and Goodwin. Yet there remained a fundamental and impressive integration of the clergy with Cumbrian society, from the highest echelons of gentry society down to the farming classes.

Bishop Sir George Fleming was not only prelate of Carlisle, formerly archdeacon, and incumbent of several parishes, but he was a baronet and owner of the extensive Fleming estates centred on Rydal and Coniston ⁴⁴. Henry Curwen, rector of Workington, not only owned several thousand acres in the diocese but was directly descended from the ancient Curwen family ⁴⁵. Below them were men like James Barton, chairman of the county magistrates from 1801 to 1814 and incumbent of Aldingham, and George Hasell, prominent justice of the peace in the later nineteenth century, a county incumbent, and of the Dalemain family ⁴⁶.

There were too the middling clergy like William Paley,

-
44. Fleming 1667-1747, incumbent of Aspatria 1695-1703, archdeacon 1705-1734, dean of Carlisle 1727-1734, prebend 1700-1727, bishop 1735-1747.
45. Curwen 1812-1870, son of Henry Curwen and the former Jane Stanley.
46. Barton 1746-1814, rector of Aldingham 1801-1814, formerly fellow of Brazenose college, Oxford. Hasell 1847-1932, rector of Aikton 1872-1911, rural dean of Wigton 1888-1911.

who came from an undistinguished schoolmastering and clerical family but who received preferment through ability and connections ⁴⁷ .

Peter How came from a mercantile background in Whitehaven, married his cousin Margaret Wybergh of Isel, and received preferment from the Wybergh-Lawson family and from their friends and political allies the Curwens ⁴⁸ . Dean Milner's helper, John Fawcett, was the son of a Yorkshire vicar and grandson of a hosier ⁴⁹ . Such men did well and lived comfortably, though never reaching the top of the ecclesiastical preferment ladder. Whilst their connections with the gentry and landed society were relaxed and usual, they were middle-class representatives within the Church.

At the bottom of the clerical ladder were the poor incumbents, especially the perpetual curates who were lit erati and possessed little hope of preferment. Robert Walker of Seathwaite was merely the most illustrious of the poor clergy of the period 1750-1850 ⁵⁰ .

-
47. Paley 1743-1805, incumbent of Musgrave 1775-1777, of Dalston 1776-1793, of St. Lawrence Appleby 1777-1789, of Gt. Salkeld 1782-1805, prebend of Carlisle 1780-1795, archdeacon and chancellor of Carlisle; see above p.101.
48. How 1758-1831, incumbent of Corney 1787-1795, of Harrington 1794-1817, of Workington 1803-1831, of Isel 1814-1826; one of his grandsons, William Walsham How, was bishop of Bedford 1879 and of Wakefield 1888.
49. Fawcett 1760-1851, headmaster of the cathedral grammar school 1795-1803, rector of Scaleby 1802-1826, incumbent of St. Cuthbert's Carlisle 1801-1851.
50. Walker 1709-1802, incumbent and schoolmaster at Seathwaite 1733-1802, made famous by William Wordsworth's The Excursion, and Richard Parkinson's biography The Old Church Clock (1843)

James Marshall, incumbent of Ireby, eked out his stipend by working as a coal merchant and tenant farmer⁵¹. He died aged ninety one in 1842 after spending sixty five years at Ireby. This breed of poor parson in the dales and fells gradually died out, but William Sewell was over ninety years old when bishop Waldegrave found him at Troutbeck salving his neighbours' sheep. Waldegrave was not used to seeing his clergy covered in tar and rancid butter⁵². Sewell claimed he had to do such tasks to survive on his poor stipend.

Clergy like Sewell and Walker might be from the humblest of farming stock, but clergy did not come from the poorest of classes, the factory or agricultural labourers. One example of this inadequacy within the Church was the type of person entering St. Bees college. The institution was founded to provide a cheap alternative to going to university, inexpensive in cash but a professional training for ordinands⁵³. Yet unskilled or semi-skilled parents were never known to have sent children there, and the typical student was son of an army officer, land agent, surveyor, clergyman, farmer or teacher. The gradual rise in clerical status through two generations is shown by the life of Samuel Sherwen, who died in 1870 aged eighty and was one of the last clergy to employ dialect words in his sermons and to speak in a broad Cumbrian accent, even though he was a Latin and Greek scholar⁵⁴. He was greatly mourned by his parishioners; his nephew never used dialect in his own sermons, was shown respect but not affection by his parishioners, and was no better scholar than his uncle whom

51. William Dickinson Cumbriana or fragments of Cumbrian Life (Whitehaven 1875) pp. 124-144 on the clergy.

52. Dickinson Cumbriana pp.142-144

53. Park St. Bees pp 115-125

54. Sherwen rector of Dean 1825-1870; William 1831-1915, rector 1870-1915.
As in note 51 above.

he succeeded at Dean.

One factor of increasing significance was the number of off-coming clergy settling in the diocese of Carlisle ⁵⁵. To an extent they were exiles from industrial and urban areas, which tended to mean men of private incomes. Mention has been made of Paley, but there were many others.

Henry Percy was son of the bishop of Carlisle, rector of Greystoke and married to one of the Askew family ⁵⁶. More active was C. W. E. Bardsley, vicar of Ulverston, brother of the bishop of Carlisle and himself being succeeded after an interval by his nephew ⁵⁷. Harvey Goodwin's son George was vicar of Crosthwaite but died young ⁵⁸. Frederick Myers was one of the first to be attracted to a Lake District parish from outside the region, and settled at Keswick ⁵⁹; Hardwick Drummond Rawnsley and Thomas Dundas Harford Battersby were later arrivals to the diocese ⁶⁰. Less important clergy included the

55. Off-comer is a term applied by Cumbrians to non-Cumbrians.

56. Percy 1813-1870, rector of Greystoke and canon of Carlisle

57. Bardsley vicar of Ulverston 1878-1893; J. E. Bardsley 1868-1929
vicar of Ulverston 1896-1909

58. George Goodwin curate in Leeds 1874 and in Crosthwaite 1876; vicar
of Crosthwaite 1877, died 1878

59. Myers 1811-1851, curate in Ancaster, Lincolnshire, incumbent of St.
John's, Keswick 1839-1851, see below pp. 198 ff.

60. Rawnsley 1851-1920, curate in Bristol, incumbent of Low Wray
1878-1883, vicar of Crosthwaite 1883-1917, co-founder of the
National Trust. Battersby 1822-1883, curate in Gosport 1847-1849,
curate to Myers 1849-1851, successor as incumbent in Keswick 1851-
1883, co-founder of the Keswick Convention 1875.

brother of Lord Macaulay, rector of Aldingham, and one of Francis Close's successors at Cheltenham, Charles Bell, who took the less onerous post of Ambleside and was a particular friend of bishop Waldegrave's ⁶¹. St. Bees college had five principals during its history, but the Ainger connection provided three of them :William, his son George, and son in law E.H. Knowles ⁶².

The actual work involved in being an incumbent ranged from doing nothing beyond taking some Sunday services, to being completely involved in the life and work of the parish. Though reformers might disparage the work of the older clergy in the days before the 1830s, the clergy tended to be integrated into rural society most successfully, and there were many incumbents like Wordsworth's Wonderful Walker who acted as farmer, labourer, teacher, doctor, vicar, clerk and almost every post possible for his parish. Clerical drunkenness presented problems at times in certain parishes, but it was not confined to one particular rank of society ⁶³. A number of parsons hunted, as did John Benson, master of the Cockermouth harriers and hunting comrade of Sir Wilfrid Lawson, first baronet, of Brayton ⁶⁴. Richard Burn, incumbent of Kirkandrews on Esk, slaughtered Solway wildfowl and punctiliously reported his tally to the local press and in his diary ⁶⁵.

61. For Macaulay see above p.120; Bell 1819-1898, at Ambleside 1861-1872

62. For George Ainger see above p.116; William Ainger 1785-1840, principal and incumbent of St. Bees 1816-1840; Knowles 1820-1905 principal and incumbent of St. Bees 1871-1896, retired to a living in Bedfordshire

63. See below p. 185.

64. Benson 1773-1831, incumbent of Cockermouth

65. Burn, see Diaries of his hunting life, CRO DX 434/2 1802-1860.

Many clergy did some teaching in their parochial schools, or took in private pupils, or opened their own establishment. Others were like Thomas Lowry of Crosby on Eden and Joseph Milner of Appleby who acted as mayors for Carlisle and Appleby respectively ⁶⁶. The prominence of clergy on the magistrates' bench is attested by any directory of the nineteenth century, with over one quarter of all Cumbria's justices being clergy between 1800 and 1830. The activities of the parish clergy in learned societies, in charitable work, and in the general improvement of society need little comment because *they* ~~are~~ so well documented in the press and directories of the day.

The lives and work of the parish clergy underwent a process of change which was most apparent when new men were appointed to livings on the death of men of long standing. Thomas Ellwood serves as a good example of this because he published two books about his work which document the changing role of the clergy ⁶⁷. He was appointed to his first living in 1861, in succession to Matthew Carter, who had been incumbent since 1807, on the presentation of the patron, Arthur Peache, and on the advice of Waldegrave. Ellwood needed his modest private income since the stipend was under £100 per year with no house.

Ellwood was a good choice for a remote parish: he was industrious, a great socialiser with all classes of parishioner, cultivated the wealthy families of the area, and devoted his life to the living.

66. Lowry was mayor of Carlisle five times, see above p.167; Milner 1793-1864, vicar of St. Lawrence 1818-1864, mayor in 1864.

67. For Ellwood see above p.169; Carter 1775-1864, brother of Thomas 1765-1849, dean of Tuam 1813-1849, chaplain to the primate of Ireland and the duke of Gloucester

In twenty years he had built a parsonage, rebuilt the church and school, and raised over £2,000 to pay for the schemes. Ellwood was not a pronounced church party man, but mildly evangelical. He had a great dislike for Nonconformists, feeling that they damaged the Church of England and encouraged wasteful projects such as school boards.

Apart from Sundays Ellwood would spend the morning walking around his parish, call on the two hundred or so residents on a regular basis, and in the course of his perambulations would keep a careful eye on the poor of the parish—their needs and their behaviour. Torver was a small rural parish, and Ellwood made it his world.

Ellwood above all was a gentleman. He was a scholar who wrote three books on Iceland and Icelandic culture, sent regular contributions of poems and articles to the press, and had mastered Old Norse as well as Icelandic⁶⁸. He went out to supervise the cutting of peat and hay, or to watch the lambing, or to talk with the farmers whilst the labourers hedged and ditched. He farmed his forty acre glebe as a gentleman, and would no more think of actually doing the work himself than he would have thought of flying. His old-fashioned and largely absentee predecessor, Carter, used to do the work side by side with his labourers and was adept at using the sickle and scythe. The world of the one developed into the world of the other with only the actual name of the job to connect them.

68. Ellwood's works are in the Jackson library; see for example Lakeland and Iceland being a glossary of words (1895), Landnama book of Iceland as it illustrates the dialect (Kendal 1894)

Tithes

Until the tithe commutation act of 1836 reduced this ten per cent tax on agricultural produce to cash payments, there had been great difficulties over the collection of payment in kind which only exacerbated a situation where there was growing resentment over having to pay it at all ⁶⁹. Tithes were meant to be a source of income for the Church, but many parishes had had their tithe either expropriated by lay rectors, or impropriated by clerical rectors, so that incumbents received nothing. Incumbents who were rectors of course owned the tithes too, but vicars might have some vicarial tithe income even so. A modus or cash settlement was often reached in order to avoid endlessly long and complicated tithe disputes, whilst clergy invariably took less than their tithe due in order to preserve good relations with the tithe payers, the farmers. It tended to be expropriators or impropiators who tried to exact the full amount of tithe and who stirred up the countryside into periodic outbursts against the tax ⁷⁰.

The bringing of large tracts of previously waste land into cultivation during the French and Napoleonic Wars because of the high price of corn led to tithe owners claiming substantial increases in tithe because of the newly productive land. To the annoyance of farmers and some landlords, tithe became a burdensome tax, and the tithe owners a band of exploiters who laid out no capital and took no risks but improved their incomes dramatically through the work of others.

69. E. Evans 'The Tithe Question in England' University of Warwick Ph.D. 1969

70. Chadwick The Victorian Church vol. 1 pp.49,62,142,167

At the same time as tithe was rising in amount, general enclosures of common land were enriching tithe owners who received an agreed acreage in compensation for an end to tithes. If a modus could not be agreed, then tithe disputes went to court and normally favoured the clergy, who were regarded as more honest, less avaricious and less businesslike than the farmers and landlords⁷¹. One of the hurdles for the Ecclesiastical Commissioners was that their gradual increase in control of cathedral estates antagonised the public who regarded them as far harder and more exacting landlords and tithe owners than the clerical bodies which they replaced.

Strangely enough, in Cumbria the tithes of forty parishes were owned by the earl of Lonsdale, but the most unpopular tithe owners were the dean and chapter of Carlisle who owned tithes in a mere ten parishes. This was partly due to the tithe profits being used not to improve the stipends of the perpetual incumbents appointed, but was divided amongst the dean and four canons⁷². In the age of the reforming and reformed Church such a thing was increasingly untenable and unacceptable.

The most celebrated tithe dispute in the north of England took place at Kendal, a large parish covering seventy five thousand acres, forty villages and thirteen chapelries as well as the principal town and industrial centre of the county of Westmorland⁷³.

71. Best Temporal Pillars pp. 465,369ff

72. Carlisle Journal 24 February 1816, 19 June 1829, 4 March 1855 for the type of attacks launched concerning tithes

73. E. Evans' A Nineteenth century tithe dispute and its significance' Trans CWAAS NS vol. 74 1974 pp. 159-185

It was the seventh largest parish in England, possessed a history of dissenting activity, and in the year that the tithe dispute came to a head there were ten dissenting places of worship in Kendal town.

The lay rectors were Trinity college, Cambridge, who in 1817 determined to recover their dues from farmers and landlords whose profits had risen steeply over the previous twenty years when tithes had not. The tithe lessees were therefore encouraged by the college to claim thousands of pounds in increased tithe which led to a series of tithe disputes between the college and lessees on the one side, against the farmers and the earl of Lonsdale on the other.

The political campaigns of 1818, 1820 and 1826 made the earl of Lonsdale aware that to espouse a popular cause would increase the pro-Lowther poll in the chapelries, especially when the town was so anti-Lowther and the vicar, John Hudson, was claiming an extra £308 per year as his share of the tithe increases. The battle dragged on until 1841 when the tithe payers agreed to settle for an extra £2,000 per year tithe payment, Hudson received his £308, but only three years' arrears had to be found. Tithes were thus put to six times their 1825 level and the two sides had to find equal legal costs of £10,000⁷⁴.

Only one in four of incumbents were rectors, but the same number again possessed vicarial tithes which brought them land at enclosure awards between 1790 and 1815. The rector of Distington owned ninety acres of glebe, but at enclosure received six hundred acres in lieu of

74. For the political activities of the time see below pp. 622ff.

tithes. The vicar of Torpenhow received six hundred and fifty acres in lieu of just his vicarial tithes, and the vicar of Brampton two hundred and ten acres.

Incumbents like William Paley disliked the whole business of tithes and farmed them out at half their value so that problems were obviated ⁷⁵. Where there were Quakers serious disputes regularly took place and into the 1860s those Friends who refused to compromise ended up by losing goods, like the Carr family of Carlisle ⁷⁶. Tithes being applied to rural parishes, and Nonconformists being concentrated mainly in urban ones, conflicts were often avoided. The issue of church rates did more harm to inter-denominational relations because they applied to every parish.

Church Rates

Church rate was levied on property owners in a parish in order to pay for the upkeep of the parish church fabric and to maintain the churchyard. An act of 1868 ended the use of a compulsory rate, but until then church rates soured relations between church and chapel, vicar and some parishioners ⁷⁷.

75. Clark Paley: evidence of the man p. 46

76. Sir John Burgess and Dr. Clare Burgess, 'A history of Carr's ', MS history of the company and family; I am grateful to the authors for access to their work. No pagination.

77. Chadwick The Victorian Church vol. 2 pp. 194-195, 232, 241, 431

The many rural parishes in Cumbria possessed few who were not nominally or more actively Anglican, but in towns it was regularly church rates which led to conflict between denominations as at Kendal in 1836. The tithe case was then still in progress and a poll for a rate was defeated because of the unpopularity of the vicar, John Hudson. The parish church then progressively decayed and had to be closed altogether in 1850⁷⁸. A rate act of 1813 alleviated the burden when it allowed those who were not Anglican to avoid court for amounts under £10, and for Quakers under £50. However the 1830s was not only a decade of political but also religious conflict, and the national growth of Nonconformity was matched in the diocese of Carlisle.

Quakers were commonly prosecuted where the magistrates were Anglican clergy, as at Cockermouth, but the sleepy market town of Appleby was awakened to its first rate rebellion in 1838 due to the establishment of an active and aggressive Wesleyan Association society⁷⁹. Carlisle, as befitted the major industrial and urban centre of the diocese, had a number of rate revolts including one in 1837 when the mayor chaired meetings demanding an end to rates⁸⁰. Prominent among the rate abolitionists were the Congregationalists and Wesleyan Association members.

With so much possible trouble over a rate, the temptation was for churchwardens to levy as small a rate as possible, with obvious damage to church fabric over the years. However in some parishes a rate was never needed because some public-spirited wealthy person would

78. Evans 'Nineteenth century tithe dispute' as in note 73 above

79. Carlisle Journal 9 April 1838

80. Carlisle Journal 21 January 1837

defray expenses. The bad publicity which church rates gained for the Church of England was a worry to some churchmen, and ^a compulsory one was unlevyable in certain parishes by the 1840s ⁸¹. Magistrates were reluctant to enforce the law and one of the last cases was when the famous Harriet Martineau and a Quaker friend were fined at Ambleside in 1858 ⁸². Exceptional cases remained to plague a few parishes. Brigham and Crosthwaite were two notorious for their rate cases; at Alston mine owners were accused ^f giving a day's holiday to men so that they could poll in favour of a rate in 1863 and 1864 ⁸³. The last case of which caught public attention was at Torpenhow, where the vicar and churchwardens met spirited opposition from the Primitive and Wesleyan Methodist societies at Bothel, a large village a mile from the parish church, and from the third village of the parish, Blennerhasset, where there was a strong Congregationalist cause supported by the Lawsons of nearby Brayton ⁸⁴.

The act of 1868 ended conflicts though voluntary church rate continued to be used until 1899. When bishop Goodwin investigated how parishes paid for the upkeep of churchyard and church he found that forty per cent of parishes collected a voluntary rate, the rest relying upon gifts, collections, the incumbent's own wealth, and a variety of money-raising activities. Goodwin, like many Anglicans, was not sorry to see church rate die out ⁸⁵.

81. Carlisle Journal 30 April 1858

82. Carlisle Journal 11 and 18 June 1858

83. Carlisle Journal 6 July 1864

84. Carlisle Journal 10 June 1862 and 12 June 1863

85. The results are printed in Goodwin's Charge of 1872

Discipline and the Clergy

When Harvey Goodwin accepted the see of Carlisle in 1869 he was told by one of the Oxford college principals:

... there is one great and unpleasant difficulty in the diocese, and that is the prevalence of intemperance amongst the clergy. I hope that I live in an exceptionally bad part of the diocese in this respect; but certainly my experience in the matter is a painful one. Many of the clergy are not graduates of any university, and in consequence lack general culture and refinement, and in too many cases descend to the level of their flocks in the moral scale. This will undoubtedly be a great source of trouble to you ... 86

The clergy then mirrored the morals of the day and of the people amongst whom they lived. There were indeed a few embarrassing incidents of excessive drinking, such as those surrounding the rector of Grasmere, Sir Richard le Fleming, who had been sent down from Cambridge and only just made it through his St. Bees course. His predecessor too had been a hardened drinker, but le Fleming at least provided between two and four curates to do his work 87 .

86. Rawnsley Harvey Goodwin p. 133

87. Park St. Bees college p. 115

A good deal of surreptitious drinking went on amongst the clergy as it did in all classes of society for much of the period 1780-1920, but during Percy's episcopate little scandal surfaced and the press concentrated on tithes, rates and cathedral inadequacies. Bishop Villiers took a hard line with offending clergy who came to his attention and not just over drink. The incumbents of Newton Arlosh and Eskdale were suspended for years because of drunkenness, the incumbent of Wythop for not properly performing his duties, and the rector of Great Orton lost his living for simony⁸⁸. The general lack of interest displayed by the Church of England in teetotalism did not extend to temperance also, at least with the reforming bishops.

Waldegrave was well known as one of the strictest men concerning the behaviour of his clergy, and his zeal in seeking out malefactors was matched only by his concern over ritual. Thanks largely to his nine years spent rooting out inadequate and dissolute clergy Waldegrave left far fewer problems for Goodwin, but as Waldegrave discovered, there was nothing easy about exercising discipline.

Robinson, incumbent of Bowness on Solway, was deprived of his cure in 1867 for repeatedly taking church services when drunk, but the case went as far as the archbishop of York and cost Waldegrave nearly £1,000 in expenses before he won⁸⁹. Waldegrave had no doubts that Robinson's father in law, Henry Lowther, rector of the earl of Lonsdale's living at Bolton Gate, was providing the financial means to obstruct justice⁹⁰.

88. Bouch Prelates and People p. 421

89. Waldegrave MS, book 2, Waldegrave to G. H. Ainger, 12 October 1867

90. Waldegrave MS, book 4, Waldegrave to unnamed bishop, 22 January

Waldegrave suspended or deprived the incumbents of Mungrisdale, Threlkeld, Waberthwaite, Troutbeck and Ambleside for drunkenness and dereliction of duty ⁹¹. Rural deans investigated most cases in the early stages ; the new incumbent at Threlkeld was advised to have no communication at all with his predecessor, whilst the vicar of Kirkby Lonsdale had to be collected by his brother from Cambridge. Marlen, the Ambleside incumbent, refused to vacate his parsonage and left the new man with no home for his family, and the bishop's letters provide a catalogue of faults in the guilty man ⁹².

Drink was not the only problem to sort out. Daniel Benoliel, the Barbon curate, was a promising young clergyman but proved to be hopelessly idle and was pursued for months by a relentless bishop ⁹³. Waldegrave had to act as mediator between clergy quite regularly- between William Jackson and his Lowther curate, between the vicar of Arlecdon and his curate ⁹⁴. If possible Waldegrave recruited laymen such as George Moore and Benson Harrison to help him along with the senior clergy ⁹⁵.

- book 1 _____
91. Waldegrave MS, ^{book 1} for Mungrisdale, Waldegrave to the unnamed new incumbent, book 1, 17 December 1860; for Threlkeld, book 1, Waldegrave to Rev. C. Gillam, 3 December 1860; for Waberthwaite, book 3, Waldegrave to Canon Dalton, 10 June 1868; for Troutbeck, book 4, Waldegrave to Rev. C. Bell, 13 August 1868; for Ambleside, book 1, Waldegrave to Rev. Mr. Marlen, 12 June 1861.
92. Waldegrave MS, book 1, Waldegrave to churchwardens, 19 June 1861
93. Waldegrave MS, book 1, Waldegrave to Benoliel, 7 April 1861
94. Waldegrave MS, book 4, Waldegrave to Jackson 4 September 1868, and to Rev. W. Wiles, 25 November 1868.
95. George Moore 1807-1876 of Whitehall, Mealsgate, made his fortune in London; Harrison of Ambleside 1786-1863, a Furness ironmaster.

Waldegrave was not necessarily keen to go to court, as he explained to one incumbent ' the reason for this decision and lack of prosecution is that I cannot afford it ' ⁹⁶ . Letters and visits by rural deans and archdeacons were liberally employed by the bishop, and George Moore was asked to sort out the debts of Truman, the clergyman at the small seaside village of Allonby ⁹⁷ . One type of misconduct was regarded as most serious: dealings in advowsons.

Waldegrave was prepared for patronage to be changed, for advowsons to be bought and sold, provided responsible people were the purchasers and had the interests of the parish at heart. Thus he was eager to help George Moore purchase Allhallows off Corpus Christi college, Oxford ⁹⁸ . If something were amiss about a sale, then the bishop was quickly involved, as when a clergyman called Dacre was certified as a lunatic and committed to hospital. Dacre happened to be patron of both Grinsdale and Kirklington, and his brother William Dacre tried to sell the patronage of both parishes. Waldegrave discovered that a Rev. Mr. Towers had paid over £200 to William Dacre for presentation to the living, and the bishop became involved in a long exchange of letters with the lord chancellor over the legality of this ⁹⁹ . Ultimately it was declared illegal, William Dacre was admonished by Waldegrave, and Towers was reprimanded by his own bishop of Lincoln.

96. Waldegrave MS, book 4, Waldegrave to Rev. W. Lowndes

97. Waldegrave MS, book 4, Waldegrave to Moore, 1 September 1868

98. Waldegrave MS, book 4, Waldegrave to president of Corpus Christi college, Oxford, 23 October 1868

99. Waldegrave MS, book 4, Waldegrave to lord chancellor, 20 August and 17 September 1868, and to bishop of Lincoln, 14 November 1868

Harvey Goodwin seems to have ^{had} little of the trouble which occurred in the 1860s under Waldegrave, and the conduct of the clergy was if not impeccable then at least completely free from the type of comment which harmed clerical reputations. Of course it was true that the old hunting, drinking and pluralist parson had all but died out, and standards in society at large were considerably higher in 1880 than in 1850. The new clergy- men like Battersby, Rawnsley, Prescott and Close - appeared more devoted to their spiritual work, less addicted to their pastimes, than the older clergy of Percy's day, and therefore less prone to indiscretions if not less controversial.

The Lake District and Religion

The region known as the Lake District forms the central core of Cumbria and has been associated for two centuries with nature of the most beautiful in the public mind. In 1835 it became headquarters for one of the great evangelical movements



The Lake District: Tarn Hows and Wetherlam

...of the 19th century, but it was only after the 1830s that more than a handful of evangelists chose to patronize the area. The religious life of the area was dominantly English, and a handful of local meeting houses mainly around Keswick. At Keswick, the Wesleyan Congregational church was the most prominent, its existence, a few Baptists on the fringe at Eboracaster.

The Lake District and Religion

The region known as the Lake District forms the central core of Cumbria and has been associated for two centuries with nature at its most beautiful in the public mind. In 1875 it became headquarters for one of the great evangelical conventions to be held in England, centred on Keswick, and to which ten thousand conventioners travel each July. Yet the association of the Lake District with evangelical religion was not simply a product of 1875 but of ninety years previous, and the beauties of the lakes and mountains were just as appealing to members of the broad church party who chose to settle there. The Lake District remains one of the most sparsely populated areas of England and held few attractions for local people who had to struggle to earn a living, but to the off-comers, the people who did not have to fight for survival in a harsh climate with poor communications and absence of work opportunities, the Lake District proved fascinating.

At first it was mainly Anglicans who visited and then made homes in the Lake District, whilst wealthy Nonconformists preferred seaside resorts and inland spas where communications were superior even after the railways pushed into Windermere. A few wealthy non-Anglicans did quickly realise that the Lake District was the place for them to inhabit, most notably the Marshalls of Leeds, but it was only after the 1860s that more than a handful of Nonconformists chose to patronise the region. The religious life of the area was dominantly Anglican, with just a handful of Quaker meeting houses mainly around Hawkshead and Furness, the Keswick Congregational church which just maintained its existence, a few Baptists on the fringe at Tottlebank and



The Lake District: the Newlands valley, near Keswick

Great Broughton, and with an absence of industrial activity and of an urban way of life even the Methodists found penetration to be impossible until the 1820s and later. Yet attitudes altered and habits varied and developed, and by the 1860s a measure of success for Nonconformity had been achieved in the shape of Wesleyanism at Ambleside, Coniston, and Bowness, and as more building plots were put on the market in south lakeland so more industrialists, merchants, professional and business men bought themselves a site and put up a villa. As Windermere expanded after 1870 there grew up a Congregational church of sizeable proportions with a fairly prosperous congregation largely made up of off-comers, families either retiring from town life or taking advantage of the trading opportunities of expanding lakeland suburbia. The Lake District linked together Anglican and Nonconformist settlers who had discovered that the temporal beauty of the scenery brought a corresponding beauty to the spirit.

Amongst the earliest visitors to the lakes were the Wilberforce family who spent their summer holidays at Rayrigg hall , on Windermere , during the 1780s and 1790s, and invited a wide circle of their London friends who included Thomas Clarkson the anti-slavery campaigner, and both dean Milner and his brother Joseph ¹ . The dean had been teacher and spiritual adviser to William Wilberforce; Clarkson purchased Eusemere, a lovely old country house near Pooley Bridge, Ullswater.

1. Milner Life of Isaac Milner pp. 12-13; J. Baron All about the English Lakes (Kendal 1925) p.46

The Rayrigg party appreciated the lakes even before the works of William Wordsworth became widely known. It was Wordsworth who associated religion with the lakes in the general mind, although his own religious beliefs were never specific and he came to disapprove of organised denominations. The poet's father had been agent in Cockermouth to the notorious Sir James Lowther, earl of Lonsdale, and the way in which that great landowner used the Church for his own ends made an impression on William². The poet provided through his poetry and his prose the necessary inspiration for the cult of the picturesque, of nature and religious experience intertwined amidst the rocks, streams, lakes and mountains, ^{and encouraged} others to experience the awful qualities of the sublime landscape in its fierce and uncompromising Cumbrian setting.

Wordsworth assumed the proportions of a prophet within his own lifetime, and especially for those who chose to live in the Lake District or who regarded it as preferable to the dangers of the Grand Tour of Europe. There was always something moral about the purity of the environment which cleansed the spirits of men who had made money in the dirtier environs of Manchester, Yorkshire or London, and who sought refuge³.

Wordsworth of course was unique among the lake poets, for he was a native. Other natives saw nothing special in a region which made earning a livelihood that much more difficult with natural obstacles. Just as Cumbrians tended to see nothing special about Wordsworth,

2. Wordsworth is central to that most perceptive of studies: Norman Nicholson The Lakers: the adventures of the first tourists (1955)

3. Nicholson The Lakers pp. 182-202

so there was for natives no obvious connection between religion and the landscape. The ideal of God in nature was one for the off-comers and not for the Cumbrians.

One writer aptly described Wordsworth's image as seen by the Victorian admirers of his poetry:

Surely ... of him, if of anyone, we may think as a man who was in accord with Nature, so at one with the very soul of things, that there can be no mansion in the universe which shall not be to him a home, no governor that will not accept him as his servant, and satisfy him with love and peace. ⁴

For Coleridge, Southey and De Quincey the lakes were a convenient backcloth for their literary efforts. Wordsworth was the central figure of the circle of poets, and his pantheistic, sacramental or mystic interpretation of what he experienced easily enveloped the region in a comfortable mantle of warm religiosity for the benefit of Victorian migrants, who in turn interpreted their fervour for the beauty of the lakes as part religious, part physical, revelation of God. Reverence for the lakes was to be enhanced by the magisterial and moral authority of John Ruskin, living at Brantwood, Coniston, for the last thirty years of his life, and adding fuel to the fire in offcomers who confused the lakes and mountains with an earthly paradise in which God was revealed ⁵.

4. F. Sessions Literary celebrities of the English Lakes (1905)p. 113

5. Nicholson The Lakers pp. 185-194; H. Rice Lake Country Portraits (1967) pp. 109-121

The early tourists were in search of excitement and of something different, and Wordsworth was the native genius who interpreted and tapped the spiritual qualities of the lakes for public consumption. It was admiration for the poet which brought Thomas Arnold to settle his family at Fox How, at Clappersgate, secluded from the stream of admirers who went to see Wordsworth at Rydal Mount.

The Arnold family were broad church sympathisers who advocated the inclusion of most Christians within the established church fold. Dr. Arnold came to Fox How in 1832 and brought with him each summer a variety of relations and friends who included in their ranks Edward Thring, one of the great headmasters like his host, Arthur Stanley, later dean of Westminster, William Forster, the future political figure and married to Mary Arnold, Benjamin Jowett, the controversial master of Balliol college, and several of the Huxley family⁶. Also amongst the guest list were men of the calibre of H.D. Rawnsley as well as many former pupils of the headmaster. After Arnold's early death most of his children lived permanently in the lakes, as did three of Thring's children, and Fox How remained something of a social and intellectual centre.

In spite of this broad church association, the lakes were to become a part of the evangelical party's consciousness, but it was not for some years that the religious influences in the Lake District took on this general tone. The indigenous landowners like the Flemings

6. Thomas Arnold 1795-1842, headmaster of Rugby school; Sessions Literary celebrities pp. 213-222; H.D. Rawnsley Literary Associations of the English Lakes 2 volumes (Glasgow 1894) vol.1 pp.151 ff; J.P. Trevelyan Life of Mrs Humphrey Ward (1923) pp. 19ff.

of Rydal and Coniston and the Stanger-Leathes of Keswick and Dalehead were of the old high and dry churchmanship and unlikely to initiate change in their religion. Their control of patronage meant that new clergymen were unlikely to be brought into the lakes' parishes, so that in order to develop an evangelical impulse it was necessary for new men to come into the district.

People of all religious persuasions came into the Lake District, including Harriet Martineau, William Linton and F.W.Faber, but it was a momentous decision for the future of religious life in the Lake District when the Marshalls of Leeds decided to make their homes in Cumbria⁷. John Marshall was one of the wealthiest of mill owners in Leeds and had been attracted to the lakes by his wife's long-standing friendship with Dorothy Wordsworth, the poet's sister⁸. Marshall and his wife had honeymooned in the lakes and stayed with the poet's family for a while, and in 1815 the millowner purchased Hallsteads, a mansion on the shore of Ullswater, to which he added a guest annexe and converted a disused church into extra accommodation⁹. In 1828 the Marshall's oldest son, William, was given Patterdale hall and its estate as a gift, valued at £13,000. John Marshall junior was loaned

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7. Linton was something of a mystic, dabbled in Egyptology, and was an engraver and artist; Faber, later a convert to Rome, served as tutor to the sons of Benson Harrison and was under evangelical influence at this time, 1839, Sessions Literary celebrities pp. 167-186; Martineau was at one stage Unitarian, at another atheist, Autobiography 3volumes(1877).
8. W. Rimmer Marshalls of Leeds:Flax Spinners 1788-1886 (Cambridge 1960) pp. 68,99ff,116ff,221,300-302.
9. Hallsteads is now the Old Church country house hotel.

£30,000 in the same year to add to his own £20,000 which he used to buy the Greenwich Hospital estates at Derwentwater. John senior in one year alone, 1826, laid out a further £66,000 on estates around Loweswater, Ullswater and Buttermere. Of the other children, Henry acquired Derwent Isle, Arthur settled at Watermillock, Ullswater, and James bought the Monk Coniston property in 1838. By the 1880s there were over one hundred of the family living in the lakes, and their Yorkshire interests had all but ceased.

The Marshalls' extraordinary acquisition of land should not mask their religious beliefs, which had changed by the time of John senior from Unitarianism into orthodox Anglicanism. When John senior's daughter Susan married a young Ancaster curate called Frederick Myers, the Marshalls brought important religious influence to bear ¹⁰. Myers had just refused the living of Leeds because he felt himself to be too young for so exacting a post, but in 1839 Myers accepted the post of first incumbent of St. John's, Keswick, which was created a living by the Marshalls and carved out of the old parish of Crosthwaite. What the Marshalls saw in Myers was a potential leader ¹¹.

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10. Myers 1811-1851, fellow of Clare college, Cambridge, curate in Ancaster, Lincolnshire; Rimmer Marshalls pp. 222-224
11. T.D.Harford Battersby and H.V.Elliott Two Sermons on the death of the Rev. Frederick Myers (1851); Battersby was Myers' curate and successor as incumbent, Elliott was married to Julia Marshall the sister of Susan Myers.

Myers used the considerable wealth of his wife to provide a public library, two schools and evening classes in the town, whilst his in-laws built a fine new parish church designed by Anthony Salvin and with suitably extensive grounds and stylish parsonage with perfect advantage taken of the rising ground out along the old steep Keswick to Grasmere road. The new incumbent was a strong supporter of his old headmaster, Arnold, and an ardent broad church man whose desire to combine the best features of both tractarian pastor and evangelical minister seemed adventurous to the lakeland town. He possessed sympathy with other denominations, and in particular felt that the Wesleyans were a church worthy of emulation in certain features. Study parties of Cambridge students stayed with him each summer, taking part in parish work and savouring for the first time the lakeland scenery. One of the admiring students was Harvey Goodwin, future bishop of Carlisle, who owed Myers a debt for opening his eyes to the great good to be found in the different church factions ¹².

During 1849 Myers required a new curate and he appointed Thomas Dundas Harford Battersby, a young clergyman highly recommended by friends even though he was a nervous and sensitive cleric who lacked self-confidence ¹³. Battersby had dallied with the tractarians at Oxford, had violently disagreed with his incumbent and the other curates in his first post in Southampton, and came to Keswick not knowing what to expect. He proved as important an influence as Myers.

12. Rawnsley Harvey Goodwin p. 50

13. Memoir of T.D. Harford Battersby by his two sons (1890)

Battersby developed into one of the new type of evangelical, a man of generous religious sympathies who was as at home with Quakers, Wesleyans and Brethren at Keswick as with Anglicans. For a time he was friendly with Francis Close, but Close had none of his breadth of churchmanship or appreciation of other denominations and the two disagreed over the foundation of the convention. As has been seen, the 1860s and 1870s were a time of rapid diocesan changes, with reforming bishops Waldegrave and Goodwin aided by prominent laymen like George Moore, Joseph Ferguson of Morton, Carlisle, and William Nicholson Hodgson of Newby Grange who provided the requisite funds and leadership ¹⁴. Into this pattern of diocesan achievement Battersby added the idea of a convention.

Battersby had become a keen attender at conventions by the early 1870s where groups of interested people met together in such auspicious surroundings as Broadlands, home of the Mount-Temples, in order to advance their religious knowledge, understanding and experience ¹⁵. One of the Anglican clergymen who influenced the convention movement and Battersby was William Pennefather, member of an aristocratic Irish family who had been prepared for the ministry at Levens, near Kendal ¹⁶. Whilst there he had become friendly with the Quakers of

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14. S.Smiles George Moore merchant and philanthropist (1878); Ferguson was MP for Carlisle 1852-1857, founder of Ferguson Brothers of Holme Head, Carlisle; his brother Richard was head of Robert Ferguson and sons. W.N.Hodgson 1801-1876, tory MP for Carlisle 1847-1848, 1857-1859, 1865-1868 and for East Cumberland 1868-76; an important railway entrepreneur. All figure in the Waldegrave MS
15. Memoir of Harford Battersby pp. 145ff
16. R.Braithwaite Life and Letters of the Rev. William Pennefather (1878) pp.12-13

Kendal district and in particular the Crewdson family, who became a leading group among the early Brethren congregations ¹⁷ .

Pennefather held the lakes in high esteem and honeymooned there in 1847 with the Crewdsons, who were then living at Elleray. They had upset Pennefather by removing from Sizergh, but being nearer to Windermere thrilled the young clergyman, and Mrs Crewdson wrote:

I was privileged to drive with him and his wife to Langdale
 ... everything in the beautiful scenery was at its best;
 there was sunshine within and without. It was natural
 for him to seek expression for joy in the house of prayer,
 so at his suggestion we went into the little church on
 the centre of the knoll, and there, in sight of the mountain
 grandeur, within those quiet walls, he poured out prayer
 and praise from an overflowing heart. It seemed to me
 a very presence-chamber of the Eternal, a realisation of
 the truth that

the Church below and those above,
 but one communion make . ¹⁸

During 1860 Pennefather spent a few days' holiday with the Battersbys at Keswick vicarage and wrote on his departure:

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17. William Dillworth Crewdson 1774-1851 married Sarah Fox of Plymouth and was director of the Kendal bank; see below p.362
18. Life and Letters of Pennefather p. 431; Pennefather was an incumbent in Barnet and then Mildmay Park, London.

The scenery is very beautiful for some little way after leaving Keswick, the railway crossing and re-crossing one of those clear rocky rivers which are my delight, - so fresh and joyous, seeming to speak with a thousand voices the praises of the Creator. ¹⁹

Pennefather originated the Mildmay Park and Barnet conventions in 1865 and 1856 respectively, and this work of bringing together men of similar religious sympathies influenced Battersby. The final nudge was his attendance at conferences in Brighton, Broadlands and Oxford during 1873 and 1874, and the result was the first Keswick convention in 1875 ²⁰ .

Keswick was planned to be a convention for the promotion of personal and corporate holiness, not a place for the development of new Christian enterprise or belief ²¹ . In order to develop the fullest Christian character there was to be teaching on a variety of themes centred on the following: the denunciation of whatever was known or suspected of being contrary to the will of God; the acceptance of Christ as Saviour and Lord; obedience to be *the* watchword of the soul; close and constant fellowship with God ;

19. Life and Letters of Pennefather p.201

20. Memoir of Harford Battersby pp. 145-175; Life and Letters of Pennefather pp. 274-275, 383ff.

21. Charles Harford The Keswick Convention, its Message, its Men, and its Methods (1907) pp. 3-34 for early conventions in the south of England, with a list of men involved. J.C. Pollock The Keswick Story (1964)

the sense of the divine possession of one's entire being, spirit, body and soul, which would lead to a new joy and peace in evangelical religion and training, for the largest possible service to God and man ²² .

Battersby led the conventioners, but the organisation was carried out by Robert Wilson, a Quaker colliery owner and farmer from Broughton, near Cockermouth, who provided the administrative expertise and common sense lacked by the sensitive and emotional clergyman ²³ . The conventioners immediately associated the climbing of Skiddaw and Blencathra, the walking down Borrowdale and over Honister, the rowing and swimming in Derwentwater and Buttermere, with the religious experience of their tent meetings ²⁴ . The area remained remote enough for God to be visible in the minds of the conventioners, a tangible spirit revealed in the exploration of the scenery where even the capricious and unstable July weather played its part in the glory of spiritual and physical manifestations:

The weather was changeable. Showers and sunshine enhanced the beauty of the setting and shadows chased across lake and hills. ²⁵

22. Memoir of Harford Battersby p.161; Harford The Keswick Convention pp. 65-96

23. Wilson 1826-1905, organiser of the convention and chairman after Battersby's death in 1883 until 1900; Pollock The Keswick Story pp.12,30,33,38,42,49-51,88ff,97ff.

24. Harford The Keswick Convention pp. 121,131,157

25. Pollock The Keswick Story p.39

Numbers attending the convention swelled within twenty five years from two hundred to eight thousand, drawn increasingly from all over the world and with a large number from the USA and the dominions.

There was no reasons why the convention at Keswick should be confined to Anglicans, or why its appeal should be mainly to off-comers, but for some time this is what happened to the regret of Battersby and Wilson. The early speakers were Anglicans - Evan Hopkins, Henry Bowker, Hanmer Webb-Peploe, Charles Fox, who returned to Keswick year after year and attracted people from across the world but at first few from Cumbria²⁶. Nonconformists were either hostile, like many Anglicans, or indifferent, but gradually in the late 1870s and especially in the 1880s a gradual flow of non-Anglican talent graced the Keswick platforms.

John Figgis was the first regular non-Anglican speaker, a member of the Countess of Huntingdon's Connexion, followed by James Elder Cumming, a Presbyterian with a reputation for being awkward²⁷. In the 1880s too came John Brash, a Lancashire Methodist, George MacGregor, a Presbyterian, Charles Inwood, a minister of the

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26. Evan Hopkins, slum curate in London dockland, vicar of Holy Trinity, Richmond; Bowker, one of the leaders of the YMCA in 1846, and in 1875 an elderly retired schoolmaster; Webb-Peploe, incumbent of the fashionable St. Paul's, south Kensington for forty three years; Fox, incumbent of Eaton chapel, Belgravia for twenty six years.
27. Figgis, an Irishman and early convention worker; Cumming, minister in Glasgow and described by Moody as the most cantankerous Christian he had ever met.

Irish Methodist church, and the most important Nonconformist to be associated with Keswick, Frederick Brotherton Meyer²⁸. Meyer was a major figure in the Baptist church and future president of the Free Church Federal Council, and his work at Keswick brought a good deal of prestige to the convention in the eyes of the non-Anglican churches. By the turn of the century Nonconformists were heartily involved in the convention, and if never quite as important as the Anglican element the non-Anglicans were heartened by the annual arrival of three hundred Welshmen whose presence raised spirits and the standard of singing.

Until the arrival of a railway link from Penrith in 1861 Keswick had been a fairly remote lakeland town, and it continued to be a resort for the middle and upper classes who were grateful to escape the swelling tide of day tourists who could penetrate to Windermere, Bowness and even Grasmere, but who found Keswick a little too distant²⁹. It became fashionable for the affluent to spend a week or two in Keswick in the 1880s and 1890s, at the same time passing a few days hearing the convention sermons, attending worship or meetings, and mixing in with the respectable and important people who graced the little grey town with their message and presence. Such visitors, both speakers and inquisitive tourist, also believed it essential to visit one of the Wordsworth shrines as part of their homage to God and nature: Rydal Mount, Dove cottage, Grasmere and Rydal, perhaps Nab cottage or Greta hall. The exploitation of the lakes poets was an essential ingredient for a successful holiday,

28. The debut of these men at Keswick varied between 1887 and 1892; Pollock The Keswick Story pp.101-110.

29. P.R.McGloin 'The Impact of the Railway on the development of Keswick as a Tourist Resort', University of Lancaster MA 1977

just as the Keswick scenery was indispensable for the convention. The threat posed to the environment by tourism and by economic exploitation in the last quarter of the nineteenth century brought about the stout defence of the Lake District by a variety of religious circles amongst whom the words Wordsworth, beauty, religion, nature and the convention were inseparable.

For centuries the lakes had possessed some unobtrusive mining and quarrying, a variety of woodland industries and crafts like bobbin making and charcoal burning, a few^{of} which depended on abundant waterpower as well as trees like gunpowder production, and a number of industrial units which provided employment beside traditional agriculture. The acceptance by the educated Victorian public that the lakes were special, provided an atmosphere suitable to the prevention of further economic development in the region³⁰. There was nothing coincidental that the convention and the defence of the Lake District should commence in the same decade.

The first widely publicised attempts to prevent intrusion into the lakes failed in spite of Wordsworth's impassioned poetry and pleas³¹. A fundamental shift in attitudes between the 1840s and 1870s meant that when water-hungry Manchester, encouraged by railway and mineral entrepreneurs, decided to obtain its supplies from the lakes, the first organised opposition was created³².

30. J.D.Marshall and M. Davies-Shiel The Industrial Archaeology of the Lake Counties (Newton Abbot 1969)

31. W.Wordsworth Two Letters reprinted from the Morning Post concerning the Kendal and Windermere railway(Kendal 1844); see also his Guide to the Lakes (1844 and other editions)

32. M.Lefebure Cumberland Heritage(1970)pp.195-210; G.Berry and G. Beard The Lake District:a century of conservation(Edinburgh1980)

Wordsworth was the lone native voice in protest against the railways of the 1840s, but by the 1870s the arrival of off-comers brought a settling of new natives like the Somervells of Kendal. The Somervells were expatriate Scots who had come to Kendal in the 1830s and established a successful shoemaking concern. By 1850 some of the family had moved to Windermere and the whole family had left the Presbyterians and helped establish an Evangelical Union church³³. Robert Somervell, son of the company founder, wrote a pamphlet against railway schemes in 1875 proposed for the lakes and his family paid for publication and a campaign against economic development³⁴. Already the new natives, the erstwhile off-comers, were showing that their view of what should happen to the Lake District was at variance with the old natives who wished to develop mining and other industries.

The defence of the lakes received impetus from the young Hardwick Drummond Rawnsley who arrived at Low Wray in 1877 to become the incumbent for a tiny lakeland living of two hundred people³⁵. Considered low church and rather evangelical because of his clothes, hairstyle and attitudes, Rawnsley was a mixture of the broad and evangelical parties in the same manner that had characterised the work of Myers and Battersby. Two years later Harvey Goodwin presented him to succeed his own son, George Goodwin, at Crosthwaite, where he stayed for the rest of his working life.

33. See below p.290 ; Robert Somervell edited by his sons (1935)

34. R.Somervell A Protest against the extension of the railways into the Lake District (Kendal 1875)

35. E.F.Rawnsley Canon Rawnsley (Glasgow 1923)

Rawnsley was an adept mobiliser of public opinion and brought the dangers to the lakes in front of a national audience through his popular writings. Compromises were occasionally needed, but his victories were numerous: the abandonment of the proposed Ennerdale to Buttermere railway, further mineral and quarrying extraction prevented, the prevention of bridge and road improvement out of scale with the surroundings, the securing of ancient rights of way, the defeat of water extraction by Barrow and various major industrial firms³⁶. Religion was invariably identified with Rawnsley's crusade to protect the lakes, interpreting his protection of the lakes as a means of ensuring the continuance of the high moral and spiritual qualities to be found and enjoyed there³⁷. With a carefully calculated sentimental and emotional appeal Rawnsley presented his mentor, John Ruskin, to the British public:

John Ruskin reminds one of those impulses to care for the close study of natural form, one of those revelations of the wonders and beauty in natural growth, that made him what he was - a prophet voice in England, bidding us revere and regard unsullied landscape and a countryside unmarred for the eye of the worker, prayer and thinker, in a union of the mind of God to man.³⁸

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36. Canon Rawnsley presents his clerical and lakes protection work as inseparable
37. Nicholson The Lakers p. 182; E.W.Hodge Enjoying the Lakes: from Post Chaise to National Park (1957) pp. 147-157
38. Rawnsley Literary Associations vol. 1 p.146

Ruskin had known the lakes as a child, and after a lifetime of professional success and personal failure he retired to Brantwood, overlooking Coniston, in 1871³⁹. His importance as a writer on art and architecture brought him national prominence and his ideas on the beauty of the Lakes greatly enhanced the impact of Rawnsley and other lakes defenders. In the world of art Ruskin possessed the sort of standing which Gladstone enjoyed in the political arena - outstanding moral authority, superiority of intellect, and spiritual purity. Yet it was as an outsider that Ruskin and Rawnsley interpreted the lakes for the public: the native Cumbrians had little time for them, and less for the defence of the Lake District as evinced in the Lake District Defence Society and the Wordsworth Society⁴⁰.

The landowners taken to court by Rawnsley were mainly people who had a perfect right to be alarmed at the hordes of off-comers who tramped across their land in search of the picturesque or in pursuit of a rest cure. Rights of way which existed were commonly ignored, and at convention time it proved impossible to keep ten thousand people within the bounds of agreed paths. There was a good deal of native sympathy with the Stanger-Leathes family who were felt by off-comers to have betrayed the lakes to Manchester when they sold their Thirlmere estate for £30,000 in 1877, whilst the le Flemings of Rydal suffered considerably from the invasions of the Wordsworth admirers visiting the poet's Rydal Mount home⁴¹. There was a fundamental clash of interests over railway and mining development which remains unresolved, and to local people the off-comers were

39. Nicholson The Lakers pp.182-203

40. McGloin, thesis, pp. 33ff; membership of the two was usual,

41. Hodge Enjoying the Lakes pp. 173-181

Marshall of Keswick, Patterdale, Coniston, and Leeds

John 1765/1825
 m 1795 Jane Pollard
 of Halifax

William 1796/1872
 of Patterdale m
 Georgiana Hibbert
 1828

John 1797/1836
 of Keswick m
 Mary Dykes
 Balantine Dykes
 1828

Henry 1808/?
 m Catherine
 daughter of
 1st baron
 Monteggle
 1837
 issue

Arthur
 of Water-
 milllock
 m Mary Spring
 Rice daughter of
 1st baron
 Monteggle
 issue

James 1802/1873
 of Monk Coniston
 m Mary Spring
 Rice daughter of
 1st baron
 Monteggle
 issue

Mary m 1st baron Monteggle d 1889
Cordelia m William Whewell
 master of Trinity, Cambridge
Jane m John Temple issue
Ellen d young
Julia m Henry Venn Elliott
 of Brighton d 1841
Susan m Frederick Myers of
 Keswick 1842 issue

John 1829/81

George 1832/87

Walter 1837/99

Elizabeth m 1855

Charles Spring Rice

son of 2nd baron

Monteggle — issue

Georgina

Reginald 1832/1913 m

1 Margaret Herschel

2 Mary Stewart — issue 1 son 8 daughters

Herbert 1833/1915 m

Cecilia Temple — issue

Julian 1836/1903 — issue

3 sons succeed to
 Patterdale in
 turn

the aliens who wished to stop the introduction of much needed employment in the region at a time of great emigration of the native stock in search of work ⁴². The Keswick convention required off-comers to initiate and to run it - Battersby was an off-comer, Wilson was from West Cumberland, and William Hudson of Penrith was the YMCA organiser, and not until the 1890s did large numbers of Cumbrians support the convention ⁴³.

To an extent it was bound to be Anglicans who started the association of the lakes with religion because of the traditional Anglicanism of the region. The Lake District as encompassed today within the boundaries of the national park amounts to about half a million acres, much of it uninhabitable mountain and fell where even sheep find existence in winter to be hard, and the half dozen centres of population were until the Victorian era merely small market towns of a few hundred people. Dissent was weak apart from the Quaker influence in Furness around Hawkshead, and it was an uncongenial and unpromising environment for non-Anglicanism. The evangelical revival affected the lakes scarcely at all, and not until the 1830s was there a determined attempt to bring rival denominational work to challenge Anglicanism.

J.A.Coombs, a Manchester Congregational minister spending an extended recuperation at Ambleside in the 1830s, built the Bellevue chapel alongside the Grasmere road and not far from Rydal Mount in 1840 ⁴⁴. On his return to Manchester his work was taken

42. Berry and Beard The Lake District pp.53-54

43. Hudson seems to have been a Wesleyan

44. N.Holmes Faith Triumphant being a brief memoir of Mrs W. Burnett with a history of Methodism in Ambleside (Farnworth 1873) throughout.

over by the Kendal Wesleyans. Only when a minister was stationed in Ambleside in 1865 was a thriving society established in the town, and not until the twentieth century were outposts at Grasmere and Windermere able to stand on their own⁴⁵. The only Primitive Methodist success was at Coniston whilst mining prosperity lasted, and at Keswick, societies dependent respectively upon Barrow and Cockermouth⁴⁶. The Methodists relied on the off-comers, the Cornish being responsible for Coniston's foundation and railway workers and West Cumberland migrants at Keswick Primitive society, whilst the Wesleyans benefited from more affluent settlers - Sir John Randles and the Walker family at Keswick⁴⁷. Lack of opportunity denied Methodism any great strength within the lakes, and Methodist visitors were sometimes hard pressed to find a convenient Methodist place of worship with regular services.

Other non-Anglicans fared little better. Presbyterians had no place of worship within the lakes, there were small Baptist causes at Hawkshead Hill and Tottlebank, together with some remaining Quakers mainly in Furness too. There was one sole Congregational church, at Keswick, which dated from the mid-seventeenth century but only just survived into the twentieth by paying its part-time minister little or nothing⁴⁸. Yet there was one successful church for the

45. Grasmere centenary history 1875 -1975 ; Windermere centenary history 1867-1967

46. Coniston centenary history 1876 - 1976 ; F.Benjamin and O.Mathews Facet of Life in Keswick 1757-1975:Methodism (Keswick 1975)

47. Randles 1857-1945, born Workington, son of Methodist minister, became MP for Cockermouth 1900-1910, an ironmaster; the Walkers were Whitehaven industrialists.

48. After three hundred years:Keswick Congregational Church (1952)

Nonconformists of the Lake District: Carver memorial church at Windermere.

Carver memorial was a Congregational church opened in 1880 and paid for by the Carver family in memory of their father, William Carver, who had died in 1875. The church typified all that was alien to lakes society and belonged to the off-comers. It was placed in a commanding position above the old main road from Windermere to Bowness, not hidden away ^{like} the new Wesleyan building at Ambleside; it was attended by off-comers who had retired to the small but affluent town, or by business men seeking new opportunities; it was in the most artificial of lakeland towns, the creation of the railways in the 1840s and a suburb for the refugees from the industrial north and midlands, and from London; it was above all a success when non-Anglicans usually experienced failure in the lakes.

One of Carver's advantages was to be built by a family with a surfeit of cash. William Carver had become a wealthy carrier in Manchester, Liverpool and Yorkshire, and had used his money to build one of the finest houses in the area, the Priory, at the junction of the Kendal to Ambleside road with the Troutbeck to Bowness route⁴⁹. His determination to build a Congregational church was carried out by his children after his death in 1875, which effectively ended the lively congregations which attended the Troutbeck Bridge chapel.

49. J.B. Donald The Carver Family (Halifax 1971); Carver Memorial church centenary 1880-1980 (1980), the compiler of which, the Rev. Hubert Burnley, has been most helpful.

This latter chapel had been established in 1858 by the Somervells of Kendal who had bought a house in Windermere and had nowhere convenient to worship⁵⁰. This small Congregational chapel behind and above the Sun inn served the mill workers in the village, the few tourists, the Carvers and the Somervells, and a succession of pastors were paid for by these two families. The Somervells were members of the Zion Evangelical Union church in Kendal, and had at first attended the services of the Brethren in Bowness before building Troutbeck Bridge for convenience⁵¹. They remained tied to that small chapel, but Carver church became the pace setter in ecclesiastical affairs.

The Carvers added further gifts to the church: a large manse next door in three acres of grounds, an organ, caretaker's cottage, church hall, over the next ten years. By 1895 nine of the family were Carver members who divided their time between Trafford, their business home, Southport and the Priory. The Carvers were more than simply rich off-comers: they were that most important species of off-comer so far as Cumbrian Nonconformity was concerned, the off-comer with Cumbrian links.

William Carver senior had not simply come to the lakes because it was beautiful and he admired Wordsworth. His wife, Elizabeth, née Airey, came from Ravenstonedale, a remote fell parish nestling against the Pennines before they climb over to Yorkshire. Several of her brothers and sisters were working in Lancashire, and one brother was manager of a Carver branch. Back in Ravenstonedale the Aireys were members of the old High Chapel Congregational church⁵².

50. Troutbeck Bridge Congregational church centenary 1858-1958

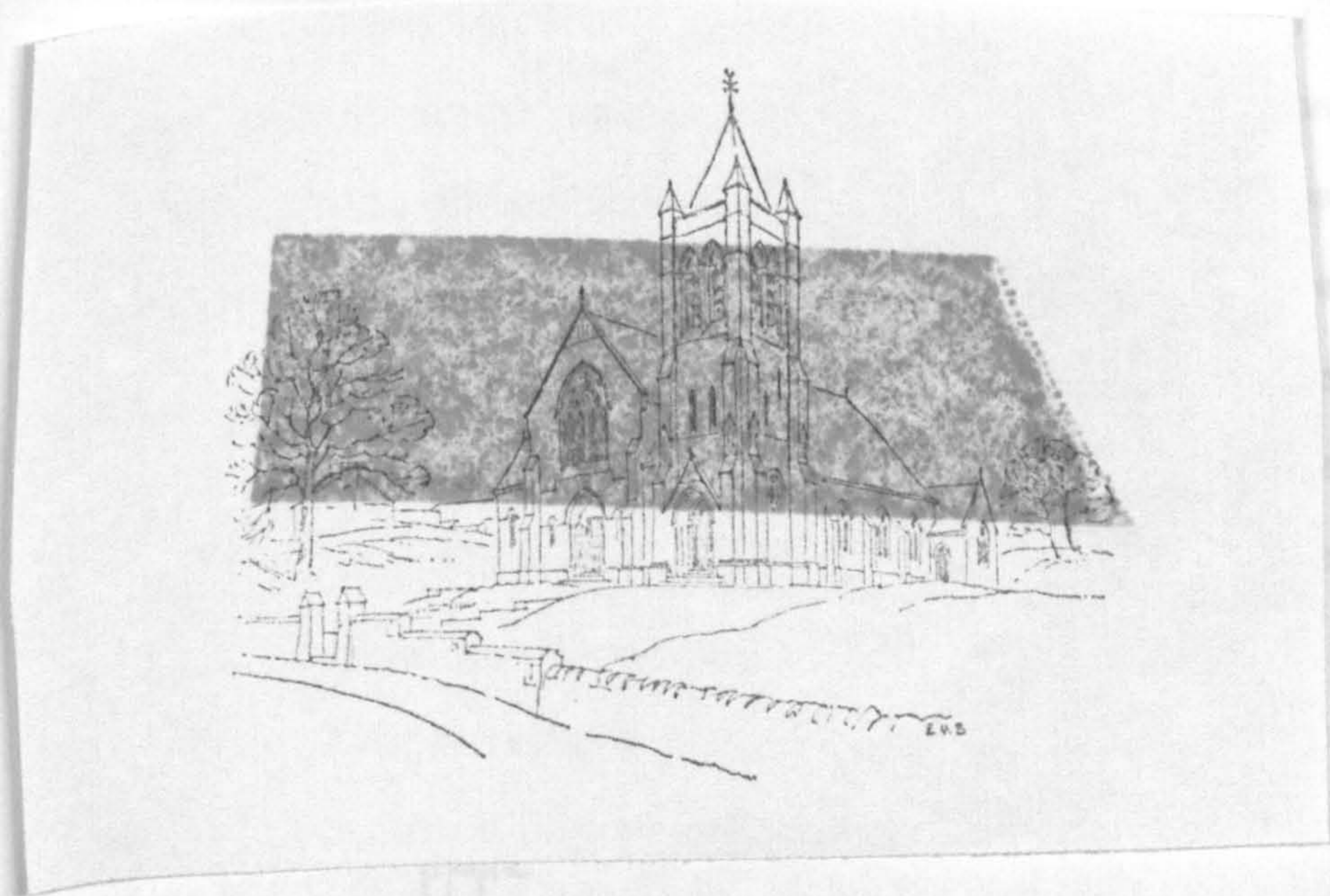
51. See below p.295 ;Robert Somervell pp.14ff.

52. See below pp. 522ff.

The Alveys were well known in the parish, and it was not strange that
 William and Elizabeth Carver's children should build a large house
 in Hamstead itself and buy up and rebuild a major portion of
 the old cottages and other buildings. The pattern of such familial
 links between Hamstead and the outside world was manifested in the
 prominent career of Carver Memorial church, whose first minister
 was William Taylor, a longstanding friend of both Sumner and
 Carver families. Without such help from off-estate, Nonconformity

Carver Memorial Congregational church

1880



two years
 a theologian and
 was to Carver
 for fifteen
 up to his
 of the
 Robert
 Carver ever
 ners, hoteliers,
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manuscripted and traditions, and views and opinions were in
 substance.

- 1. Memorial to the Rev. William Taylor, DD, 1895, in the church etc
- 2. [unclear] see below p. 290.
- 3. [unclear] are few but are in the church vestry.
- 4. [unclear] Robert Walker, architect of [unclear], [unclear]
- 5. [unclear] p. 27-29.

The Aireys were well known in the parish, and it was not strange that William and Elizabeth Carver's children should build a large house in Ravenstonedale itself and buy up and rebuild a major portion of the old cottages and other buildings. The potency of such familial links between Cumbria and the outside world was manifested in the promising career of Carver memorial church, whose first minister was William Taylor, a longstanding friend of both Somervell and Carver families ⁵³. Without such help from off-comers, Nonconformity in the lakes was scarcely likely to flourish.

Taylor had come as a young man to the newly founded Zion Evangelical Union church in Kendal, and had spent thirty two years in that town as worthy successor to John Guthrie, the theologian and organiser of the EU and its churches ⁵⁴. When Taylor came to Carver he wanted a rest from a busy town pastorate, and he stayed for fifteen years. At his retirement in 1895 a testimonial was drawn up to his excellent work, signed by the one hundred and sixty members of the church ⁵⁵. His six deacons included the church architect, Robert Walker, a retired gentleman and four businessmen ⁵⁶; no Carver ever held office, but a variety of bank managers, apartment owners, hoteliers, photographers, steam launch and yacht builders, house builders, numerous retired ^{people} and tradesmen, and widows and spinsters were in membership.

53. 'Testimonial to the Rev. William Taylor, DD, 1895', in the church safe.

54. For Guthrie see below p. 290.

55. Carver records are few but are in the church vestry.

56. E. Davidson 'Robert Walker, architect of Windermere', Cumbria May 1980 pp. 87-89.

Taylor's successor was a distinguished Scottish Congregationalist, William Adamson, who served Carver until 1907⁵⁷. On his retirement his family were there to see him receive a purse of gold worth £115, and an illuminated address, as well as the praise of some unlikely individuals. Adamson's nephew, W.F. Adamson, chairman of the Congregational Union of Scotland, was one of the speakers; less likely was Canon George Crewdson, vicar of St. Mary's, Windermere, and for some years a political opponent of Adamson's, whose roots were in liberalism and not the tory creed of the vicar. Some workmen were in attendance, but the day, like the church, belonged to the off-coming middle classes.

At the outbreak of war in 1914 the church congregation had scarcely changed in complexion from 1907 or 1880. The two Miss Blackhouses, elderly and genteel, attended services, but their staff of seven servants at Brantfell did not accompany them. The Miss Wilsons, of the Kendal family, with their diminutive mother dressed in Victorian velvet bonnet and clothes, came by horse-drawn coach, but the high and mighty Atkinsons arrived by chauffeur-driven motor car and spoke to nobody. Nor did they offer lifts up the hill to struggling elderly ladies⁵⁸. The Mattocks and Leightons, the two chief confectionery proprietors of the town, attended with large numbers of children. Several of the Mawson family remained members, including T.H. Mawson, the landscape gardener responsible for so many fine lakeland gardens⁵⁹. Should the congregation become too

57. Lakes Chronicle 4 September 1907

58. M.Fee 'Memories of Carver' ; I am grateful to Mrs Fee and to Mr. Lionel Pablo of Windermere for their help.

59. T.H.Mawson Autobiography of a Landscape Architect (1927)

introspective, then there was always a leavening of visitors for the members to watch.

Thus non-Anglicanism possessed in Carver church a significant exception to the rule that the denominations were weak in the lakes, and the congregation there continues to be unusual in its good fortune⁶⁰. Nonconformity found that the diverse opportunities which it needed for growth were to be found surrounding the mountainous lakeland core, and the present national park boundary acts almost as a line demarking the frontier of Nonconformist penetration. By the 1880s Methodists, Congregationalists, Presbyterians and others were discovering the lakes, and a few smaller places of worship dotted the countryside, but the Lake District continued to be associated with Anglican religious outpourings which tended to swamp other denominations at the convention, at Wordsworth society meetings, in the early National Trust, in the defence of the lakes. Carver church was unique for the lakeland scene, but for the rest of Cumbrian Nonconformity it was in many ways typical, and there were within the congregation pointers to what had or was happening all over non-lakeland Cumbria: the Scottish involvement, the influence of the off-comer and of the off-comer with county links, the fluidity of denominationalism in which people easily changed allegiance from church to church or denomination to denomination.

60. At the present time Carver has three to four hundred attending services on Sunday mornings, a capacity number. There has been something of a revival there.

Section 2

The Nonconformists

The Nonconformists

Cumbria was never rich in Nonconformity in the same way that Lancashire or West Yorkshire was, and the Anglican Church was not challenged by an alternative in many parishes. There was some native Nonconformity dating from the seventeenth century which had resulted in scattered congregations of Presbyterian, Congregational and Baptist type, and the Quakers were locally strong and also dating from the 1650s. There were a few outposts of Roman Catholicism, usually centred on the several branches of the Howard or other landed families, but few in numbers and in no way comparable to Lancashire or Durham congregations. In the eighteenth century Cumbrian Nonconformist congregations were marking time but still able to take advantage of the revival of religion brought about in that century. The revival was late coming to Cumbria partly due to its general Nonconformist weakness and the late arrival of the Methodists, partly because the revived denominations required a more promising environment than that offered by contemporary Cumbria. Above all Nonconformity required the arrival of large numbers of off-comers to stimulate, to support and to spread the word.

The newcomers of the eighteenth century encompassed not only the Methodists of John Wesley but the Inghamites created by Benjamin Ingham, together with the less successful Sandemanians, and the Countess of Huntingdon's Connexion. In the nineteenth century, as the pace of change quickened, others arrived: Primitive Methodists, Bible Christians, Wesleyan Association and Wesleyan Reformers, Methodist New Connexion, Welsh Calvinistic Methodists, Churches of Christ.

There were other denominations who clearly showed how it was possible for one church to develop into another; thus Unitarians grew out of Presbyterians, Brethren largely came out of Quaker meetings, and the early Salvation Army members were mainly former Methodists. All of these denominations depended for their establishment on the work of the off-comers brought in to Cumbria for work, or on native Cumbrians who spent years outside the county, assimilated new beliefs, and then brought them back to their place of origin. The off-comers and the natives who left and then came back were crucial to Nonconformity.

There was too the importance of proximity to both Scotland and Ireland. It was to be expected that Cumbrian Presbyterianism would be affected by Scottish migrants, but Scottish ideas as well as migrants deeply affected the Baptist congregations; also created was a small denomination called the Evangelical Union with close relations between this church and English Congregationalism. Scots preachers worked for Cumbrian Congregational churches and for the Baptists; the latter provided the foundation for the Churches of Christ. The Sandemanians were brought into being by Glas and Sandeman who were Scotsmen. In many areas of Cumbria there remained more Scottish-born migrants than Irish-born, but the most obvious differences and those which created racial and religious tension were the Catholicism of the latter and their gathering in large numbers. The Irish flooded certain industrial and mining centres, swamped the native Catholic congregations of the region, and forced a drastic reorientation of the church, its priests' work, and resources.

Table 17Location of native-born Irish and Scottish in Cumbria 1851

<u>Administrative Ward</u>	<u>population total</u>	<u>Irish- born</u>	<u>Scots- born</u>	<u>percent of total</u>	
				<u>Irish</u>	<u>Scots</u>
Alston	6816	62	59	.9	.8
Penrith	22307	249	462	1.1	2.0
Brampton	11323	246	380	2.1	3.3
Longtown	9696	93	1086	.9	11.2
Carlisle	41557	2462	3271	6.0	8.0
Wigton	23661	613	686	2.6	2.9
Cockermouth	38510	1897	752	5.0	2.0
Whitehaven	35614	4175	703	12.0	2.0
Bootle	6008	69	44	1.1	.7
East	13660	42	137	.3	1.0
West	8155	27	70	.3	.8
Kendal	36572	538	314	1.5	.8
total		<u>10473</u>	<u>7964</u>	<u>4.1</u>	<u>3.1</u>

Source: census returns for 1851

Nonconformity between 1780 and 1920 tended to be restricted to towns, to industrial villages, and to mining areas, of which there were few in Westmorland. It was no coincidence that Nonconformity in that county was strongest in Kendal, the only large town and manufacturing centre. Cumberland Nonconformity was strong down the Eden valley where Wesleyan Methodism had supplanted the Church of England, in Carlisle, the market towns, and in West Cumberland with its ports, towns, industry and mining. These were the localities favored by off-comers, the people who brought the new denominations. The growth of Barrow and Millom after 1860 attracted a further large-scale immigration with consequent diversified denominational activity. Yet Nonconformity by its nature was in opposition to the Established Anglicanism which was so strong in much of Cumbria, and to choose not to be Anglican brought a certain disadvantage, a sort of stigma, which lasted into the twentieth century.

Roman Catholicism in Cumbria in 1780 was restricted to a few landed families with occasional Irish migrants or servants or tenants, but the Howards of Corby were so prominent within its ranks, and were so completely assimilated into local society despite their beliefs, that this old faith commences the section as illustrative of the continuous existence in an unpromising environment of the aboriginal Catholicism of the Middle Ages. Even so, the impact of the Irish brings in to play the dominant role of the off-comer. The arrival and success of Methodism in the eighteenth century requires that it be studied immediately after Catholicism because the Methodists were the innovators as well as the off-comers who stimulated the religious revival. Nonetheless, it was not only John Wesley's preachers who were at work; Countess of Huntingdon influence was imported in several places, whilst Benjamin Ingham's societies took

root in the border parishes where Lancashire, Westmorland and Yorkshire met, and made it unnecessary for Wesley's men to preach there. In the same area too the ideas of Sandeman and Glas brought into being an Inghamite schism which resulted in that remote locality having some Sandemanian societies which were absent or rare elsewhere.

These societies - Sandemanian, Inghamite and Huntingdon - were, with early Methodism, important for the Congregational churches of Cumbria. Congregationalism sometimes grew directly out of these denominations, but was invariably affected by their evangelistic endeavours and sense of purpose which brought to Victorian Congregational churches the role of chief antagonists in both politics and religion towards the establishment. Scottish preachers and beliefs were imported too into Cumbria through the Evangelical Union and Scottish Congregationalism; more fateful for native Cumbrian Presbyterianism was the arrival of large migrant populations of Scots in search of work, which brought a sharp contrast between Presbyterian and Congregational practice where in the eighteenth century little had existed.

Cumbrian Presbyterianism rarely developed into Unitarianism, but there were outcrops of that change in religious beliefs in a few places and especially in Kendal. Just as Congregationalism came to possess less affinities with Presbyterianism in the nineteenth century, so Unitarianism was scowled upon by Scottish migrants. Unitarianism was weak in Cumbria; so too were the Baptist churches, though there were several home-grown congregations most notably in Furness. The influx of Scotch Baptists and of other migrants did not offer the opportunities which might have been expected and a number of Churches of Christ were born out of differences between old and new Cumbrians.

The Cumbrian landscape remains dotted with a large number of ancient Quaker meeting houses today more visited by inquisitive tourists than by Friends, but Quakerism in the eighteenth century was important in the region both because of numbers and through the merit and wealth of individual families. Quakerism depended less on off-comers than did other denominations, and gained most of its membership from people who had been Cumbrian for generations. Yet it too became affected by nineteenth-century immigration, and by the importation of new ideas. The result was the birth of Brethren meetings which sapped Quakerism of talent, wealth and numbers but which retained the sense of purpose, mission and fervour that had characterised Fox and the Westmorland Seekers of the seventeenth century and which seemed to be fading within Friends' ranks.

Not all seceding Quakers became Brethren: close links had long existed between Quakers and Methodism, and the Methodism of nineteenth-century Cumbria was the great success of regional Nonconformity in terms of places of worship, organisation and numbers. Methodism was an acceptable alternative to Anglicanism for rural families who moved to an urban environment from within the county. Even so, the inception of Methodist preaching usually required off-coming initiative and connexional help from London or Manchester, almost a compromise between natives and foreigners which was possible for Methodism but less so within Congregational and Presbyterian churches. For Cumbrians, long embroiled in border disputes and occupied with Scottish and English kings by turns, compromise was essential to survival in practical everyday life. In their religion, Methodism was not insipid Anglicanism, nor disaffected Nonconformity: it was a sensible compromise. Often sitting uncomfortably in the middle, Methodists tended not to be committed to either side in religious or political

Table 18Cost of non-Anglican ministerial housing :

<u>denomination</u>	<u>place</u>	<u>date</u>	<u>cost £s</u>
Wesleyan	Penrith	1873	1100
		1874	900
	Carlisle	1871	1000
	Kendal	1883	790
Roman Catholic	Warwick Bridge	1843	800
Congregational	Wigton	1830	400
	Carlisle	1870	800
	Ravenstonedale	1854	600
Baptist	Carlisle	1910	250
Presbyterian	Carlisle	1875	850

Sources: records of the individual churches

matters; their gradual loss of evangelistic fervour in the late Victorian years encouraged the growth of the Salvation Army, which in Cumbria was composed not of previously unchristian masses, but of disillusioned or awkward Methodists. When Methodism ultimately sided with one religious point of view and abandoned links with Anglicanism, to an extent it could have been interpreted as the triumph of off-comer over native as Nonconformity developed into the solid ranks of Free Churchmanship.

The non-Anglicans never possessed the resources open to the Anglicans although an individual congregation or Methodist circuit might possess impressive funds should the need arise. The provision of houses for their clergy necessitated great sacrifice from the membership, and until the 1850s it was common for all Methodist circuits to board and lodge free of charge the ministry because housing was so expensive. By the 1870s there was a gradual growth in clerical house provision similar to that within the established church though far fewer houses at greatly reduced prices were provided ¹.

In another sense there was a parallel between Nonconformity and Anglicanism: the stipends paid to the clergy. Urban congregations tended to pay better stipends to Nonconformist clergy than the many rural churches, and there remained a notable difference between the two ². Certain individual Presbyterian and

1. See table 18 p. 226

2. See table 19 p. 228

Table 19Nonconformist ministerial stipends:*£s per annum.*Methodist: Wesleyan

<u>circuit</u>	<u>1800-20</u>	<u>1820-40</u>	<u>1840-60</u>	<u>1860-80</u>	<u>1880-1900</u>	<u>1900-20</u>
Appleby	40	90	100 60	140 120 60	170 150 80	175 175 175
Carlisle	60	95	100 70	160 120 90	190 130 100	190 140 120
Penrith	45	110	130 110 65	160 120 110	195 140 120	200 130 110
Kirkoswald	-	-	-	120 110	140 110	140 100
Maryport	-	-	100	110	120	140
Whitehaven	60	85	100 70	125 85	180 110	180 110
Kendal	-	-	110	130	160 95	170
Home Missionaries		-	52	55	45	85 60

Note: Home Missionaries are respectively at Penrith, Appleby, Bowness on Solway, Kendal and Bowness on Solway again. Supernumeraries or retired men receive half stipend.

Methodist: United Methodist

Appleby	-	48	55	85	120	145
Carlisle	-	55	70	100	140	160

Table 19 continuedMethodist: Primitive

<u>circuit</u>	<u>1800-20</u>	<u>1820-40</u>	<u>1840-60</u>	<u>1860-80</u>	<u>1880-1900</u>	<u>1900-20</u>
Brough	-	40	50	120 60	100 80	120 80
Barrow	-	-	-	100	100 56 52	100 80 80
Carlisle	-	40 20	70 30	100 60 55	130 80 80	140 80 70
Maryport	-	-	-	-	90	120
Dalton	-	-	-	-	90	108 58
Penrith	-	-	70	100	110	110 80
Whitehaven	-	40	80 60	100 75	110 80	145 100
Workington	-	-	-	100 60	110	140

Presbyterian:congregation

Penrith	70	90	110	150	190	220
Gt Salkeld	30	40	40	40	40	-
Barrow	-	-	-	160	220 160	290 240
Carlisle	-	-	100	180 180	240 240 80	250 280 100 ¹

1. denotes lay evangelist and retired minister

Table 19 continuedCongregational:

<u>Church</u>	<u>1800-20</u>	<u>1820-40</u>	<u>1840-60</u>	<u>1860-80</u>	<u>1880-1900</u>	<u>1900-20</u>
Kendal	-	-	150	225	230	260
Silloth	-	-	-	80	100	110
Parton	-	-	-	80	100	100
Cleator Moor	-	-	-	66	77	100
Keswick	30	30	0	60	80	85
Ravenstonedale	30	30	50	100	100	100
Maryport	-	-	80	100	120	110
Wigton	30	40	65	90	130	120
Blennerhasset	-	-	-	-	130	130
Bootle	-	40	60	70	70	70
Carlisle						
Lowther St	50	90	140	150	180	185
Cecil St	-	-	70	150	200	190
Charlotte St	-	-	100	180	220	240

Note: all the above do not include free manse usually provided, or expenses paid.

Sources: relevant circuit, congregation and church minute and account books.

Congregational churches paid, for Cumbria, high wages to their pastors, and there was a dependence upon the generosity of just a handful of members or families. Within Methodism the Wesleyans provided more generously than the other connexions, though into the twentieth century stipend equalisation gradually took place. The expenses for travelling, for wife and children, made the difference for many ministers between adequate provision and genteel poverty, and there remained a marked contrast both within and between denominations. Rising expenditure on the clergy marked out the successful, in worldly terms, from the unsuccessful.

The Roman Catholics

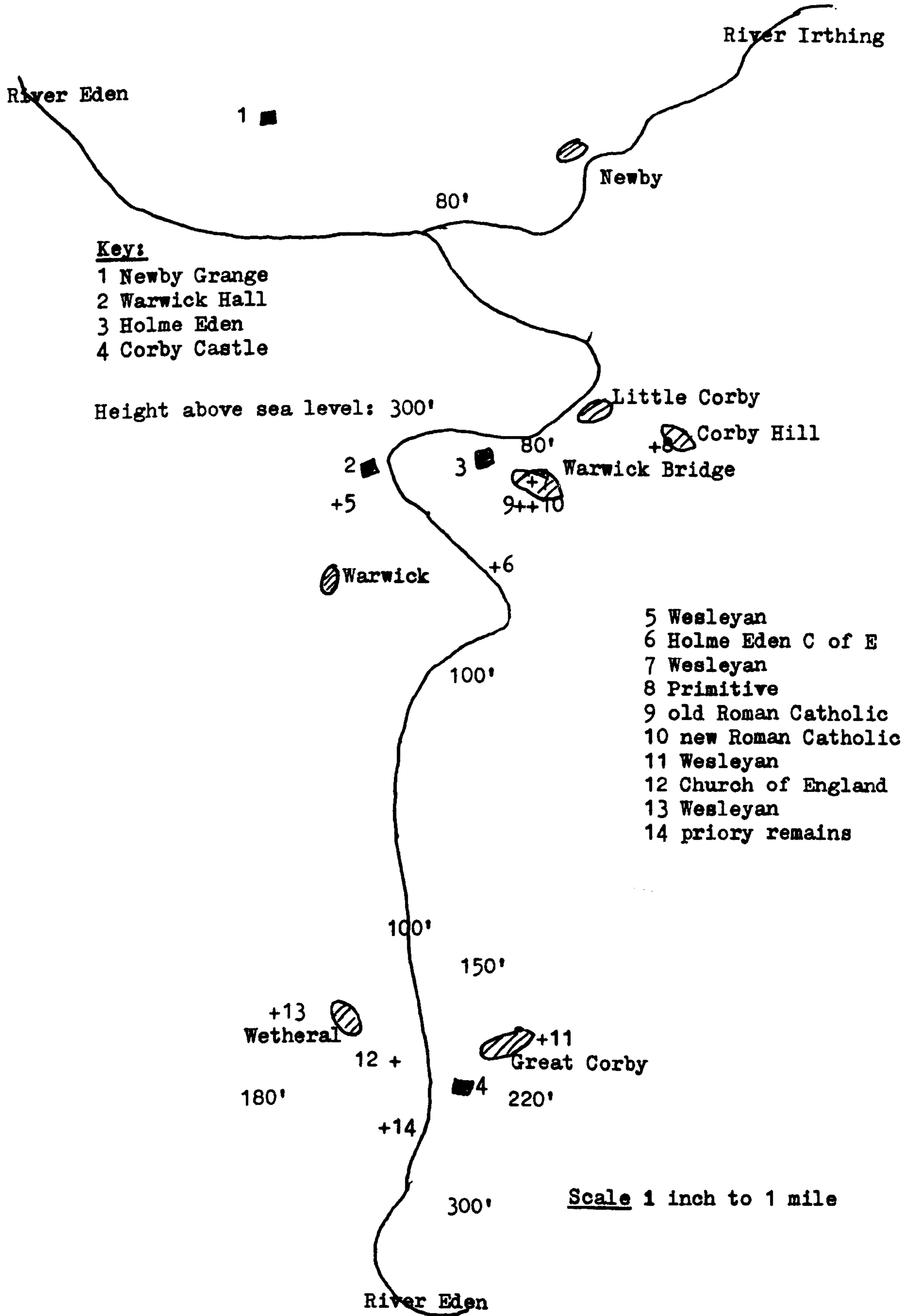
There was more in common between Anglican and Roman Catholic in 1780 than met the eye for each had a national and international dimension denied Nonconformity. Anglican gentry sent their sons on the grand tour of Europe before they settled on their estates and took their parts in public life. Catholics in Cumbria in 1780 did the grand tour of Europe and then returned home to their estates, and tended to take part in public life so far as they were able and given the anti-Catholic legislation of that date. Anglican landowners maintained correspondence with gentlemen and landowners abroad, employed a chaplain, regularly visited London, improved their estates, acted as entrepreneurs in railways if the chance arose, and busied themselves in county business and social life. The Howards of Corby Castle, six miles east of Carlisle, acted precisely in this manner; but they were Roman Catholics, which made a difference. Yet it was being gentry and landowners that mattered in the eighteenth and nineteenth century, and religious considerations were overridden by class solidarity.

The parish of Wetheral in which Corby was situated was like just a few others in Cumbria where a Catholic family maintained their religious allegiances. By 1780 the formerly important families - the Radcliffes, Skeltons, Hudlestons, Blenkinsops, Warcops, and Stricklands had either died out or been reduced to lowly status by penal laws over the previous two centuries. By 1660 there were less than two hundred Catholics in Cumbria, and over the next century the parish of Wetheral remained their one stronghold in Cumbria.¹

1. Protestation and Recusancy Returns for Cumberland and Westmorland 1641/2, CRO; Visitation Records Correction Court Book 1664/8 DRC/5/1 CRO.

Map 5

Parish of Wetheral, with Warwick and Holme Eden



Howard influence remained strong in Cumbrian Catholicism, but the influx of thousands of Irish Catholics drastically altered the denomination from one reliant on a few landed families to one with large concentrations of poor Catholics in industrial and mining areas who presented all manner of difficulties. Nonetheless the Howards of Corby continued to represent the old type of Catholicism in the Victorian age whilst aiding the new congregations of the towns ² .

The Howards had Elizabethan origins in Cumbria when three brothers married three Clifford sisters and inherited three separate properties. Howards of Naworth became earls of Carlisle but had extensive interests in Yorkshire and London; Howards of Greystoke provided dukes of Norfolk who used Greystoke castle as a holiday home or residence for dependants and bringing up children ³ . Only the Howards of the smallest estate, Corby, were largely resident in Cumbria throughout the year ⁴ .

From the 1200s until the dissolution of the monasteries the Benedictines had occupied Wetheral priory, looking across the river Eäen to Corby castle in later centuries, each perched on cliffs ⁵ . With Catholic Howards at Corby it was to be expected that Wetheral parish would continue to possess Catholics in some numbers,

2. J. Bossy The English Catholic Community 1570-1850 (1975);

3. H. Lonsdale The Worthies of Cumberland (1872) pp.1-188.

4. C. R. Hudleston 'Cumberland Recusants 1723/24' Trans CWAAS vol.59 NS 1959 pp. 115-138.

5. I am grateful to Father Vidal of Warwick Bridge for the loan of the mission log book which contains a history of the Wetheral priory, and of the Roman Catholic community of the parish.

and the Return of Papists of 1767 illustrates this concentration ⁶. Philip Howard was then living at Corby castle, with his wife, his four children, resident priest, Howard's aunt and her two maids, and ten outdoor and indoor servants. Such a Catholic gentleman attracted Catholic craftsmen and tenant farmers, and there were twenty four of these in the parish of Wetheral. Relations of the Howards lived at Warwick hall in the neighbouring parish of Holme Eden; in 1767 the master of the hall was Francis Warwick, the last male of the Warwick family, with his priest and ten tenants and servants ⁷. The only other sizeable congregation was based at Greystoke, where several of the Howards, identifiable only by their initials, lived at the castle with twenty three named estate tenants and servants ⁸. Elsewhere in Cumbria there were under 200 Catholics, who included occasional Irish families and lone survivors of the old landed families like elderly Miss Salkeld of Mealsgate ⁹.

6. Return of Papists 1767 D/MH/vol. 2 pp 78ff CRO.

7. See family tree p.237; C R Hudleston and R S Boumphrey Cumberland Families and Heraldry (Kendal 1978) pp.165-169 for the Howards, p. 334 for the Warwicks; see also D Lysons and S Lysons Magna Britannia vol. 4 Cumberland (1816) pp.lxxviii, xxxiii.

8. These included Charles Howard 1746-1815, later earl of Surrey and eleventh duke of Norfolk.

9. She lived in the old Whitehall rebuilt by George Moore.

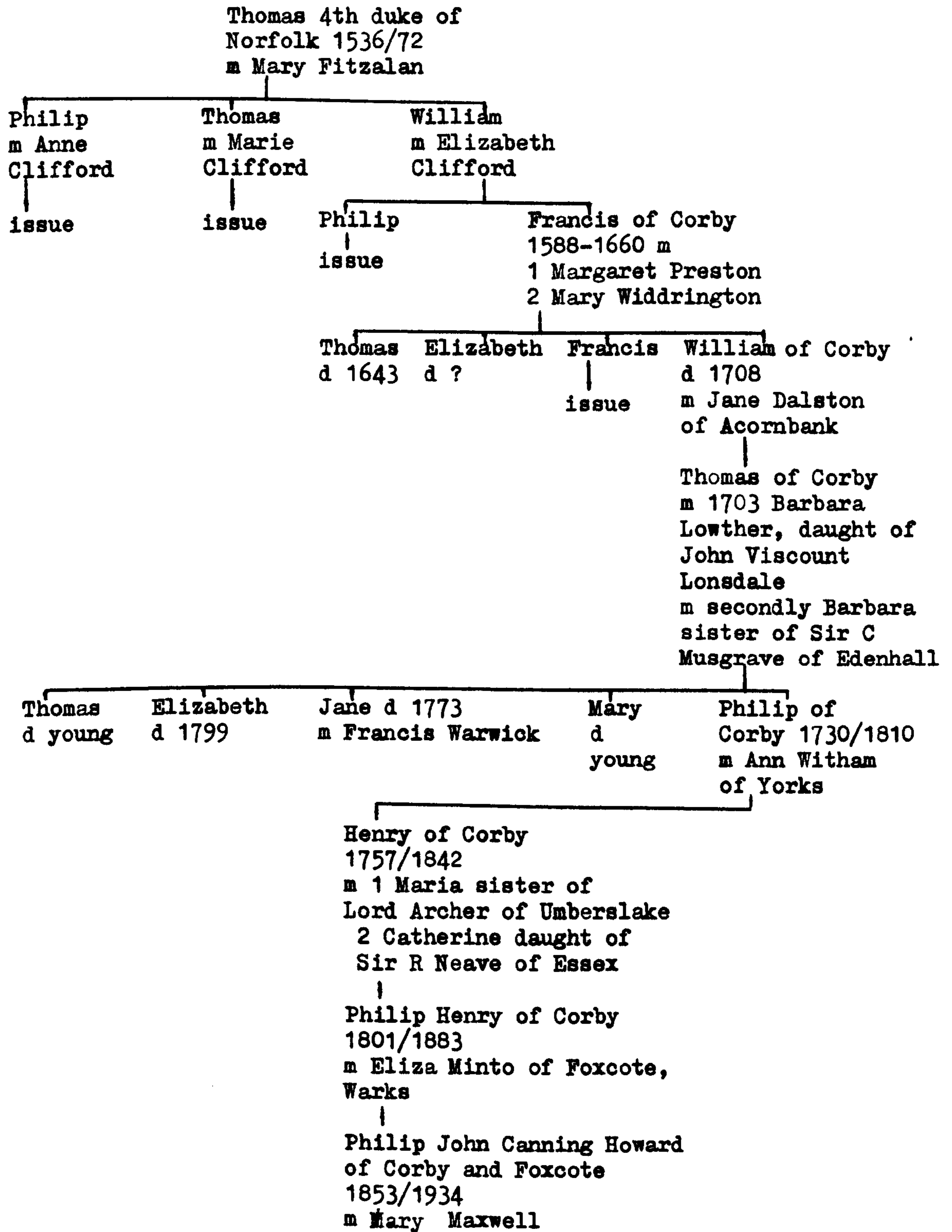
The several Howard branches inherited the former monastic lands belonging to Lanercost and Wetheral priories, the former within a mile of Naworth castle, seat of the earls of Carlisle. In spite of this profiting from Catholic misfortune at the dissolution, the Howards were helpful friends to the priests of the area, so that when Warwick hall passed into Protestant hands in 1774 the Benedictines established themselves in a new chapel at Warwick Bridge with the Howard arms prominently displayed on the gable ends facing the directions of Newcastle and Carlisle on the main road ¹⁰. Their parish covered over four hundred and fifty square miles from Penrith north to Gilsland and Bewcastle, and the graveyard is full of tombstones commemorating the dispersed families in the farming communities.

In the 1780s the Benedictines laid out £1000 on a cottage, house and land but the debt proved too burdensome. The mission log book encapsulates the story as it had developed by the 1840s:

When Father Ryan was appointed incumbent, as a good opportunity of disposing of the land and houses presented itself, he obtained the consent of Provincial Brewer to sell the property to Mr Howard of Corby, reserving for himself and his successors five acres of land, upon which he erected a good house and an elegant little chapel at the cost of £2586. Notwithstanding this outlay he continued by his good management to accomplish the whole and leave the income of the place greater than it was when he first entered upon his arduous undertaking. ¹¹

10. The MS history of the Benedictines of Warwick Bridge includes a plan and drawing.

11. MS history of the Benedictines of Warwick Bridge p.13.

Howard of Corby

The church was opened in 1841 and nineteen Benedictines attended, along with the Howards of Corby. The work continued with a supply of Ampleforth men traversing the area, establishing a permanent mission to Brampton, four miles distant, and opening a day school near the church. Later on Warwick hall came once more into Catholic ownership under the Liddells who proved to be generous benefactors to the parish, and Holme Eden, built by the Dixons of Carlisle, became a convent ¹² .

Philip Howard was one of the eighteenth century's agricultural innovators in Cumbria, and with his friend John Christian Curwen of Workington was responsible for introducing turnips, clover and new rotations to the region ¹³ . Howard sent his son, Henry to be educated at the English Benedictine college at Douai, and then sent him for three years to the Theresian academy in Vienna. Henry Howard met men who were to be his life-long friends, including Irish and Polish exiles, and he acquired a taste for foreign culture and radical politics ¹⁴ . By the 1780s Henry Howard was back at Corby and taking a full part in county and national life of the day.

Henry married Maria, daughter of Lord Archer of Umberslake in 1788, but her death in the following year led him to commission Nollekens to produce one of the most important sculptures in the county ¹⁵ . Four years later he remarried, and continued to be one of the social circle which met on dark evenings in Carlisle and included diocesan clergy and county families.

12. MS history of the Benedictines of Warwick Bridge pp.14-18.

13. For Curwen see below p.62; Lonsdale Worthies of Cumberland(1872) pp. 65-123 .

14. Lonsdale Worthies of Cumberland (1872) p. 73 .

15. Lady Maria Howard and her infant, in Wetheral parish church .

Henry Howard took an active part in political life, canvassing for his relative Charles Howard at the Carlisle elections in the 1780s and generally aiding those who opposed the Lowthers¹⁶. He was unable to become an M.P. due to his religion, but vigorously campaigned to abolish Catholic disabilities in speeches and printed pamphlets which had a more than regional importance¹⁷. Corby became a pro-reform centre and Howard maintained close links with Sidney Smith, Henry Bathurst, bishop of Norwich, and others who wished to effect Catholic emancipation. At the same time, Howard was rebuilding Corby castle, landscaping the extensive grounds, raising the Cumberland Rangers in the face of a threatened French invasion¹⁸, taking more than a gentlemanly interest in archaeology and the study of literature, and acting as one of the Carlisle railway and industrial promoters.

Philip Henry Howard, Henry's son, was returned as M.P. for Carlisle in 1830 and took as prominent and decisive a role as his father in county affairs¹⁹. He sat until 1852 when local opposition to the papal aggression of 1850-1851 led him to decline to stand again²⁰.

16. See below p.42; Lonsdale Worthies of Cumberland (1872) pp.57-64.

17. There is a collection in the Jackson Library; for example, Henry Howard Historical References in support of ... the Catholic Religion ... that Religious Liberty is a Civil Right (Carlisle 1827).

18. Initially 220 men, expanded to 600; the officers were the Whig gentry, Wilfrid Wybergh and John Losh, majors, Thomas Wybergh, captain, Dr. Blamire, adjutant.

19. See below p.43; Philip was not an author or literary man.

20. Jackson Library possesses a collection of pamphlets over the aggression; see J. Dayman A Few Suggestions on the present crisis (Carlisle 1851).

Both Henry and Philip Howard helped the priests to establish a Carlisle mission which opened a new church in 1823, and with the influx of Irish families to the county the role of the gentry in furthering Catholicism greatly declined. Old centres like Corby, Warwick Bridge and Dodding Green, near Kendal, continued to be gentry outposts of the faith, but the onus for future work passed to the priests of the towns and mining areas of Cumbria ²¹ .

The Howards helped pay for the Penrith church opened in 1850, but after Philip Howard left politics in 1852 the family involvement in Carlisle commenced its decline and the family spent increasing amounts of the year at their Foxcote estate in Warwickshire. Before Philip's death in 1883 Corby had been let, the estate in Cumbria was in the hands of agents, and the family had removed to Foxcote ²² .

Although the Howards were popular and helped ease the prejudice of the 1840s in English minds over Irish migration it was a more or less constant theme of the Victorian period that the Irish Catholics were equated with drinking, brawling, disease and poverty ²³ . The Howards only differed from other landed families through their religious allegiance, but the Irish Catholics were not wealthy, scholarly, educated, landed and respectable: they were aliens in every way in the eyes of the English Protestants.

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21. B. Kelly Historical Notes on English Catholic Missions (1907) lists 27 missions to Cumbria.
22. It only came back to Corby after the Second World War ; I am grateful to Mrs Howard for these details.
23. D. Gwynn One Hundred Years of Catholic Emancipation 1829-1929 (1929). Francis Close, bishops Villiers and Waldegrave were strongly anti-Catholic.

The Irish immigrants of the 1830s poured into Whitehaven and from there into the mining villages of West Cumberland and as far as Carlisle. The growth of Barrow and Millom brought new migrants attracted by the employment so that by the 1880s there was an estimated Irish population of twenty eight thousand in Cumbria with between three and five thousand in each of Barrow, Carlisle, Whitehaven and Cleator Moor ²⁴. They were off-comers who turned the religious life of Roman Catholicism into confusion.

One of the problems was the lack of priests in Cumbria, another was the poverty of the Irish, a third was the reluctance of English priests to dedicate themselves to the region's Catholics ²⁵. Priests needed to possess some private means or to have influential friends: Joseph Marshall, founder of the Carlisle mission, paid for half the cost of the first church in 1824, and the help given by the Howards has been noted. Lady Throgmorton provided money for ^{the} Penrith mission, whilst Queen Amélie of France provided all of the cost of the Coniston church in 1872 after visiting the Lake District and finding no Catholic place of worship ²⁶. The experiences of the priests and Irish on Cleator Moor showed how stark was the contrast between native English congregations and the new Irish ones.

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24. J. Denvir The Irish in Britain from the earliest times to the fall and death of Parnell(1892) pp. 38,429,444.
- 25 G.A.Beck The English Catholics 1850-1950 (1950)ch. ix;Bossy English Catholic Community pp.306-316,334-337,426-427.
26. Kelly English Catholic Missions supplies details on each mission.

Cleator Moor was a new iron ore mining centre inland of Whitehaven which began to develop in the 1850s and to which migrants from all over Britain were attracted. The first Catholic priest was Gregory Holden who commenced work in 1853. In that year there was continuing trouble over the papal aggression and the restoration of the Catholic hierarchy of bishops, and feelings in West Cumberland remained high, but Holden had survived thirty five years in charge of Whitehaven and continued at Cleator as a quiet, uncontroversial figure devoted solely to the needs of his parish. Some prominent county figures, including Sir James Graham of Netherby, refused to take part in the whole aggression affair and the heat was to some extent taken out of the matter ²⁷. Holden died in 1859 and his successor was Father Williams, a priest who delighted in the cry of battle and was involved in lively disputes with Protestants in the area and who became well known for his public protection of Catholics against Orangemen who were living in the area in some numbers ²⁸. Between 1870 and 1890 a string of churches ~~was~~ opened to cater for the continuing migrant flow - Frizington, Egremont, Workington, Cleator and Whitehaven- and schools usually attached. Where this was not possible, then the new priests of the 1870s and 1880s stepped into public life in a way that would have shocked their old-fashioned predecessors.

E.M. Ward became chairman of the Cleator Moor school board in the 1880s and later chairman of the urban district council until his death in 1901 ²⁹. He had been a professor at Douai and for twenty years worked in Hereford and Cleator. His successor, Scannell,

27. C. Caine Cleator and Cleator Moor past and present(Kendal 1916)p.292.

. J.T. Ward Sir James Graham: a political biography(1967)p.246.

28. Caine Cleator Moor p.293; Denvir Irish in Britain p.444.

29. Caine Cleator Moor p.295-296.

Map 6

and Meetings

Distribution of churches in Cumbria

Quaker: *
Roman Catholic: +

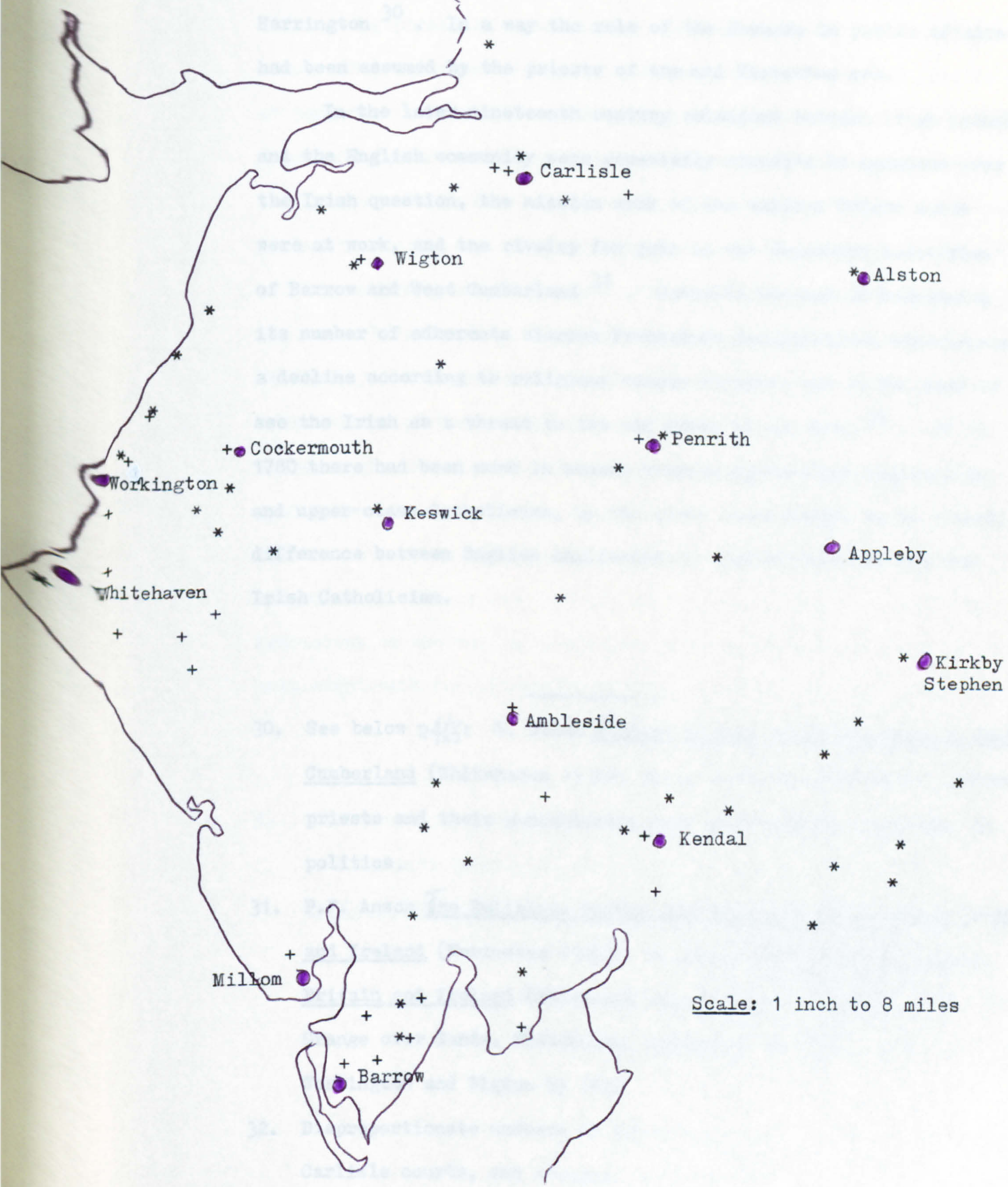


Map 6

and Meetings

Distribution of churches in Cumbria

Quaker: *
Roman Catholic: +



proved to be as active a district councillor on behalf of the Catholic community, and priests were also serving for some years on school boards in Carlisle, Frizington, Millom, Barrow and Harrington³⁰. In a way the role of the Howards in public affairs had been assumed by the priests of the mid Victorian era.

In the later nineteenth century relations between Irish Catholics and the English community were repeatedly strained by opinions over the Irish question, the mission work of the various Orders which were at work, and the rivalry for jobs in the depressed industries of Barrow and West Cumberland³¹. Catholic success in increasing its number of adherents alarmed Protestant denominations experiencing a decline according to religious census figures, and it was easy to see the Irish as a threat to law and order at any date³². If in 1780 there had been much in common between upper-class Anglicanism and upper-class Catholicism, by the 1880s there seemed to be a world of difference between English Anglicanism or Catholicism and the new Irish Catholicism.

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30. See below p465; G. Dolan A Short History of Catholicism in West Cumberland (Whitehaven 1932); there could be differences between priests and their parishioners over some matters especially in politics.
31. P.F. Anson The Religious Orders and Congregations of Great Britain and Ireland (Worcester 1949); F. Steele The Convents of Great Britain and Ireland (Edinburgh nd); there were Orders at Carlisle, Grange over Sands, Whitehaven, Maryport, Penrith, Barrow, Millom, Workington and Wigton by 1890.
32. Disproportionate numbers of Irish were sent for trial each year at Carlisle courts, and occupied the workhouses.

If there was contrast between Anglican and Catholic in Victorian Cumbria, there was more similarity between Catholicism and an unlikely denomination: the Methodists. The two denominations offered an interesting parallel: expansionist and aggressively missionary in intent after 1780, dedicated clergy or preachers traversing wide circuits or parishes in an often hostile world, a dependence at first on a few important families widening into mass appeal, and a dependence upon immigrants. These were not the only similarities; both denominations gradually swelled not only in numbers but in churches, in the wealth of the membership as it advanced economically from humble beginnings, and had an early refusal to be drawn into public or political life. Eventually the two sent people into local and national government to be guardians of their respective denominational interests, and though increasingly assimilated into mainstream British society, both churches were aware that they were a special people, chosen and apart³³. There were obvious differences in timing of all this, and of emphasis and worship; perhaps most of all, the Catholics remained alien to Protestantism whereas the Methodists were the pacesetters for both eighteenth- and nineteenth-century denominational growth.

33. This theme is prominent throughout Denvir The Irish in Britain and the more modern but less heavily prejudiced Beck the English Catholics .

Methodism in the eighteenth century

Methodism came to Cumbria in 1748 when John Wesley's preachers who were missioning the lead dales of the Pennines turned west and came out of Weardale and Teesdale and arrived in Whitehaven. The new movement was immediately successful in the busy colliery centre and port and had a profound influence on the other denominations of the region¹. Nonetheless Methodism needed not only off-coming preachers, but off-coming Methodist members, in order to establish societies throughout the county of Cumbria. Repeated waves of fresh migrants who were Methodists when they moved ensured that Methodism would be the most important of the denominations in terms of evangelistic effort and spectacular growth: in Carlisle, West Cumberland, Barrow, Millom, the eastern fellside of the Pennines, and down the Eden valley². So important was Methodism in Cumbria that it is necessary to examine its eighteenth-century impact and work before any survey of the other denominations of Nonconformity, whilst its nineteenth-century expansion necessitates a concluding chapter for Nonconformity devoted to the several Methodist connexions.

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1. J. Burgess John Wesley and Cumbria (Carlisle 1979)
 2. J. Burgess A History of Cumbrian Methodism (Kendal 1980): the research for this chapter was originally carried out for 'the Growth and development of Methodism in Cumbria' University of Durham M. Litt. 1979. The research has been done again for this thesis and the chapters on Methodism are new work and appear nowhere else.

Methodism in the eighteenth century was able to take root in Whitehaven and the mining and industrial settlements of West Cumberland because it was there that the new migrant population had colonised. Scots, Irish, Manx and north eastern English families came to the new developments and were often Methodist before they arrived ³. The native stock were not usually at all enthusiastic about early preaching either in towns or the countryside, unless they had been exposed to Methodism when themselves migrants beyond Cumbria. Methodism then needed the migrant, and it required migrants who were of some social standing, and others with stamina and enterprise. If these off-comers were lacking, then Cumbrians who had travelled extensively might provide alternative means of evangelistic initiative ⁴.

John Wesley was visiting Cumbria about every two years, twenty six times in total, and only once omitting Whitehaven. Such care brought rewards and ultimately attracted James Hogarth into society membership ⁵. Hogarth was a sail cloth manufacturer with extensive business interests including ownership of Mount Pleasant, an area of modern cottages provided by him for his employees ⁶.

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3. J.V. Beckett Coal and Tobacco: the Lowthers and the economic development of West Cumberland 1660-1760 (1981)
 4. A.D. Gilbert Religion and Society in Industrial England (1976) pp. 94-121
 5. R. Dickinson The Life of the Rev. John Braithwaite (1825) is a history of Whitehaven Methodism as well as biography of Braithwaite, a local man who married Hogarth's niece and heiress.
 6. I am grateful to the late Daniel Hay, Whitehaven borough librarian, for providing me with information on Hogarth, who had a major role in the town.

Hogarth built a place of worship for his workers but the consecration of it was prevented by Sir James Lowther, recently created earl of Lonsdale, who was not prepared to have a potential political rival like Hogarth possess church patronage too ⁷. The result was that Hogarth presented the building to the Methodists who moved completely from their own building in 1791 when subsidence destroyed it. Their benefactor paid for a manse for the circuit preacher and provided forty cottages for Methodist families after the mining subsidence. Hogarth, in common with most of the early Methodists, attended both Anglican and Methodist worship; at his death in 1796 his interests were inherited by his niece and ward, Mary Johnson, who had married a circuit minister, John Braithwaite ⁸. Braithwaite spent some years itinerating round Britain but was posted to Whitehaven and Carlisle for a total of ten years and was regularly in his home town seeing to his inherited business affairs ⁹.

Both Hogarth and Braithwaite were widely travelled men, the type of people who brought Methodist societies into being and then maintained them. This pattern was repeated ²elsewhere in Cumbria when William Varty established Methodism in Penrith and the Ashburners started the work in Furness. Varty was a merchant who dealt in the wool and clothing trade and who regularly visited Yorkshire and the midlands ¹⁰. He attended Methodist services when

7. Wes Meth Mag 1822 p.415

8. Dickinson Life of Braithwaite *Hogarth*.

9. Wes Meth Mag 1819 p.7, 1826 p.14

10. G.G.S. Thomas The Christian Patriarch: the life of Mr. Robert Gate (1869) contains a history of early Penrith Methodism.

in Yorkshire and decided to invite the preachers to his own home, which resulted in the creation of a Methodist society in Penrith during the 1770s ¹¹. After Varty's death in 1815 the mainstay of the society for many years was Robert Gate, a native of Threlkeld who had spent some years in Durham before settling in a saddlery business in Penrith ¹². Once more the native with off-comer experience was responsible for Methodist preaching; the same was true for the Ashburners, who went on monthly business trips to Preston, Lancaster and Liverpool in the 1800s from their Ulverston headquarters. One of the family settled in Preston, became a Methodist, and was responsible for Methodist preachers working Furness ¹³. John Ashburner however discovered that being prosperous was no protection from prejudice:

It was no trifling event, in the estimation of the vain world, for a person holding a respectable position in society to make a profession of religion, and especially to avow himself a Methodist. Mr. Ashburner at once lost caste, and met scorn and ill will. ¹⁴

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11. The first preaching place in Crown Terrace has been knocked down this year in an improvement scheme.
 12. Gate married a Durham Methodist.
 13. G.H. Bancroft Judge 'Early Metholism in Furness' Procs WHS 1949 vol.27 part 3 pp50-55, part 4 pp 86-91
 14. Wes Meth Mag 1860 p.396; the event took place in 1818.

Whitehaven lost out to Carlisle during the 1780s with the American War irreparably damaging West Cumberland trade whereas Carlisle gained from increasing textile developments and permanent peace in the borders. The Methodist expansion in Carlisle only took place when Yorkshire preachers were invited by a Longtown excise officer, and not for twenty years was the city society permanently established ¹⁵. Methodist success was so tardy in Carlisle because of the peculiarities of ecclesiastical patronage: just as the Methodists were gaining support an evangelical dean, Isaac Milner, arrived in the city and was responsible for bringing in evangelical Anglican incumbents like John Fawcett ¹⁶. Where the Anglican clergy were intent on similar aims to the Methodists, then the latter tended to remain few in numbers.

The Anglican clergy of Whitehaven were not evangelicals and the arrival of off-comers created a society in which traditional dependency systems could not work in favour of the establishment. Non-Anglican churches flourished in Whitehaven when they were experiencing crises in Carlisle ¹⁷. At neighbouring Workington the influence of John Christian Curwen brought in mildly evangelical incumbents which discouraged a separate Methodist presence for many years ¹⁸.

15. Wes Meth Mag 1826 p.96; Carlisle Journal 26 February 1842

16. See above p. 80

17. See below p. 271; the Carlisle Independents had to be rescued by Lady Hewley in the 1780s.

18. See below p. 251; Workington Wesleyan society became head of a circuit only in 1840, but collapsed financially and numerically and was rescued by Whitehaven in 1854 before being re-established in 1865.

Curwen was patron of both Workington and Harrington; his aunt, Jane Christian, had married Wilfrid Clark of Wigton, and their son Wilfrid became vicar of Wigton ¹⁹. He had been at Cambridge and remained friendly with a variety of evangelicals who seem to have claimed his allegiance with the result that Methodism made little progress in the market town. Not surprisingly after his death in 1802 Clark's successors were not of the same sympathies and Methodism took a strong hold on the area ²⁰.

The Church of England provided the majority of members for the first Methodist societies but there was always the feeling that the devout society members who so punctiliously attended morning worship at the parish church and attended their own Methodist services in the afternoon, were fifth columnists waiting for an opportunity to subvert the establishment ²¹. Parsons were confused about the precise status of Methodism, Dissenters but not dissenting, attending Anglican services and communion yet with their own organisational and worship structure, and above all using lay preachers and itinerants to transgress parochial boundaries with total disregard of ecclesiastical niceties ²².

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19. Clark vicar of Wigton 1763-1802; his own son Wilfrid succeeded at Wigton 1802-1804.
20. T. Carrick History of Wigton (Carlisle 1949)pp. 33-48.
21. See for instance confusion over the returns of incumbents to the diocese of Chester Visitation queries for 1789, EDV//7/2/ 166-313.
22. J.D. Walsh 'Methodism and the Mob' in G. Bennett and J.D. Walsh eds. Studies in Church History (1965) vol.8

These Methodist laymen were the essential feature of Methodist consolidation when there were only six itinerant full-time preachers in Cumbria in the 1790s. The careful organising of funds, their raising and using, required men skilled in financial affairs. Varty at Penrith, Ashburner in Furness, and Braithwaite of Whitehaven were just such men. Braithwaite's friend and biographer Robert Dickinson was the circuit steward who guided Whitehaven through some exacting commitments, helped by his experience as partner of a local iron foundry²³. Wherever Methodism was successful his counterparts were at work: Dickinson's predecessor at Whitehaven, the boot and shoe maker Thomas Hodgson who lodged Wesley; John Vipond, mining agent and farmer in the Alston circuit, a widely travelled man with nation-wide contacts²⁴. It was not glamorous being a circuit or chapel or poor steward, but Methodism depended on its being supplied with committed men.

The more glamorous post was that of evangelist either as local preacher or class leader, and the organisers, the stewards, were not usually either. Preaching called for men like William Gladders and John Laybourn - restless, zealous, often moving home and job, usually not of the same middle social rank as the stewards. Gladders and Laybourn were north-easterners attracted by the colliery work in West Cumberland and already Methodists on their arrival. As they moved job and house every few years they started off new Methodist cells for future growth²⁵.

23. Wes Meth Mag 1826 p.714

24. Wes Meth Mag 1826 p357

25. Wes Meth Mag 1806 p.475 and 1815 p.138

West Cumberland was the early Methodist centre in Cumbria, with Carlisle and Penrith following after. Westmorland Methodism took rather longer to root and never reached the strengths of other parts of the county largely because there was a lack of economic development and urban growth, with consequently fewer off-comers. There were a few early societies in the fells around Brough and Kirkby Stephen, but Kendal was strangely unreceptive and not until 1787 was regular preaching commenced in the town. This was thanks to the unremitting efforts of Stephen Brunskill, by turns farmer, slater, farmworker and milkseller and originally from Orton ²⁶. Like so many early Cumbrian members he had travelled widely over the north of England and experienced Methodism in other areas before commencing his own preaching. Towards Sedbergh and Dentdale Jonathan Kershaw and his wife, teasellers from Kendal, tramped the tracks to each settlement and farm and sold their Methodism as well as their tea ²⁷.

Westmorland contained little in the way of Dissent beyond certain Quaker meetings and Kendal itself, but Methodism met this old-established non-Anglicanism and throughout Cumbria affected the old congregations and meetings. Quakers and Congregationalists in particular were to be affected by Methodist preaching, and though some congregations were cool or hostile to new ideas, and themselves were weak in numbers, sufficient life remained within Dissent to allow the preachers and members to ^{adopt} on their own terms whatever they found useful in Methodism ²⁸.

26. Life of Stephen Brunskill... by himself (Kendal 1837)

27. Wes Meth Mag 1835 p.138

28. M. Watts The Dissenters from the reformation to the French Revolution (Oxford 1978) pp.434-444

Quakers furnished a respectable and hospitable congregation for early Methodist preachers, and there was a good deal of kindness shown to the Methodists. Instances of Quaker aid occurred at Ulverston, Hawkshead, Dent and Whitehaven and are numerous enough to suggest probable immediate widespread co-operation between Quakers and Methodists²⁹. Cumbrian Quakers had always possessed the evangelical impulse and were attracted in many meetings to the noisy and aggressive evangelistic efforts of the Methodists, though elsewhere some meetings disapproved and preferred silence and dignity³⁰.

Some Cumbrian Dissenters disliked the early Methodists, finding the enthusiasm, the belief that salvation was open to all, the obvious attraction that services had for the lower orders of society, frankly suspicious and repellent³¹. Methodism tended to alarm the authorities into action against non-Anglicans which did not discriminate, whilst untrained and ill-educated Methodist preachers with a roving commission to stir up the population made magistrates and Anglican incumbents nervous and hostile to Dissenters generally.

Methodism too was a threat to Dissent which could not be ignored by Quakers or others. Both Pardshaw and Carlisle monthly meetings of Quakers condemned the noisy worship of the Methodists and tried to

29. Barrow News 1925 carried monthly articles on Methodism in the region, written by W.G. Atkinson; Hawkshead Centenary 1862/1962; Garsdale Foot centenary 1863/1963

30. See below p.345

31. D. Davie 'Dissent and the Wesleyans' Journal URCHS vol.1 no.10 1977 pp.272-284.

urge restraint on their own members ³² . On the other hand, the Methodist challenge brought a positive response too. The Garrigill Dissenters were ruined by Methodist rivalry in the 1780s and 1790s but a new minister simply removed the remnants of the congregation to Alston where there was less rivalry and using the same evangelistic techniques recreated a strong Dissenting community ³³ . Christopher Hall was minister to the Baptist congregations at Oulton and Great Broughton, but encouraged by the advances of the Methodists in Whitehaven during 1748 and 1749 he started a new congregation in the town the following year with money supplied by another off-comer, a Liverpool Baptist , George Sephton ³⁴ . This freshness of approach, the attention to details of organisation and finance, which were characteristic of early Methodism, were adopted by Dissent as a means of rallying their membership and of coping with the inflow of off-comers.

The early Methodists suffered some persecution because they attracted so many miners, sailors and other rowdy elements to their open-air worship. They were noisy and disrespectful, almost the Quakers of the 1650s reborn, and the Methodist reputation for stopping the pleasurable primitive pursuits of rural society led to a popular counter reaction sanctioned by magistrates and landowners . A preacher thrown in the river at Beetham, a riot at one of Wesley's own services

32. Registers and minutes of the monthly meetings FCF/1/86 1745-1770 and FCF/2/3 1765-1791 CRO.

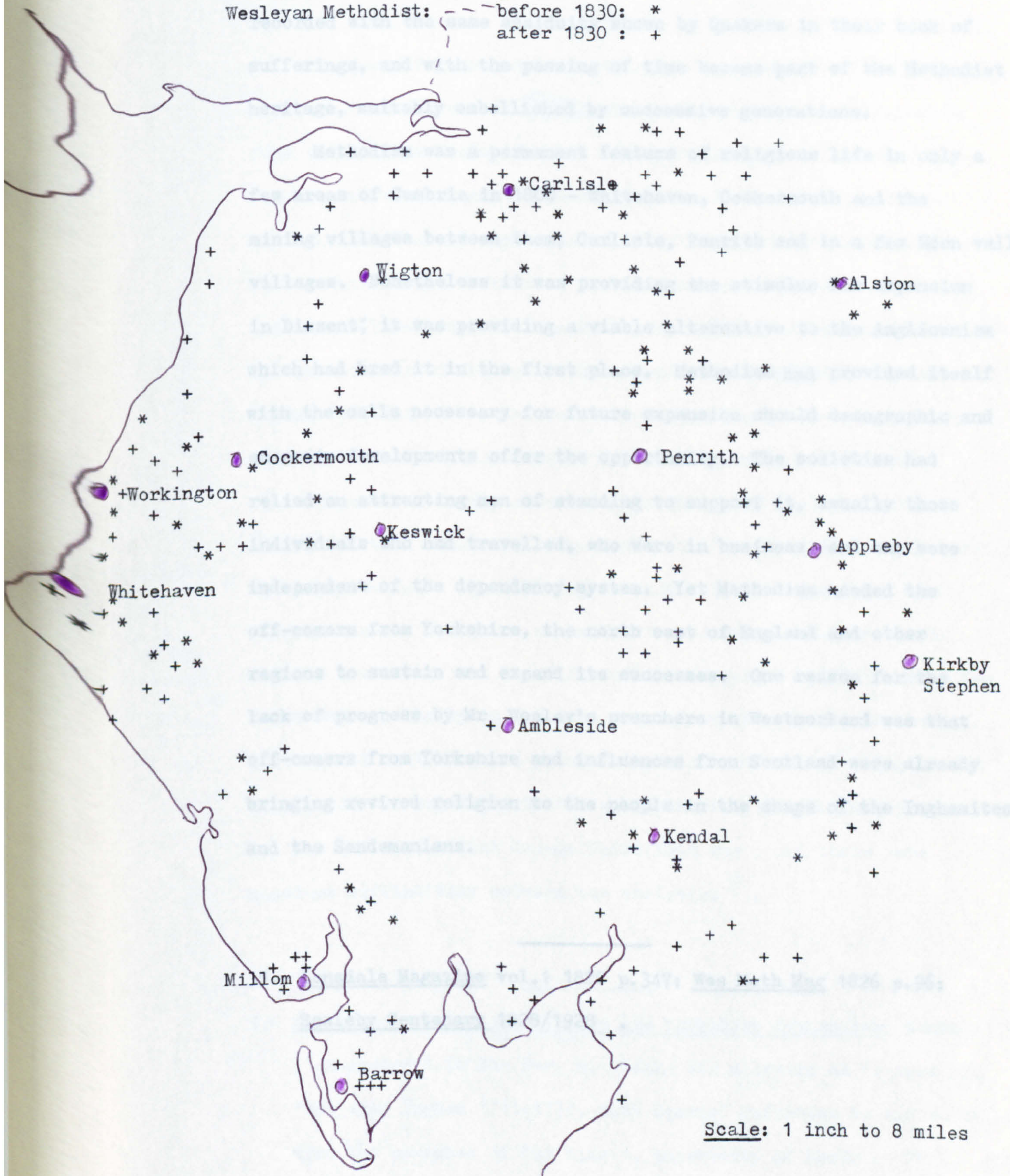
33. Alston Congregational church centenary 1804/1904.

34. D. Douglas The Baptist Churches of the north of England (1848) p. 184.

Map 7

Distribution of churches in Cumbria

Wesleyan Methodist: - - - before 1830: *
after 1830: +



Scale: 1 inch to 8 miles

in Whitehaven, preachers trampled in dung heaps and thrown into cess pits at Carlisle and Scaleby in 1768³⁵. Petty persecution was recorded with the same assiduity shown by Quakers in their book of sufferings, and with the passing of time became part of the Methodist heritage, suitably embellished by successive generations.

Methodism was a permanent feature of religious life in only a few areas of Cumbria in 1800 - Whitehaven, Cockermouth and the mining villages between them, Carlisle, Penrith and in a few Eden valley villages. Nonetheless it was providing the stimulus for expansion in Dissent; it was providing a viable alternative to the Anglicanism which had bred it in the first place. Methodism had provided itself with the cells necessary for future expansion should demographic and economic developments offer the opportunity. The societies had relied on attracting men of standing to support it, usually those individuals who had travelled, who were in business, and who were independent of the dependency system. Yet Methodism needed the off-comers from Yorkshire, the north east of England and other regions to sustain and expand its successes. One reason for the lack of progress by Mr Wesley's preachers in Westmorland was that off-comers from Yorkshire and influences from Scotland were already bringing revived religion to the people in the shape of the Inghamites and the Sandemanians.

35. Lonsdale Magazine vol.1 1820 p.347; Wes Meth Mag 1826 p.96;
Scaleby Centenary 1828/1928 .

The Inghamites, the Sandemanians and the Countess of Huntingdon's
Connexion

Benjamin Ingham had been at Oxford as a member of the Wesley circle before travelling to Georgia in the American colonies with John and Charles Wesley¹. He too had undergone religious experiences which resulted in conversion of the spirit, and he had like the Wesleys come under the influence of the Moravians. Back in his native Yorkshire, Ingham commenced evangelistic endeavours like those of John Wesley's, and established a number of societies cared for by the Moravians and a band of preachers. During 1748 Ingham was invited into Westmorland, and within three years a dozen societies circled Kirkby Stephen in the East Ward².

Ingham had openly abandoned the Church of England, which action led to a break with John Wesley who determinedly remained within the Anglican fold. In 1752 Ingham broke with the Moravians and started his own connexion of Inghamite societies modelled on his earlier creations, but his fifty or so societies formed around the dales and especially in the area where Yorkshire, Lancashire and Westmorland meet, enjoyed great independence of action. Ingham was simply not the organiser or the authoritarian that Wesley proved to be, nor the orator that George Whitefield was, and there were constant difficulties between the societies.

1. R.W. Thompson Benjamin Ingham the Yorkshire Evangelist(Kendal 1958)

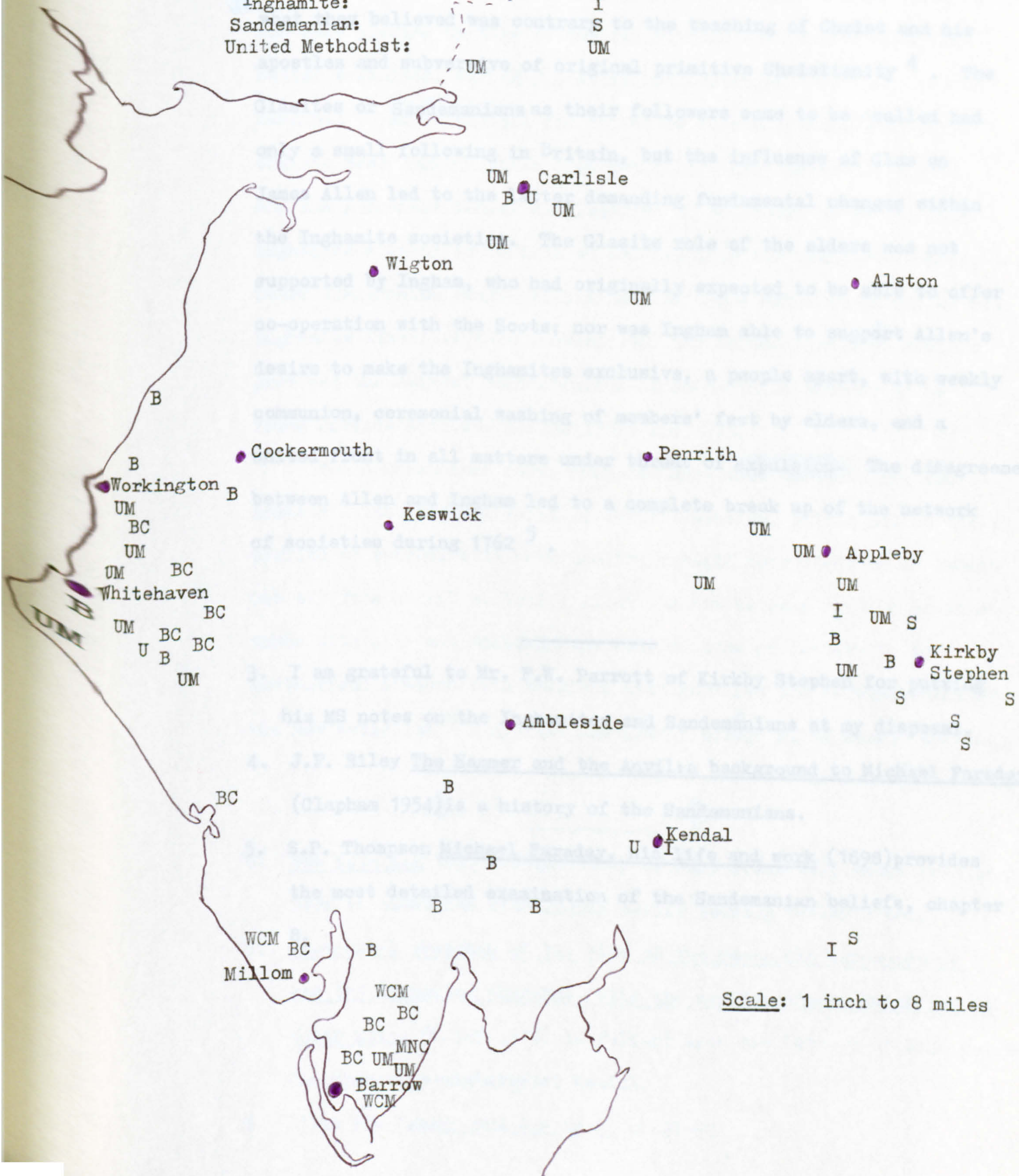
I am grateful to the Rev. D. Clarke for allowing me to read his 'Benjamin Ingham 1711-1772, with special reference to his relations with the churches of the time ', University of Leeds M. Phil. 1971

2. The main societies were Kendal, Kirkby Stephen, Dent, Birks, Gayle, Beetham, Grayrigg, Asby, Crosby Garrett, Kirkby Lonsdale, Gaisgill, and Burton in Lonsdale.

Map 8

Distribution of churches in Cumbria:

Unitarian:	U	Baptist:	B
Methodist New Connexion:	MNC		
Bible Christian:	BC		
Welsh Calvinistic Methodist:	WCM		
Inghamite:	I		
Sandemanian:	S		
United Methodist:	UM		



Ingham's two closest helpers were James Allen and William Batty, and they were despatched in 1761 to meet John Glas and Robert Sandeman in Scotland ³. Glas and his son in law Sandeman had separated from the Church of Scotland in order to eliminate from their religion what they believed was contrary to the teaching of Christ and his apostles and subversive of original primitive Christianity ⁴. The Glasites or Sandemanians as their followers came to be called had only a small following in Britain, but the influence of Glas on James Allen led to the latter demanding fundamental changes within the Inghamite societies. The Glasite role of the elders was not supported by Ingham, who had originally expected to be able to offer co-operation with the Scots; nor was Ingham able to support Allen's desire to make the Inghamites exclusive, a people apart, with weekly communion, ceremonial washing of members' feet by elders, and a united front in all matters under threat of expulsion. The disagreement between Allen and Ingham led to a complete break up of the network of societies during 1762 ⁵.

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3. I am grateful to Mr. F.W. Parrott of Kirkby Stephen for putting his MS notes on the Inghamites and Sandemanians at my disposal.
 4. J.F. Riley The Hammer and the Anvil: a background to Michael Faraday (Clapham 1954) is a history of the Sandemanians.
 5. S.P. Thompson Michael Faraday, his life and work (1898) provides the most detailed examination of the Sandemanian beliefs, chapter 8.

Ingham had commenced his work in Westmorland within weeks of the arrival of the Methodist preachers in Cumberland, and his success had discouraged Wesley from sending preachers into the dales. Once the break up of the Inghamite societies had occurred then Wesley's men were picking up some of the old members and forming them into better organised, strongly disciplined societies ⁶. A few places remained loyal to the ill and depressed Ingham, notably the Birks society near Warcop which died out before many years had passed, and the permanent Kendal congregation which proved to be the only Inghamite society in Cumbria to survive into the twentieth century ⁷. Other Sandemanian congregations besides those established out of the Inghamite disasters were founded, but the former Inghamite members provided the largest concentration of Sandemanian members to be found outside Scotland in the 1760s and 1770s.

The Sandemanians never numbered more than two thousand adult members at the highest point of their expansion, partly due to their dislike of evangelistic work and their rigid determination to remain cut off from normal society. Allen and his helpers were in constant touch with Glas and Sandeman who sent deluges of letters to the Westmorland members with complete disregard for the circumstances of the new societies ⁸. Against the Scots' advice Allen worked zealously

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6. Wes Meth Mag 1837 p.400, obituary of Mary Brunskill, whose parents had been in communion with Ingham before joining Wesley's men.
 7. Historical Sketches of the rise of the Scots Old Independents and the Inghamite churches, with the correspondence which led to their union (Colne 1814) is reliant upon the letters of John Pearson, the Inghamite minister at Kendal.
 8. Riley The Hammer and the Anvil pp.27-40

to create and then maintain his societies so that within a year there were congregations of Sandemanians at Kirkby Lonsdale, Newby, Gayle and Kirkby Stephen with sixteen, fifteen, six and twenty three members respectively ⁹ . Edward Gorrell, another of Ingham's preachers, was Allen's principal helper and the two evangelised as far as Whitehaven in the west and York in the east. Personal contacts remained vital: Allen's family brought in the Newby Inghamites, his brother in law Robert Birkett secured Newby for the Sandemanians, Allen's in-laws the Wilsons brought in Clapham and his old friends the Parkinsons made certain of the Kirkby Stephen congregation's allegiance ¹⁰ .

The societies were normally inward-looking and interbred, though never so cut off from the rest of the world as Glas and Sandeman demanded. Expulsions regularly took place since unanimity of purpose could never be reached, whilst it was inevitable that members had to eat at some time with non-members which might lead to similar harsh disciplinary action ¹¹ . Allen carefully organised and raised money, to the consternation of the Scots who wished to leave all to God's will and providence.

9. Riley The Hammer and the Anvil p.19

10. Riley The Hammer and the Anvil pp. 20ff

11. Riley The Hammer and the Anvil contains extensive quotes of the correspondence between Allen and the Scots.

Close links were maintained between the remote Sandemanian communities of the borders between Westmorland, Yorkshire and Lancashire, and Scotland, and in 1777 Sandeman despatched Robert Ferrier of Largo to report on Allen's work ¹². Ferrier listed fifteen adult members at Kirkby Lonsdale, and smaller numbers at each of the congregations at Kirkby Stephen, Newby, Clapham, Gayle, Whitehaven, Kendal, Outhgill and Hazelhall: a total of one hundred and eighty adult members. Amongst them were the most important single family, the Faradays.

Michael Faraday of Clapham Wood hall married Elizabeth Dean in 1756. Both were Sandemanians and had been Inghamites ¹³. They had nine children, of whom Richard married Mary Hastwell of Kirkby Stephen at the parish church in 1777. Richard was an itinerant slater but soon established a grocery concern in the town, and by the time of his death in 1815 he owned several cottages, a public house, a shop and a wool spinning mill. Richard's brother James settled in Kirkby Stephen as a blacksmith, and as was customary he found a bride within the narrow confines of Sandemanianism. James married Margaret, sister to Mary Hastwell, in 1786, and because the smithy did not prosper they moved to London in 1791 a few months before the birth of their son, the future scientist, Michael Faraday ¹⁴.

12. Riley the Hammer and the Anvil p.27

13. Thompson Michael Faraday chapter one; B. Jones The Life and Letters of Michael Faraday (1870) 2vols.

14. I am grateful to Mr. Parrott for the loan of correspondence to him from Dr. J.F. Riley concerning the Faradays and the Sandemanians, dated 4 January 1951, 10 January and 25 May 1952.

Faraday was one of the great scientists of the nineteenth century, but his religious views remained throughout his life those of the Sandemanians, whose chapel he attended in London and where he was an elder. The Faradays and Hastwells were a part of the close knit Sandemanian fellowship that extended to London. Of the Hastwell brothers and sisters, Betty married Richard Hayton, and Robert married Isabella Frankland, both local people. Ann Hastwell married Robert Jackson before emigrating to the USA, whilst Agnes Hastwell married Thomas Hudleston, a ship's master at Whitehaven. Hudleston's uncle, John Hudleston, had been a Baptist in the port until joining the Sandemanians in 1768 and taking charge of the congregation ¹⁵. The web of relationships which existed on a greater scale within Quakerism were operative within the narrow confines of the Sandemanians of Westmorland, small congregations of dalesmen, farmers, skilled workers, and in Kendal townsmen, who maintained their exclusiveness into the nineteenth century.

The Inghamites and Sandemanians of Cumbria were not the only rivals to Wesley's preachers in the religious revival: there was the Countess of Huntingdon's Connexion, organised along the same lines as Wesley's societies, supported by George Whitefield, led by the formidable Countess, and supplied with ministers from the college which she established at Trevecca ¹⁶.

15, Full family trees are given of the Faraday and Hastwell families in F.W. Parrott's articles in the Penrith Herald, 'Michael Faraday's links with Westmorland', 24 February 1951, and 'the Faraday family chapel in Kirkby Stephen', 10 March 1951.

16. Watts The Dissenters pp. 400,407,447,451; she was sister in law to Benjamin Ingham's wife, Lady Margaret Hastings.

The only permanent Huntingdon connexion societies in Cumbria grew out of the work of Joseph Whitridge, a Bootle man who made his fortune in trade in London. He was converted to the connexion and decided to acquire a site in his native village where he built a chapel in 1779. The absentee incumbent of the parish was not pleased at the success of the chapel which had about forty adherents out of a parish population of five hundred:

The chapel was built, it is said, by Lady Huntingdon's fanatical society; who took much pains to pervert the whole parish to their idle notions - which cost the lawful minister much trouble - but who now hopes their turbulent spirit is cooling. ¹⁷

During 1783 the society missioned Whitehaven and formed a new meeting in the port which opened the Providence chapel in 1793 ¹⁸. Thomas Cook was their minister and after he left the area in 1819 a secession from the Presbyterian congregation amalgamated with the Huntingdon society to establish an Independent chapel. This congregation had several notable ministers, including Archibald Jack and Joseph Halliwell, and moved to a new church in Scotch Street in 1873 ¹⁹. The Bootle congregation continued to exist either by sharing the Whitehaven minister or by employing its own man who lived in the terraced house next door to the place of worship

17. 1789 Visitation return for Bootle, Chester RO EDV/7/12

18. D. Hay Whitehaven: an illustrated history (Whitehaven 1980) pp.108-111.

19. Jubilee history of the Scotch Street Congregational Church (1924)

and connected by a door to the pulpit ²⁰ . The Ulverston Congregational church of the 1770s recruited several Trevecca men: Daniel Gibbons, Robert Ellis and a Mr. Evans ²¹ .

Wesley's Arminian societies remained at Wesley's death in 1791 firmly within Anglicanism, but the Calvinistic and Dissenting Sandemanians, Inghamites and Huntingdon societies refused to remain at all linked to the establishment. Out of all three of these developed Congregational churches in Cumbria, though it was a Dissent brought by off-comers like Ingham or imported by men like Whitridge who were natives but had experienced other parts of the country. There was too the Scottish involvement which had ruined the Inghamites but introduced an important element into Congregational development.

By the 1800s the Sandemanians were forging links with less exclusive denominations. The Batty family largely joined the Congregational causes founded out of former Inghamite and Glasite churches, whilst the Faradays and Hastwells of Kirkby Stephen became members of the new Congregational church there ²² . The hoped-for union between Inghamites and Sandemanians at Kendal took thirty years to come to fruition in 1844, but these little societies continued to retain the evangelistic impulse which had brought them into being and sustained them through the nineteenth century ²³ .

20. Bootle chapel remains open for worship.

21. Nightingale Lancashire Nonconformity pp.253-261

22. T.Whitehead History of the Dales Congregational Churches
(Bradford 1930) pp.257ff.

23. See above footnote 7.

By the time that the Inghamites, Sandemanians and Huntingdon societies were already Congregational churches, or maintaining an existence which to all intents differed little from other Nonconformists, an observer noted that when he attended Faraday's Sandemanian chapel in London

The services were very much like those of the Congregationalists, and consisted of extempore prayers, hymns, reading the scriptures, and a sermon, usually by the presiding elder. ²⁴

The Congregationalists of Cumbria replaced the older Dissenters and became a major regional force in both religious and political events ²⁵ .

24. Thompson Michael Faraday p.295.

25. See below pp.268ff.

The Congregationalists

The Congregational churches of Cumbria possessed a variety of roots: seventeenth-century origins in the ejections of 1662, products of revived religious efforts in the eighteenth century, formed by secession and evangelistic effort in the nineteenth century. The name Independent had sometimes been used interchangeably but the last church to use it was anachronistic when it changed to Congregational in 1873¹. Taken together, they were the most successful Nonconformist denomination after the Methodists, and like them they were strongest in Cumberland and weakest in Westmorland². Village churches, like Alston, Penruddock, Gamblesby and Hayton tended to remain small and dependent on Home Mission workers, but the urban churches prospered as their membership enjoyed the economic opportunities offered in Carlisle, Barrow, Penrith and Whitehaven. There was for the Congregationalists the perennial challenge of the Lake District to which to respond, the slum problems of Barrow, and the influence of Scottish Congregationalists and the Evangelical Union.

There was too a variety of membership: manufacturers, shopkeepers, craftsmen, hotel and lodging house owners, farmers and domestic servants, with a permanent large majority of women amongst them³.

1. Scotch Street, Whitehaven.

2. See map p.269

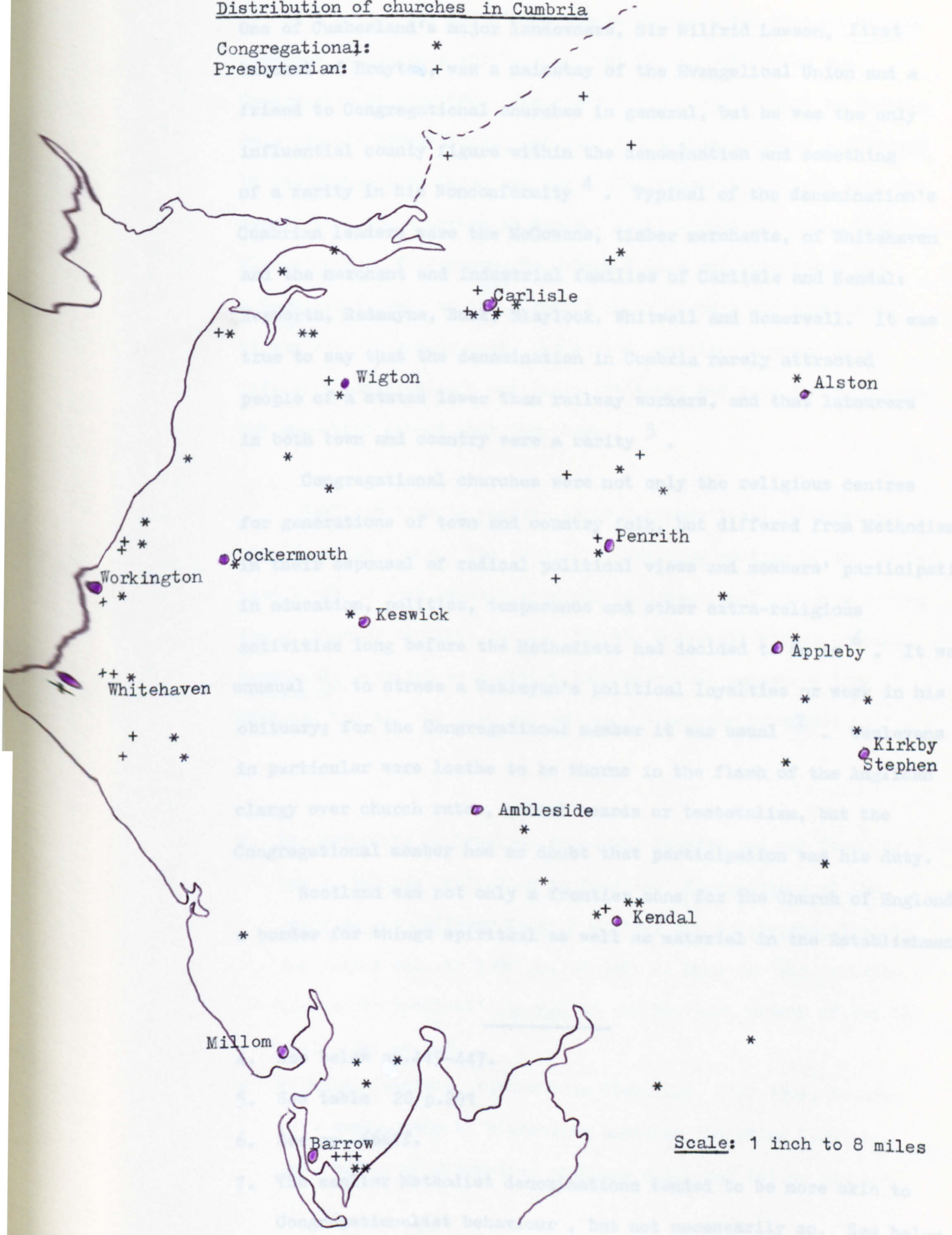
3. See table 20 p.291

Map 9

Distribution of churches in Cumbria

Congregational: *

Presbyterian: +



One of Cumberland's major landowners, Sir Wilfrid Lawson, first baronet of Brayton, was a mainstay of the Evangelical Union and a friend to Congregational churches in general, but he was the only influential county figure within the denomination and something of a rarity in his Nonconformity⁴. Typical of the denomination's Cumbrian leaders were the McGowans, timber merchants, of Whitehaven and the merchant and industrial families of Carlisle and Kendal: Hepworth, Redmayne, Buck, Blaylock, Whitwell and Somervell. It was true to say that the denomination in Cumbria rarely attracted people of a status lower than railway workers, and that labourers in both town and country were a rarity⁵.

Congregational churches were not only the religious centres for generations of town and country folk, but differed from Methodism in their espousal of radical political views and members' participation in education, politics, temperance and other extra-religious activities long before the Methodists had decided to do so⁶. It was unusual to stress a Wesleyan's political loyalties or work in his obituary; for the Congregational member it was usual⁷. Wesleyans in particular were loathe to be thorns in the flesh of the Anglican clergy over church rates, school boards or teetotalism, but the Congregational member had no doubt that participation was his duty.

Scotland was not only a frontier zone for the Church of England and a border for things spiritual as well as material in the Establishment;

4. See below pp.419-447.

5. See table 20 p.291

6. See pp. 666ff.

7. The smaller Methodist denominations tended to be more akin to Congregationalist behaviour, but not necessarily so. See below pp. 668ff.

it was a border for Methodism, though Carlisle was responsible for missions in Dumfries and Paisley, but it was not so for the Congregational churches. The migrant Scots who settled in Cumbria were usually Presbyterian, but many joined the churches influenced by the Evangelical Union and the Scots Congregationalists with the result that the churches at Kendal, Cecil Street Carlisle, Wigton, Blennerhasset, Windermere, Troutbeck Bridge and Whitehaven had a Scottish flavour to their work through members and ministers⁸. It was the off-coming Scots who marked Cumbrian Congregational life with their beliefs and their attitudes and made their churches the undoubted forces that they were.

Carlisle came to possess three Congregational churches all with Scottish links. The original Dissenting meeting of the 1650s gave birth to both Presbyterian and Congregational churches during the eighteenth century, but by 1781 the Annetwell Street church, previously supplied by Scottish Congregational preachers from Glasgow, had all but died out and Lady Glenorchy purchased it⁹.

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8. For Methodism in Scotland which was founded and run from Carlisle see J. Burgess 'Methodism in Dumfries' Transactions of the Dumfries and Galloway Natural History and Antiquarian Society 3rd series vol. 1v 1980 pp.144-149; J. Burgess 'The Carlisle Mission to Scotland' Journal of the Scottish Branch of the WHS vol12 1980 pp.3-8.
9. Wilhelma Campbell, viscountess Glenorchy, 1741-1786, founder of a small group of Dissenting churches including Carlisle, and rescuer of Dissenting churches which had fallen on hard times.

She was responsible for the founding or refounding of a number of English Congregational churches, including that at Workington, and paid for preaching at Annetwell Street until the formal creation of a church in 1786¹⁰. The covenant entered into by the members who signed it was a counter to the growing trend towards Unitarianism within English congregations, and a statement that the chapel would always be held for services of Presbyterian or Congregational preachers and members who agreed to submit to the authority of Lady Glenorchy or her appointed trustees. In 1791 the first permanent minister, John Hill, was appointed, but he left for Ravenstonedale the following year and there was the usual problem for a poor congregation of finding an able man willing to work for small financial rewards. Not until 1814 was a permanent minister recruited.

John Whitridge was at Annetwell Street from 1814 to 1819, and became a far-ranging and widely successful evangelist¹¹. His Sunday schools were the leading establishments of their type in the city, and under his charge the congregation was given the premises by the Glenorchy trustees on condition that the endowment of £20 per year was forfeited¹².

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10. There is no history of Cumberland Congregationalism; for North Lancashire there is B. Nightingale Lancashire Nonconformity (1888) which covers the churches at Barrow, Dalton, Grange over Sands and Ulverston, and also the Westmorland churches at Kendal, Kirkby Lonsdale, Windermere, Milnthorpe, Ravenstonedale and the others; and T. Whitehead History of the Dales Congregational Churches (Bradford 1930) which covers east Westmorland.
11. J. Thomas and C. Porteous Memorials of Lowther Street Congregational Church 1786-1936 (Carlisle 1936) p. 11.
12. Memorials of Lowther Street p. 12

The Scottish involvement continued after Whitridge left for Shropshire when Thomas Woodrow came to Annetwell Street in 1820. He had been trained at Glasgow and encouraged preachers from that city, including the eminent ones like Wardlaw, to visit Carlisle ¹³. A number of Scots came to Carlisle during Woodrow's ministry and joined the church, and this trend continued under Percy Strutt, the minister who replaced Woodrow in 1835 ¹⁴. Woodrow had built up membership to over one hundred and thirty, and Strutt and his members decided to replace the old Annetwell Street building with a more central and imposing one in the newly developing western side of the city. After months of disagreement, the few wealthy members who wanted a large and expensive edifice persuaded a small majority of members to push for the project against the advice of others ¹⁵. About a third of the membership seceded with Strutt because they opposed the major expense involved in the task.

Just as Strutt and his followers set up services in the town hall during 1837, one of the city's most important Quakers, the banker George Head of Rickerby, left the Quakers over the Beaconite issue ¹⁶. Head was attracted to the town hall services

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13. Wardlaw, Ralph, one of the great Scottish preachers of the day (1779-1853), a former Secession Church minister .
14. Strutt, unlike his predecessor, had been trained at the Highbury college, London, whilst it was a Dissenters' college; it was later taken over for the training of Anglican clergy. See above p. 70
15. D. Hamilton MS History of Charlotte Street Congregational Church, Carlisle, 1880, pp.1 ff
16. See below p.352 ;Head was an evangelical who disagreed with the Quietism of the Quakers; Hamilton MS History p.8.

and agreed to pay for a new place of worship for the use of Strutt and his followers. Building commenced but suddenly Head pulled out of the agreement, cancelled the building, compensated those involved, and joined the Church of England for worship in 1837. Strutt gave up his work, the congregation dispersed, whilst back at Annetwell Street Robert Wolstenholme took over ¹⁷. Head abandoned the town hall congregation because of their radical political views, which were shared by the Annetwell Street church; Head was a Tory, and later treasurer for the constituency party ¹⁸.

Nichol of Edinburgh was eventually appointed architect for the ambitious new church in Lowther Street, but the estimated cost of £2000 had soon risen to over £4000 after the building committee argued constantly amongst themselves, and the builder and Nichol were suspected of collusion to increase the price ¹⁹. There was a long and tedious delay when the earl of Lonsdale, the landlord, refused permission for the church to front onto the street, and the issue was only settled because John Blaylock, a prominent Annetwell Street member, approached the earl's agent, Christopher Wannop, and made some agreement ²⁰.

17. Head financed interdenominational church work at Patterdale and through the Friends and Promoters of Sabbath Schools Mutual Instruction Society in Carlisle, the minute books for which are in the possession of Mr. J. Little of Carlisle. I am grateful to Mr. Little for allowing me access to these and to the records of Charlotte Street church.

18. See below pp.352-354.

19. Hamilton MS History of Charlotte Street p.9

20. Bribery may have been involved; Blaylock was a ticket machine manufacturer who made his fortune through the railways.

Late in 1842 the strain of the project and a debt of £2500 proved too much for Wolstenholme and he resigned. The interval between one man leaving and the arrival of a new one was always hazardous to membership, and half of the one hundred and forty were lost through resignation and simple drifting away. The new minister was Henry Wight, a distinguished Edinburgh preacher and formerly a lawyer, who was tempted to Carlisle by the support given to a series of teetotal lectures at the church by Sir Wilfrid Lawson of Brayton ²¹.

Lawson was one of the few major landowners of the region to be a convinced evangelical, and the only one to be the holder of Nonconformist principles ²². After conversion to active religious effort he had used his considerable fortune in land and collieries to promote Nonconformity, and in particular Congregationalism, the Evangelical Union, and teetotalism. Many of his ideas and interests were continued by his son, a member of parliament ²³. Lawson not only paid for Wight's services in Carlisle during 1842 and the printing and distribution of ten thousand teetotal leaflets, but acted as guarantor of the Lowther Street debts ²⁴.

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21. H. Escott A History of Scottish Congregationalism(Glasgow 1960) provides details on many Scots preachers who worked in Cumbria. I am grateful to Dr. Escott for advice and information about Wight.
22. See below pp.419ff ;Sir Wilfrid the first baronet of the new creation appears in his son's biographies: W.B. Luke Sir Wilfrid Lawson(1900), G.W.E. Russell Sir Wilfrid Lawson:A Memoir(1909)
23. See below pp.419ff.
24. Hamilton MS History of Charlotte Street pp.11-17

Lawson provided a mortgage of £1000 for Lowther Street trustees in 1843, became a trustee himself, guaranteed a £500 debt owed on the site, and in 1845 guaranteed a further debt of £900 owed to Joseph Addison, a wine and spirit merchant ²⁵. Witnesses to these and other transactions included the Brayton estate agent, J.W. Hetherington, and the Brayton chaplain and Blennerhasset minister, J.O. Jackson. Wight stayed in Carlisle for only three years, during which time he became notorious in the area for his attacks on the Church of England, his radical politics, and his teetotalism ²⁶. He was succeeded by Absalom Clarke who came on trial, stayed just weeks, and was finally forced out by members who preferred a Nuneaton minister called Eustace who announced that he required no stipend because of his own private wealth ²⁷. A row developed, Eustace refused to come, and after a year without a minister during which many members were lost, Thomas Hind was called in late 1847.

Given the rapid recruitment that had taken place under Wight, a year without a settled minister, and the several cliques operating at Lowther Street, it was not surprising that Hind was not able to prevent secessions. One disaffected party left during 1848 and met for two years in rooms in Fisher Street, preached to by a Mr Rowe, but applied to come back to Lowther Street in 1850 and were refused readmission ²⁸. These seceders were Calvinists who did not

25. I am grateful to Mr. J. Barton of Carlisle for access to these items in his keeping

26. Hamilton MS History of Charlotte Street pp.16-17

27. Hamilton MS History of Charlotte Street pp.17-18

28. Thomas and Porteous Memorials of Lowther Street pp.27-29;
Hamilton MS History of Charlotte Street pp.18-19.

approve of Hind's lax discipline of members or of his admitting people to membership without due examination and trial. At the same time, a smaller but ultimately more successful secession took place of Arminian members who were mainly Scottish and later built the Cecil Street Evangelical Union church ²⁹. Hind left for Workington in 1854 and was succeeded at Lowther Street by W.A. Wrigley.

Wrigley was one of the longest serving Cumbrian ministers, but not at Lowther Street where his brother went into partnership with John Blaylock. A quarrel occurred between the two during 1857 which involved Blaylock as a deacon and Wrigley as minister, and which resulted in Wrigley seceding with a large minority of the membership in January 1858 ³⁰. With no central or mediating body to step in to help, a Congregational church might easily suffer such disputes which plagued Lowther Street. The result was that Wrigley formed a new and successful church in Charlotte Street which robbed Lowther Street of future members ³¹. Brief pastorates, a succession of unordained evangelists, the closure of the church for repairs, all damaged Lowther Street over the following two decades.

29. One minute and record book for Cecil Street remains, in Mr. Barton's hands, with a MS history of the church included.

30. Hamilton MS History of Charlotte Street pp.19 ff

31. H. Smith High Minded Men: the story of the foundation of Charlotte Street Congregational church Carlisle (Carlisle 1958) ; the records for Charlotte Street are in the hands of Mr. J. Little of Carlisle, to whom I am grateful for help and access. Lowther Street records are in the CRO DFC/CL/7/1, but the most important items remain in Mr. Barton's hands.

Lowther Street church declined into the smallest of the city's three congregations, but its fortunes were partly restored by Isaac Teasdale when he switched membership for no apparent reason in 1874 from Charlotte Street to Lowther Street . He was the founder and owner of an expanding confectionery concern and had recently moved to a large and imposing house in Norfolk Road, which was much nearer to Wrigley's church than to Lowther Street.³² Teasdale's gifts included annual cash amounts to make up ministerial stipends, £200 towards the cost of £350 in repairing the church, £200 towards the £240 needed for a new organ, £700 towards a new manse in 1910, and a large legacy in his will four years later³³ . Pastorate remained short, but the church recaptured something of its former prestige under two men: Alfred Killon, and Edward Booth³⁴ .

Killon arrived in 1897 from Nelson, a man of private means who did not make great calls on the financial resources of the members, and who proved a popular city preacher. He died aged forty seven in 1909. Booth took over Killon's public role and showed how important a minister might be with a formidable list of posts:

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32. The business continues as part of Penguin Limited.
33. Thomas and Porteous Memorials of Lowther Street pp.22-24.
34. The ministers were : John Hill 1787, Christopher Hill 1808, John Whitridge 1814, Thomas Woodrow 1820, Percy Strutt 1835, Robert Wolstenholme 1837, Henry Wight 1843, Thomas Hind 1847, W.A. Wrigley 1855, Ninian Wight 1858, J.B. French 1864, R.H. Smith 1868, J.R. Bailey 1873, J.J. Williams 1878, John Thomas 1884, A.E. Killon 1897, Edward Booth 1910, Charles Porteous 1927.

secretary of the Cumberland Congregational Union, member of the Congregational Union council, chairman of the Carlisle Free Church Council, and of the Sunday School Union, secretary of the local branch of the London Missionary Society, inspector of the city's schools with two Anglican clergymen, chaplain to Nonconformist troops stationed in the area during the war, and mission leader to the Gretna munitions works ³⁵. He was a conspicuous speaker on liberal party platforms, on behalf of the League of Nations, and on behalf of teetotalism.

Due to the influence of Sir Wilfrid Lawson, the seceders from Lowther Street in 1848 who did not seek to rejoin Lowther Street in 1850, had joined the Evangelical Union. Lawson's chaplain James Samson had formed them into a church and paid all necessary expenditure ³⁶. The EU had been established in 1843 when the Secession Presbyterian church had expelled Robert and James Morison, and shortly afterwards their friend and supporter John Guthrie, for their refusal to accept Calvinist doctrines ³⁷. The Morisons and Guthrie became the new denomination's leaders but found that their Arminianism prohibited working closely with the Scottish Congregational churches who like the Presbyterians remained Calvinistic at that date ³⁸.

35. Undated memoir of Booth in the church records.

36. Cecil Street minute and membership roll book 1854-1872 includes a MS history.

37. The Worthies of the Evangelical Union being the lives and labours of deceased Evangelical Union ministers (Glasgow 1883) is a history of the EU ; see also Escott Scottish Congregationalism chapter 11.

38. See table 22 p. 299.

The teetotalism of all EU members and ministers had immediately attracted Lawson's attention, and once Cecil Street had been formed as a church his interest in Lowther Street dwindled and had ceased by the repayment of his loans in 1857. Lawson paid for a succession of EU leaders to preach in Carlisle, usually for a week or more of active work, and numbering Fergus Fergusson, John Kirk, Hugh Biddell, John Guthrie of Kendal, and Guthrie's successor there William Taylor³⁹. Lawson

thought it well for the ministers from a distance to conduct the services that they might appear in connection with no church but solely for the benefit of the town.⁴⁰

The result was that

It brought the church into a somewhat prominent position and tended to increase her membership and influence in the city.⁴¹

John Whitson was installed as minister and Lawson paid for several of his tracts and sermons to be published and distributed, including ones on death and EU doctrines which were issued in editions of six thousand. In 1859 the Cecil Street building was opened and according to all accounts was largely paid for by Lawson⁴².

39. See below p. 295

40. Cecil Street MS history p.3

41. Cecil Street MS history p.3-4

42. This appears in the records and press but there is no other proof.

The church suffered some dissension in 1861 when three deacons and twelve members were expelled over their attempts to reduced Whitson's stipend, and a year later the death of Whitson's wife and children led to a crisis only resolved when he resigned suddenly in 1864⁴³.

Whitson wrote:

I may say that for the past few years I have felt painfully dissatisfied with the state of the church and the results of my pastoral work ... I need not conceal the fact that in this I have been greatly and grievously disappointed... At an interview with the managers on Wednesday I was given to understand that the temporal interests of the church are neither so healthy nor so prosperous as I conceive they ought to be ...⁴⁴

There is no comment in the minutes about the role, if any, played by Lawson, but after an investigation which cleared the managers and deacons of responsibility for difficulties a simple note in the minutes records that Whitson had been mentally unwell for some time and that his departure was welcomed⁴⁵.

43. Cecil Street church meeting 7 September 1861; Cecil Street MS history pp.9-10

44. Cecil Street church meetings 8 and 9 March 1864

45. Cecil Street church meeting 27 March 1864 there is a letter from Whitson to the congregation.

Lawson was thanked in 1865 for a gift of £100, and again in 1866 for £185 towards extinguishing the church debt. In 1868, a year after Lawson's death, it was noted by the deacons and managers that he had given a further £335 towards the final debt clearance of £520⁴⁶. Cecil Street was the poorest of the three congregations in the city, though Lawson had been responsible for raising the ministerial stipend from £60 in 1856 to about £200 in 1867⁴⁷. The third Congregational church, Charlotte Street, seems to have owed nothing to Lawson.

Wrigley and his followers from Lowther Street had first held services in the Mechanics Institute and the West Walls school before being offered a prime site in the developing suburb of Denton Holme, across the river Caldew⁴⁸. The price of the site where Milbourne Street meets Charlotte Street was only £180, and the members decided to ask the county architect and surveyor, J. A. Cory, for plans⁴⁹. The English Congregational chapel building society refused to sanction the plan for an £1800 building because it lacked potential for further expansion, so a number of architects were approached before the choice fell on Nicholson of

46. Cecil Street church meeting 10 October 1866 and annual accounts 1868.

47. See table 19 p.228

48. Smith High Minded Men is the official history; Hamilton MS History of Charlotte Street is a first-hand account since Hamilton was a Lowther Street member in 1835 before seceding. The first Charlotte Street minute and roll book contains a MS history of the church 1848-1891.

49. Charlotte Street MS history 1848-1891, no pagination.

Halifax. However the estimated expenditure of £1800 was exceeded by over £1000 by the date of opening the church in 1862, and the delay led to the loss of over half of the original seceders ⁵⁰. Wrigley was fortunate in possessing, as did so many ministers in Cumbria, private means to augment his meagre stipend. He remained at Charlotte Street until 1885 when he retired to a part-time pastorate at the small Silloth church ⁵¹. At Carlisle Wrigley was fortunate in that he attracted by his preaching an important group of families who made Charlotte Street arguably the single most important congregation in the city. These were employers' families who showed concern for the plight of the several thousand unemployed textile workers during the American civil war of the 1860s by financing special schools for the children, organising entertainments, providing free food, clothing and firewood, and putting emphasis on the care of young women ⁵².

Charlotte Street church was strategically well sited on an island surrounded by three roads and placed between the Denton Holme factories, the workers' terraced homes and the centre of Carlisle. Church life was characterised by harmony, prosperity and co-operation which comes clearly through the large number of minute books ⁵³.

50. Of the original 48 seceders, 20 died as Charlotte Street members, 12 resigned, 4 left the area, 6 joined other churches.

51. See below p. 288

52. David Hamilton, a customs officer, William Maxwell, seedsman and draper, and Hamilton's brother Robert, a Congregational minister on leave, were Wrigley's main early helpers.

53. In the hands of Mr. Little; Hamilton MS History of Charlotte Street pp. 24-28.

There were fundamental differences between the three Carlisle congregations, each having its own particular attractions for people. Cecil Street was the most inclined towards religious devotions, such as extra services, prayer meetings, and outdoor worship, tending to revival meetings where the other two held evening entertainment ⁵⁴. Lowther Street was for many years the most political of the three, with prominent liberal or radical ministers and members, and rather less of the social life which characterised Charlotte Street. Lowther Street was in the centre of the city and may have been more difficult for transport in the evenings. Cecil Street and Charlotte Street were conveniently placed in the vicinity of large residential areas, though the former was in the railwaymen's sector and the latter near to the employers' homes along the Dalston Road. All three churches were strongly teetotal, though it was never a test of membership and the EU assumed all members and ministers would be nothing else ⁵⁵.

Lowther Street always possessed some men of wealth and social standing like the Blaylocks and Teasdales, but its secessions and expulsions played havoc with recruitment and as many members were expelled between 1840 and 1880 as died in membership ⁵⁶.

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54. Lawson's support for Lowther Street lessened and then disappeared once the wholly teetotal Cecil Street was established, which congregation also was less political and more devout.
55. Mr. Little has a number of broadsheets and programmes concerning the social life of the churches, which was extensive.
56. 26 members died and 25 were expelled according to the incomplete membership lists.

As many as a fifth of the members were domestic servants with the usual imbalance of females ⁵⁷. At least one manufacturer helped Cecil Street: James Phillips, a soda water manufacturer, but the typical members were railway workers like engine driver George Simpson, clerks such as George White, and printworkers like George Pattinson. There were some more educated members - John Gordon was a teacher, and some quite prosperous ones- Robert Armstrong was a draper, but there remained large numbers of women in membership who outnumbered the men ⁵⁸. As in all three churches, unskilled workers like labourers were unknown.

Charlotte Street however attracted the wealthy men. It also had large numbers of female members who worked at members' factories, whilst the employers who attended worship always had an eye for a likely looking worker ⁵⁹. Robert and James Buck owned the nearby Atlas shirt works, Joseph Hepworth was the borough engineer and his son F.N. Hepworth became chairman and managing director of Hudson Scott, the region's largest single employer ⁶⁰. The Redmaynes of Wigton removed to Carlisle in 1877 and their tailoring establishment rapidly expanded ⁶¹. The Cavaghans and Grays were partners in the

57. See table 23 p.301

58. Cecil Street church roll

59. I am grateful to Mr. and Mrs. Little for details on the families involved.

60. Hannah Moses, secretary to F.N. Hepworth, was instructed by him to write a MS history of Hudson Scott, which under his rule became Metal Box Limited and remains the city's largest firm. The MS history is in the Jackson library.

61. Redmaynes has recently closed down but a great great grandson of Samuel Redmayne has reopened in a small way at Warwick Bridge.

main pig slaughtering and products firm of the city, and sat by each other in church ⁶². These were the major employers at worship in Charlotte Street; there were also many shopkeepers who filled the pews. Todds the cloggers, Cummings the book shop owners, Carruthers the ironmongers, plus John Burrell, the manager of Chance Brothers coffee tavern, and the Creighton family, builders and timber merchants ⁶³. By the turn of the century Charlotte Street members contained a wealthy group of employers and tradesmen who outshone the other two congregations.

Carlisle then showed city Congregationalism: the other type in Cumbria was the rural church or the small town church. Churches such as Hayton, Allonby and Blennerhasset have left scarcely a minute book or accounts ledger of their work, but all had resident ministers and Blennerhasset possessed a long history and tradition of Dissent dating from the seventeenth century. The Lawsons of Brayton had the Blennerhasset ministers as their household chaplains and employed a succession of retired but eminent EU men to mission the Brayton estate and colliery workers, and the railway families at Baggrow ⁶⁴. Congregational churches were independent of each other, but ministers regularly co-operated even before the days of Home Missions and county Congregational unions.

62. The firm is now Cavray and the largest of its kind in Europe.

63. Bishop Mandell Creighton seems to have been no relative, though his family lived in the city.

64. See below p.426 ; Baggrow was a settlement just outside the village of Blennerhasset, both in Torpenhow parish.

Archibald Jack of Whitehaven and Mather of the Cockermouth church were aiding James Gouge to establish a Congregational church in Aspatria during 1824⁶⁵. Brayton was a mile or so distant but it was in the days before Sir Wilfrid Lawson's conversion, and there were only eleven members belonging to the church by 1827. Fortunately Gouge had private means and was able to open a small place of worship with trustees recruited from the churches at Wigton, Workington, Cockermouth, Aspatria and Blennerhasset⁶⁶. Ministers came for just a few years, could not live on the stipend, and removed, drained, to the south or midlands and wealthier posts⁶⁷. Once the Lawson family were members in the 1840s recruitment was rapid, but so too was turnover with a third of the hundred or so members annually leaving the church⁶⁸. By the 1860s Aspatria was running the congregations at Hayton, Allonby and Plumbland, with preaching places at New Cooper and Harriston. The occupations of the membership was unusual for Cumbrian Congregationalism in that it numbered many labourers, miners and farmers, and with the support of the Lawsons seemed to be attracting people from many classes of society with least support amongst the middling ranks⁶⁹.

65. Aspatria church minute book provides a MS history, CRO DFC/2/16

66. The trustees were men of substance, CRO DFC/2/16.

67. Gouge 1824/1832, William Selbie 1832/1841, Jonah Reeve 1841/1845, William Knight 1846/1850, Henry Perfect 1850/1852, James Black 1852/1859, George Wallace 1860/1864.

68. Aspatria church rolls are in DFC/2/16 and 17, 1819/1920.

69. See table 20 p.292

The Lawsons might make Blennerhasset and Aspatria into almost the established churches of the locality through their patronage, but many congregations lacked such influential support. Silloth had been a preaching place during the summer in the 1850s when the little port came into being due to the railway and dock development and its links with Carlisle businessmen ⁷⁰. It was typical of the severely restricted development of Cumbrian holiday resorts that a hamlet of six fishermen's cottages in 1850 should only have grown to a modest settlement of one thousand people by the 1900s. The first resident minister was Henry Perfect who sought to recuperate after breaking down at Aspatria, but he only had a membership of thirteen and the chapel debt stood at £750. When he left in 1870 J.J. Thornton, the new man, turned into a Swedenborgian within months: the congregation told him that this did not affect their views, and asked him to continue as their minister ⁷¹. Until Wrigley retired to the resort in 1885 there were repeated crises, short ministries, tales of neglect, immorality and drunkenness, disputes with the county union, and of supplies coming from a distance ⁷².

Wrigley discovered that the church had to be refounded by his own work and the membership in 1890 consisted of five invalids, four housekeepers, a seaman and his wife, a washerwoman, seven

70. Silloth church meeting minute book contains a MS history of the church, CRO DFC/C1/29.

71. Entry in MS church history for 1872: 'Mr. Thornton was much loved by his congregation'.

72. It seems that Wrigley wrote the church history since the hand and that of the Charlotte Street history are the same.

lodging house owners, two labourers, a lighthouse keeper and his wife, a coal agent, farmer, baker, two servants and twenty hearers ⁷³ . Not one of the members was employed on the railway or at the port or in Carr's mill; an Anglican incumbent appointed by the Simeon Trust, resident and active Presbyterian, Primitive and Wesleyan ministers, restricted the potential of the Congregational church. Wrigley was able to retire once more in 1900 back to Carlisle and another twenty years of healthy work ⁷⁴ .

There were strong Congregational churches in Whitehaven, Workington, Brampton and Cockermouth, less strong ones but as enduring church at Keswick, and a few village churches which relied on one or all of these to maintain their preaching. Ones like Wigton attracted Scottish ministers, either of the Congregational Union or from the EU, and these Scots worked throughout the county ⁷⁵ . Congregational churches were rather fewer and less important in Westmorland and North Lancashire, though the exceptions were at Kendal, Barrow and Windermere ⁷⁶ .

73. Silloth church roll 1890 CRO DFC/CL/29

74. Where he wrote The New Creation: a Poem (Carlisle 1908)

75. CRO for Whitehaven DFC/CL/1/1-110; Parton DFC/CL/2/1-17; Cockermouth DFC/CL/6/1-6; Park Head, Gamblesby and Kirkoswald DFC/CL/11-15; mention has been made of some Lowther Street, Carlisle, DFC/CL/7/1-4; Cumberland District of the Lancashire Congregational Union are DFC/C2/1-10.

76. For Barrow see below pp.477ff; for Windermere see above p.213. See table 21 p.298 for Scottish ministers in the county.

Ravenstonedale was the nearest that Dissent in the county had reached on the way to becoming the established faith of a parish because of the support of the Whartons and of later landowners for the High Chapel ⁷⁷. In Kendal the old Presbyterian congregation had become Unitarian, which had resulted in a secession to establish a new Presbyterian church in 1763, which in turn had lost most of its members when James McQuhae abandoned the Presbyterians and established his own Independent church ⁷⁸. This church eventually built a church in New Street but never flourished and was kept in obscurity by the new EU cause of 1843.

The Kendal Presbyterians had been in the doldrums until the influx of Scots in the 1820s and 1830s brought some vigour to the cause ⁷⁹. The Secession church provided ministers and the arrival of John Guthrie in 1840 promised great advances for the members ⁸⁰. This hoped-for recovery did not happen because Guthrie supported the stance of his friends Robert and James Morison in holding to the truth of universal atonement when this was incompatible with Calvinist theology. Guthrie became the theologian of the new EU

77. See below p. 505

78. C. Nicholson The Annals of Kendal (Kendal 1861) pp.165-166

79. J. Inglis Reminiscences of the United Presbyterian Church of Kendal for one hundred years(Kendal 1865)

80. Worthies of the Evangelical Union pp. 265-384 for Guthrie's biography; his books include A Manual of Church Government ... (1846), The New Views True Views(Edinburgh 1843) which is an attack on the United Secession church, and New Views as old as the Word of God(Edinburgh 1843).

Table 20Occupational structure of Congregational churches: membershipKendal Zion 1843 - 1857:

Domestic servants	54
Drapers	13
Manufacturers unspecified	7
Teachers	7
Shopkeepers	44
Manufacturers specified	19
Skilled workers	34
Unskilled workers	0

Aspatria Congregational 1914

Miners	13
Farmers	7
Teachers	4
Tailor, blacksmith, shoemaker	2 each
Labourer, engine driver, butcher, Milliner, dressmaker, builder, clerk, mason, confectioner	1 each

Sources: Kendal Zion membership roll; Aspatria membership roll

Table 20 continuedOccupational structure from baptismal register:

Aspatria baptismal register 1852-1882:

	<u>baptismal entries total</u>	<u>children of members</u>
Labourer	44	31
Miner	38	28
Mason	41	31
Blacksmith	19	14
Engine driver	11	9
Coachbuilder	11	9
Farmer	12	10
Shoemaker	8	4
Watchmaker	6	4
Tailor	6	4
Cordwainer	6	4
Clogger	5	3

Under 5 entries for: clothier, teacher, minister, scripture reader, painter, joiner, colliery steward, grocer, engineer, quarryman, gamekeeper, husbandman, grazier, waller, clerk, builder, milliner, buttonmaker, gardener, shopkeeper

Table 20 continuedKirkby Stephen Congregational 1836 - 1865

Carrier	1	Clerk	1
Manufacturer	1	Spinner	1
Mason	3	Accountant	1
Painter	3	Nailmaker	2
Farmer	1	Station master	1
Servant	4	Sadler	1
Grocer	3	Gatekeeper	1
Tailor	2	Dressmaker	2
Cooper	2	Miller	1

Cecil St. Carlisle Evangelical Union 1848 - 1872

Wives or daughters of other members	58	teacher	4
Domestic servants	28	commercial trav.	5
Joiners	12	milliners	7
Engine drivers	11	dressmakers	7
Printers	9	manufacturers	7
Railwaymen	8	factory hands	8
Marble masons	6	skilled workers	29
Shoemakers	6	shopkeepers	13
Clerks	6		

Sources: Kirkby Stephen membership roll; Cecil Street membership roll

church and brought Kendal into a prominent position in the movement. The Kendal church never officially joined the EU, unlike Carlisle and a congregation in Manchester, but it remained one of the four English places committed to EU beliefs and to all intents was as involved as member churches⁸¹. Guthrie led one hundred members out of the Presbyterian church and left only thirty remaining; during 1844 he opened a new chapel largely thanks to the support of the Whitwell and Somervell families⁸².

The Whitwells had once been Quakers who left that denomination in the 1830s and were attracted by Guthrie's preaching into membership first of the Presbyterian and then of the new Zion EU chapel. Isaac and Edward Whitwell were owners of a large woollen mill and made carpets and figured prominently in Zion's minute books as officials. The Somervells were expatriate Scots who had been attracted to Kendal by the prospects in shoemaking; by 1860 they employed over three hundred people in what became K Shoes Limited⁸³. Over the next seventy years fourteen Somervells and ten Whitwells were members of the Zion church.

The Scottish Congregational Union and the EU churches were sources of substantial help to the Kendal church, sending a regular flow of preachers and workers to the town including the Morisons and other EU ministers⁸⁴. J.A. Coombs, the Congregational minister

81. The fourth was at Huddersfield.

82. The cost was £1250; KRO WDFC/C1 for the Zion records.

83. J. Somervell After Ninety Years: the Evolution of K Shoes
(Kendal 1932)

84. See above p. 280 ; the same men were working in Carlisle.

resting at Ambleside from exertions in Manchester, not only founded the Ambleside church but aided the Zion members; so too did Sir Wilfrid Lawson⁸⁵. Zion's sole crisis came over the work of Guthrie as professor of theology at the Kilmarnock EU training college, where he resided for two months per year. Henry Hewetson and other members resigned in protest at a majority of members wishing Guthrie to resign as professor and to concentrate on Zion, but after months of compromise Guthrie sadly left for Scotland at Christmas 1848⁸⁶. His professorial stipend was still paid for by the Somervell family, who had originally provided much of the money for the college⁸⁷.

Guthrie was succeeded by William Taylor who was only twenty five and who stayed at Zion until 1880⁸⁸. By the 1860s Taylor had a membership of four hundred and fifty and an average of three hundred and fifty at monthly communion⁸⁹. The Somervells were promoting work at Troutbeck Bridge and providing schools and services at Crook and Stainton, and Zion was prominent in town life to an

85. See below p.426 ; Nightingale Lancashire Nonconformity p.298

86. KRO WDFC/C1 Church committee meeting minutes 9 June 1847, 16 June 1847 and later.

87. F. Ferguson A History of the Evangelical Union(Glasgow 1876) p.365

88. See above p. 216 ; Zion Bazaar Souvenir(Kendal 1904) provides a brief history of the church.

89. KRO WDFC/C1 Church meeting minutes record the membership and attendances.

extent which overshadowed the Methodists and the Presbyterians. After Taylor's removal to Windermere and the new Carver memorial church, pastorates continued to be settled and successful ⁹⁰. Membership reflected the usual imbalance of females, with over twelve hundred entries of members between 1843 and 1949 ⁹¹. A handful of manufacturing families, a larger group of tradesmen and shopkeepers, led the church, with few who were labourers or unskilled appearing in membership. Teetotal work continued to be at the centre of church life, and the members supported the repeated attempts of Sir Wilfrid Lawson, second baronet, to introduce restrictions on the sale of alcohol. When the Carlisle State Management Scheme was implemented during 1916 Zion church hoped for its extension to cover the country and gave

wholehearted support for the National Campaign for the prohibition of manufacture, or sale, of intoxicating liquor in the United Kingdom during the maintenance of the war, and for six months thereafter. ⁹²

In illustration of the continuity of Zion's membership and work, the chairman of this meeting was W.H. Somervell, chairman of K Shoes and Zion deacon.

90. Ministers at Zion continued to come from Scotland; see table 22 p.299; see also above p. 214

91. See table 23 p 301; KRO Church rolls 1843-1894 and 1895-1949.

92. WDFC/C1 Church meeting minutes 28 June 1916; see below pp.429ff.

All of the Cumbrian Congregational churches were proud of their links with the seventeenth century even when they were indirect or tenuous. The small village congregations like the larger urban ones saw their progress from the Commonwealth of the 1650s through to the twentieth century as a continuous thread. Some Cumbrians appreciated the need to be part of an independent church, one owing nothing to others, dependent on nobody, with its future in the hands of the membership. Nonetheless there remained the varying importance of off-comers, migrants who brought so much to the county in religious terms, and above all the impact of the Scots in giving Cumbrian congregations so many members, deacons and ministers ⁹³. The Scots migrants who filled the pews in some Congregational churches returned to their native country, whilst others removed to other parts of the county or of England ⁹⁴. The EU and Scottish Congregational ministers often simply used Cumbria as a starting point for English pastorates, though many returned to Scotland at some point in their careers and invariably on retirement ⁹⁵. The larger congregations in Carlisle and Kendal could offer stipends higher than most other Nonconformist churches, but a majority of congregations offered meagre rewards for a life of dedicated evangelistic application ⁹⁶.

93. See table 24 p. 301

94. See table 21 p. 298 and table 22 p. 299

95. See table 17 p. 222

96. See table 19 p. 228 ; for Anglican comparisons see above pp. 139-149.

Cumbria was a low-income area.

Table 21

Men serving Cumbrian Congregational church^{es} and who were trained at
the theological hall of the Scottish Congregational churches, Glasgow

<u>Ministers</u>	<u>church</u>	<u>date</u>
J B Bell	Ulverston	1877-1911
J B Clark (born Cockermouth)	Keswick	1931- ?
A Galbraith	Whitehaven	1866-1876
J Hamilton	Bootle	1848- ?
A Jack	Whitehaven	1819-1834 (chairman Congregational Union of England 1857)
R T Johnston	Cockermouth	1910-1915
T Lessel	Bootle	1853-1861
A McDougall	Kendal	1925-1933
J Samson	Blennerhasset	1845-1857
R H Smith	Carlisle	1867-1873
R Wilson	Cockermouth	1843-1848
J Wylie	Kirkby Lonsdale	1927-1929

Note: A T Gowan born Whitehaven 1811, professor at the theological hall; G M Smith born Barrow 1887; M F Peterson served as curate of Ambleside 1904-1907 and of Grasmere 1909-1922 after several Congregational pastorates; all trained at the theological hall.

Source: list prepared from notes of Harry Escott, MS 1973

Table 22Evangelical Union ministers serving in Cumbria

<u>Ministers</u>	<u>church</u>	<u>date</u>
J Adam	Carlisle	1874-1890
W Adamson	Windermere	1895-1907
J Hume	Carlisle	1892- ?
A Nairn	Whitehaven	1876- ?
W Park	Troutbeck	1868 - ?
	Carlisle	1864-1868
J H Paterson	Kendal	1886 - ?
J Spaven	Troutbeck	1870-1878
T G Taylor	Kendal	?-?
W Taylor	Kendal	1849-1885
	Windermere	1885-1895
W Thornbeck (born Kendal)	Barrow	? - ?
J Whitsun	Carlisle	1854-1864
A Wilson	Carlisle	1869-1873
G Young	Wigton	? - ?

Note: D Jackson, J Peill, W Thornton born Staveley, Kendal, and entered ministry; T Robinson born Blennerhasset and entered ministry.

Source: List of men who trained at the theological hall of the Evangelical Union, Kilmarnock and Glasgow, prepared by Harry Escott, MS 1973

The membership seemed to attract women, married and unmarried, and to have an appeal to skilled workers and businessmen of varying wealth ⁹⁷. In some churches a Congregational cause might almost be the established faith of the parish, and so involve the population in its work that the Church of England played a subsidiary role.

The occupational structure of such a church would incline towards being representative of all of the trades and skills of the locality rather than being the preserve of the restricted few ⁹⁸. The wealth of a few churches was great, and Charlotte Street and Zion, Kendal, were outstanding in later Victorian times as the members included industrialists and manufacturers who employed thousands; yet the usual Cumbrian church was quite poor and small, and there was a startling contrast between a church like Silloth and one as eminent as Zion, Kendal.

The off-comer was vital to Cumbrian Congregational development, whether Scottish or English migrant, in Carlisle, Whitehaven or Windermere ⁹⁹. Native churches like Ravenstonedale always owed at least something to locals who had left the area in search of work but who chose to keep links with their home parish ¹⁰⁰. For the Presbyterians too there was an admixture of native Dissenting churches which had to come to terms with a large influx of migrants.

97. See table 20 p.291

98. See table 20 p.291

99. For Barrow in Furness churches see pp. 494ff.

100. See p.519 for Ravenstonedale.

Table 23Congregational churches: percentage of female members

	<u>Female members percentage</u>	<u>male members percentage</u>	<u>date</u>
Kendal Zion	68	32	1843-1895
Aspatria	58	42	1890-1914
Kirkby Stephen	62	38	1836-1865
Cecil St. Carlisle	61	39	1848-1872

Sources: church membership rolls

Table 24Congregational churches: place of origin or removal

	<u>Origin of members</u>		<u>place of removal by members</u>	
	<u>Kendal Zion</u>	<u>Cecil St.</u>	<u>Kendal Zion</u>	<u>Cecil St.</u>
Scotland	24	28	9	23
Lancashire	8	2	12	21
Yorkshire	2	5	5	5
Colonies/USA	-	-	11	8
London	-	-	6	6
Cumberland/ Westmorland	-	11	7	31

Note: 295 names for Kendal and 368 for Cecil St. in church membership;

The Presbyterians

Proximity to Scotland had brought Cumbria the perpetual threat of war, border raiders, and the disruption of normal life for centuries, and the insecurity had only ended in 1746. Thereafter it was possible to take advantage of the opportunities offered to commerce and industry in England, whilst the Scots moved south in search of work and settled in some numbers in the towns and ports of Cumbria¹. The migrants brought their Presbyterianism with them, starting new congregations or joining the old native churches which had survived by recruiting successions of Scottish ministers. Just as Congregationalism was affected by the Scots, so the Cumbrian Presbyterian churches were taken over by the migrants. It was as drastic a change as the Irish influx into native Roman Catholicism.

There were several shades of Presbyterian churchmanship in Cumbria as in the country as a whole. In 1780 there existed the Church of Scotland, as well as the Secession Church of 1733 and the Relief Church of 1761; the great disruption of 1843 brought into being the Free Church of Scotland². The issues which gave birth to these new Presbyterian bodies were invariably patronage and the interference of the state in church affairs. During 1847 the Relief and Secession Churches united to create the United

1. See A.L. Drummond and J. Bullock the Scottish Church 1688-1843 (Edinburgh 1973) and The Church in Victorian Scotland 1843-1874 (Edinburgh 1975); G. Bolam ^{J. Goring} H. Short and R. Thomas The English Presbyterians (1968)

2. For the different secessions see G.C. Cameron The Scot's Kirk in London (Oxford 1979) pp. 239-243

Presbyterian Church, which existed side by side with the Free Church and Church of Scotland congregations until 1876 when all but a few united to establish the Presbyterian Church of England which effectively ended English disharmony.

Carlisle was one of the most Scottish-influenced places in England, and it was to be expected that thriving Presbyterian churches would exist there before 1780. The Presbyterians of the 1650s had formed part of the Dissenting meeting in the city but in the eighteenth century separation occurred and the Fisher Street Secession building opened in 1737; in turn it was rebuilt and enlarged in 1856 and 1895³. Other Presbyterians in the city were attached to the old Annetwell Street congregation which under Lady Glenorchy had found a new lease of life as an Independent church⁴. This small body of Presbyterians left Annetwell Street and joined with dissatisfied Fisher Street members to create a new church in Abbey Street premises. The arrival of large numbers of Scots due to railway construction encouraged the Church of Scotland to set up a new church in Carlisle in the 1830s which ultimately opened a place of worship in Chapel Street.

At the disruption of 1843 the Chapel Street congregation left the Church of Scotland for nine years but returned to its fold in 1853, where it remains today. Fisher Street was unaffected and became part

3. I am grateful to Ms Margaret McConnell for the loan of her MS entitled 'the Presbyterians in Cumberland'; for Carlisle see pp. 50-55, my pagination.

4. See above p.272; Annetwell Street became Lowther Street Congregational.

of the new United Presbyterian Church after 1847, though there were several short-lived Presbyterian congregations in the city not at peace with either this church or Chapel Street ⁵. In 1863 these unaffiliated Presbyterian elements in the city formed their own church in Warwick Road, and became known as St. George's Presbyterian Church of England ⁶. In the first annual report the church committee stated the reasons for their commencing the church:

In the month of May of last year five or six friends holding the principles of the Free Church of Scotland combined for the purpose of taking into their consideration the state of religion in Carlisle and its vicinity and more especially the want of a Free Church there. They found that little over three thousand was the number of church going people in Carlisle from a population of about thirty thousand.

It was further roughly estimated that nearly a third of the population was either Scotch or of Scotch descent and consequently should be Presbyterian. A few families of Irish and English Presbyterians were also found, and out of this number about five hundred only attend the two Presbyterian churches ... ⁷

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5. I am grateful to the Rev. Dr. D. Cornick for advice and the use of his thesis: 'The Expansion and Unification of the Presbyterian Church in England 1836-1876' University of London Ph.D. 1982
 6. I am grateful to Mr. I. Moonie for access to the church records.
 7. First annual report of St. George's, entered in the Kirk session minutes; the Free Church became known as the Presbyterian Church in England from 1843 until the union of 1876.

Warwick Road church was the most evangelistically inclined of the city's three Presbyterian congregations and eagerly sent senior members in twos to visit houses in well organised outdoor work. After the arrival of William Reid in 1866 Warwick Road became the largest in Cumbria with over two hundred and fifty members by 1870 and including the Laing and Carr families⁸. Reid established a separate mission in rented rooms and preached to packed audiences until it became apparent that his mission was not under strict Presbyterian control and order but resembled an interdenominational Christian assembly. The Presbyterians refused to continue to support Reid's initiative and he resigned to become leader of the Brethren meeting in the city⁹.

J. Howie Boyd replaced Reid in 1873 after working with Moody Stewart in Edinburgh. Boyd remained in Carlisle until his death in 1918¹⁰. By the 1890s Boyd had established three missions in the growing suburbs of Etterby, Blackwell and Newtown, had an assistant minister and two full-time evangelists, and a monthly communion attendance on average of nearly six hundred members. Warwick Road remained the largest Presbyterian cause in Cumbria, and Boyd was the influential spokesman of the denomination in the city in all matters political, religious and educational¹¹.

8. See below p. 366 ; the Carrs and some of the Laings became Brethren.

9. Extracts of the Cumberland Presbytery are in the Kirk sessions 1867-1872.

10. Kirk Sessions 1916-1918 record Boyd's achievements; also an entry for 8 December 1918 records his obituary.

11. I am grateful to Mr. J. Middleton of Heads Nook for his memories of Boyd and of later ministers there.

There was little in common between the large city congregations mainly supported by Scottish off-comers, and the rural native churches. Penruddock was the type of seventeenth-century English foundation which continued into the twentieth century with few members. It was situated in Greystoke parish, one of the largest of the county, and had been established by a puritan rector, Richard Gilpin, in the 1650s¹². Attempts by a Scottish minister, Andrew Rattray, to take the congregation into the Scottish Congregational Union failed though the membership was otherwise contented with his thirty-year pastorate¹³. After his death in 1829 the members drew up a covenant to state that the church was to remain Presbyterian.

Salkeld too was a creation of the 1650s, with a succession of local men serving it until families removed or died out and the little congregation employed Lancashire pastors¹⁴. Timothy Nelson was minister from 1801 to 1830, originally born in the parish and possessing some land and a small private income to supplement his stipend which never rose above £40 per year¹⁵. His successor, George Chapman, was the sort of pastor who suited the parish: quiet, retiring, scholarly, kind, no preacher or evangelist, but a man dedicated to the welfare of his members and who spent nearly fifty

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12. I am grateful to Mr. T. Dodd of Penruddock for placing his notes on the history of the church at my disposal; J.H. Colligan 'John Noble of Penruddock and notes on Penruddock church', JPHSE vol.1 1914-1919 pp128-134.
13. McConnell MS Cumberland Presbyterians provides a history of each church and lists of all ministers, but no sources.
14. J.H. Colligan 'Great Salkeld Presbyterian Meeting House' Trans CWAAS NS vol. 7 1907 pp.41-54
15. McConnell MS Cumberland Presbyterians pp. 87-95.

years in the post ¹⁶ . His stipend never rose above £40 per year and he was glad to have a manse and land provided by Timothy Nelson's daughters. By the time of his death in 1881 Salkeld, Plumpton and Penruddock had all come under the Penrith church.

The centralising of Presbyterianism from the villages to the towns was a sign of the failure of the rural churches to regenerate membership in the face of depopulation. Penrith church had found it easy enough to recruit local ministers until the eighteenth-century ministers developed Unitarian sympathies which did not suit the Cumbrian churches. Kendal of course became Unitarian under the Rotherams, who had trained a number of ministers born in the Penrith area and belonging to the Noble, Lowthian, Threlkeld and Nelson families ¹⁷ . The threat to orthodox Calvinists was enough to send deputations from Penrith and other congregations in search of orthodox Scottish preachers ¹⁸ . Henry Thomson was one man thus recruited and he served Penrith from 1791 until his death in 1861, an influential minister who led the congregation to victory over the trustees for control of the building and its uses ¹⁹ .

16. McConnell MS Cumberland Presbyterians pp.71-83.

17. J.H. Colligan Penrith Presbyterian Church (Penrith 1908)

For Kendal Unitarians see below p. 317 ; Dr. Caleb Rotheram and his son Caleb were successively ministers in Kendal.

18. B. Nightingale The Ejected of 1662 in Cumberland and Westmorland (Manchester 1911)2 vols. is a history of the growth of Dissent in the two counties from the 1640s until the early eighteenth century.

19. Thomson and some other Presbyterian ministers have brief biographies in the URCHS library, London, which provide dates etc

As with most Nonconformity Westmorland possessed few Presbyterian congregations except in Kendal, where under the ministry of Caleb Rotheram junior the members became Unitarian whilst the orthodox Calvinists amongst them seceded in 1763 to form a new Presbyterian church ²⁰. This new body enjoyed little expansion until the work of Alexander Marshall, Robert Wilson, Henry Calderwood and John Guthrie between 1825 and 1843 raised membership and brought to worship a number of former Quakers ²¹. Guthrie was expelled from the Secession church in 1843 and became a major force within the new Evangelical Union, whilst leaving only thirty members in the old Presbyterian building ²². As with other Kendal denominations, this remnant eventually recovered and expanded during the Victorian years but it only managed to reach the membership of 1840 over fifty years after Guthrie's secession. The worshippers were generally Scottish off-comers who were in trade or business in Kendal but who maintained their links with Scotland ²³.

Other off-comers from Liverpool, Preston and Manchester financed Presbyterian missions to Barrow in Furness in the 1860s which resulted in the establishing of two churches ²⁴. Elsewhere

20. See below p.319 ;F.Nicholson and E. Axon The Older Nonconformity in Kendal (Kendal 1915)

21. M. Grey Presbyterianism in Kendal: a historical sketch (Kendal 1908)

22. See above p.290

23. J. Inglis Reminiscences of the United Presbyterian Church of Kendal for one hundred years (Kendal 1865)

24. See below p.494

in North Lancashire Presbyterian churches were lacking, but north along the coast to West Cumberland there was a group of churches established in the old ports and dating from the seventeenth century. Workington meeting had been started by workers imported by merchants, but there were two secessions which established a rival meeting between 1778 and 1784, and between 1847 and 1849. These two were temporary affairs, but another secession in 1821 created a permanent rival to the Church of Scotland with a Secession church ²⁵. The latter became United Presbyterian, its parent became Free Church, but after the union of 1876 it was only a crisis over falling membership which led to a local reunion in 1889.

Both Whitehaven and Maryport possessed two Presbyterian meetings arising out of original Scottish and English migrants bringing their religion with them, and then falling out during the eighteenth century. Whitehaven's two were described locally as the Scotch and the English meetings, because of their respective characteristics ²⁶. Union between the two took place only in 1895, and at Maryport in 1888 ²⁷. Further along the coast the church at Silloth was only permanently started in 1880, whilst Wigton's meeting was dying out and its remnants united with the Congregational church ²⁸.

25. McConnell MS Cumberland Presbyterians pp.84-116 for the area.

26. J.H. Colligan 'The Old Meeting Whitehaven' JPHSE vol.2 1920-1923 pp. 142-146; C.M.H. Day 'Whitehaven Presbyterian church' JPHSE vol. 8 1944-1947 pp. 42-56.

27. F.C. Glover 'A brief history of the ... Presbyterian church Maryport' JPHSE vol. 6 1936-1939 pp.233-237.

28. McConnell MS Cumberland Presbyterians pp. 112,116.

The pattern of Scottish settlement invariably affected the history of Presbyterian meetings ²⁹. However the border country was inhabited by people with an ancestry in both countries and who might change religious adherence for no particular or obvious reason. Kirkandrews on Esk and Stapleton were two such parishes in which families attended whichever was the nearest place of worship in either country ³⁰. Bewcastle was another, bounded by Kirkandrews on the north west, Stapleton and Lanercost on the south, Northumberland on the north east and Scotland in the north. It comprised twenty seven thousand acres of largely marginal agricultural land divided into the townships of Bewcastle, which contained the parish church, Nixons, Belbank and Baillie. In 1777 it was described as possessing only one non-Anglican family, who were Quakers; within ten years half of the parish was to look for religious needs to a new Presbyterian church.

The first minute book of the Presbyterian church records:

About three years ago in 1785 and upwards John Robson of Highhouse in the parish of Abbey Lanercost dissatisfied with the Worship Discipline and Government of the Church of England under whose patronage he sat apprehended that a Presbyterian Meeting House according to the Establishment of the Kirk of Scotland which he apprehended more agreeable to Scripture and his own

29. See table 17 p. 222

30. Nightingale The Ejected of 1662 vol.1 pp. 292-296.

conscience would be useful in or about the parish of Bewcastle in order to instruct the ignorant and render the morals of the place more agreeable to the Laws of Christianity; accordingly he made his mind known there ⁿ ~~agent~~ to George Routledge of Raw in the parish of Bewcastle ... 31

So the meeting was started and the farming community were easily enrolled. This is the only instance in Cumbria of a Presbyterian church being so established in a rural area. The lord of the manor was the owner of Netherby hall, Sir James Graham, the major landowner of the parish ³². The other landowners were non-resident: Sir Wastel Brisco in London, the Farrars and Charltons in Northumberland. About one third of the inhabitants lived within three miles of the parish church, or resident in Bewcastle township and neighbouring Nixons, whereas Baillie and Belbank contained the villages of Roadhead and Oakshaw. The people were largely farming families, shepherds, a few labourers and several families employed on the small-scale lime and coal workings ³³. Few farms in Baillie township were nearer than seven miles to the parish church along some of the wildest roads in Cumbria, so that a religious rival would have a resident congregation.

31. Bewcastle session minutes 1788; the first 8 pages are a history of the church.

32. See below p.666 ; father of Sir J.R.G. Graham.

33. I am grateful to Mrs Aurea Telford of Bewcastle for putting at my disposal her researches on the parish.

The Anglican incumbent of Bewcastle had a stipend of only £120 per year in 1835, which had risen only to £180 by 1892 in spite of owning the rectorial tithes ³⁴. The patrons were the dean and chapter of Carlisle who sent a succession of learned but undistinguished clergy to a quiet life for thirty or forty years and from where they rarely moved ³⁵. The parish was at one time infamous for the freebooters who had included two former rectors, and there remained a division between the southerly Bewcastle township and the northerly Belbank and Baillie townships. The former looked to England, the latter to Scotland for all services, education, and recreation ³⁶. In spite of this division, the parish was an inter-bred, close-knit community in which occupational demarcation was unusual and the only specialists were the shepherds.

Why the new meeting should be formed in 1785 is unknown. The significance of 1785 locally was the marriage of the new owner of Netherby, Sir James Graham, to Lady Catherine Stewart, daughter of the earl of Galloway, and perhaps more importantly the closure of the parish church for seven years whilst it was rebuilt.

34. See above pp.139ff; this was above average in 1835, below in 1892.

35. Parish church history

36. This division continues today, with the southern half of the parish looking towards Carlisle and Brampton, the northerly half crossing to Newcastleton, Annan and Dumfries. I am grateful to Mrs Telford and her church members for their advice in this matter.

Presumably the dissatisfied parishioners took advantage of this in order to start preaching more in accordance with their own desires. William Lauder became the first resident minister in 1788 and a church was soon opened at the Knowe built on land given by Thomas Dixon, one of the Netherby estate workers ³⁷ . The meeting's records from the beginning show that it was very much the established church for the community, but there were rarely extra-religious activities which characterised other non-Anglican bodies. The church members ran a school in rivalry to the Anglican one at Bewcastle village, but there was little in the way of missionary or evangelistic work and organisation.

Elders usually numbered three with six managers of the property, and all were chosen from the farming families ³⁸ . In 1857 there were ninety members of whom twenty four were farmers, usually tenants, with seven shepherds, a teacher, maid , two farm hands and a public house keeper ³⁹ . The remainder were their families, apart from the shepherds who were all unmarried and were recognised as normally single ⁴⁰ . This level of membership, with this social composition, was maintained throughout the nineteenth century and there were one hundred members in the 1930s.

37. MS history of the church in Mrs Telford's hands; Mrs Telford has written The Knowe United Reformed Church(no date or place)

38. Mrs Telford's census returns have been employed; Communion rolls exist.

39. Communion roll 1857-1872

40. The church records are in Mrs Telford's hands and recently, since this was written, suffered some losses in a house fire. The author has copies of them.

The lack of concern with temperance and the opposition to teetotalism within the congregation at the Knowe was marked throughout the church's history. This was typical of some Presbyterian meetings but not of Nonconformity in general ⁴¹. The turnover in membership was also low compared with other churches where the population of off-comers quickly came and as easily left. In many Methodist societies there was a turnover of fifteen to twenty five percent per year, but at Bewcastle only ten percent of the members between 1857 and 1880 left the locality and did not die as members ⁴². However nearly all of those who left the area were young married couples, which eventually affected the birth rate.

From 1788 to 1800 there were on average eighteen baptisms per year; this rose to thirty per year from 1801 to 1820, forty per year from 1821 to 1840, but declined to twenty from 1841 to 1870, and down to seven from 1871 to 1900 ⁴³. The church community never recorded any disciplinary measures with members over alcoholic offences at a time when other denominations readily expelled or suspended. However there was a permanent problem over sexual impropriety with the guilty members invariably pleading guilty and being admonished ⁴⁴.

41. See below p. 419

42. Kirk session books 1788 onwards contain the communion rolls.

43. Kirk session books contain the baptisms to date.

44. Kirk session minutes record these; the accused usually had married since the offence.

Bewcastle pastorates were divided between short and long ones, a minister either moving on because the stipend and circumstances were unpromising, or settling for life because he fitted in with the community ⁴⁵. The best remembered man was George Mossman, who married one of his congregation, Catherine Goodfellow, and settled into the manse for over thirty years ⁴⁶. Mossman never enjoyed more than £100 per year, plus a free manse, but he like other ministers received a supply of fuel and food from the community and participated in farming life to the full. He had some private income and was sufficiently affluent to go abroad for holidays. After several weeks in Norway he wrote a book about his travels there ⁴⁷.

Mossman, like all of the ministers at Bewcastle, came from Scotland. His off-coming was the more acceptable because he married a local farmer's daughter, and he was aided in the building of a new church in 1891 by one man who had found his fortune working abroad: Sir Joseph Ewart ⁴⁸. Ewart's family had farmed in Bewcastle parish for several centuries and Joseph Ewart was sent to train at Edinburgh for medical practice. He rose to the rank of deputy surgeon general in India before retiring to Brighton with his unmarried daughter.

45. Kirk sessions contain brief biographies of each minister.

46. Mossman ordained 1881, died at the manse 1910;4 children.

47. Three hundred mile tour of Norway(1894)Presbyterian publishing house. I am grateful to the Telford family for information.

48. Ewart is given a full coverage in Brighton Society 28 January 1893, a journal devoted to society gossip, fiction and the doings of the town.

Ewart maintained a summer home in Bewcastle but for health reasons remained in Brighton, where he was alderman, magistrate, prospective parliamentary candidate, and mayor 1891-1894. His politics were not those of his family, who were followers of the Grahams, by the 1880s solidly tory, whereas he was a Gladstonian⁴⁹. His brother and father sold the family farm in Bewcastle because of mounting debts, but Ewart bought it at auction and gave it back to them. It was Ewart's money which paid for the new church and ^{parent} generosity to Mossman and the local Presbyterians was well known.

The Bewcastle Presbyterian minister was acting as the parson of the parish and the manse was the alternative to the parsonage. Circumstances had forced the old Dissenting communities of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries to decide on being either Congregational or Presbyterian; most chose the former and remained Dissenters or Nonconformists. A few meetings chose to be Presbyterian and looked upon their meeting as the established place of worship for their parish. The large influx of Scots reinforced this division, leaving a few English Presbyterian churches with seventeenth-century roots, and a majority of the congregations either Scottish Presbyterian or entirely Congregational⁵⁰. In one way it was the Scottish impact within both denominations which prevented the growth of Unitarianism in Cumbria.

49. See below p.622 ff.

50. Nightingale The Ejected of 1662 deals with these divisions throughout his book.

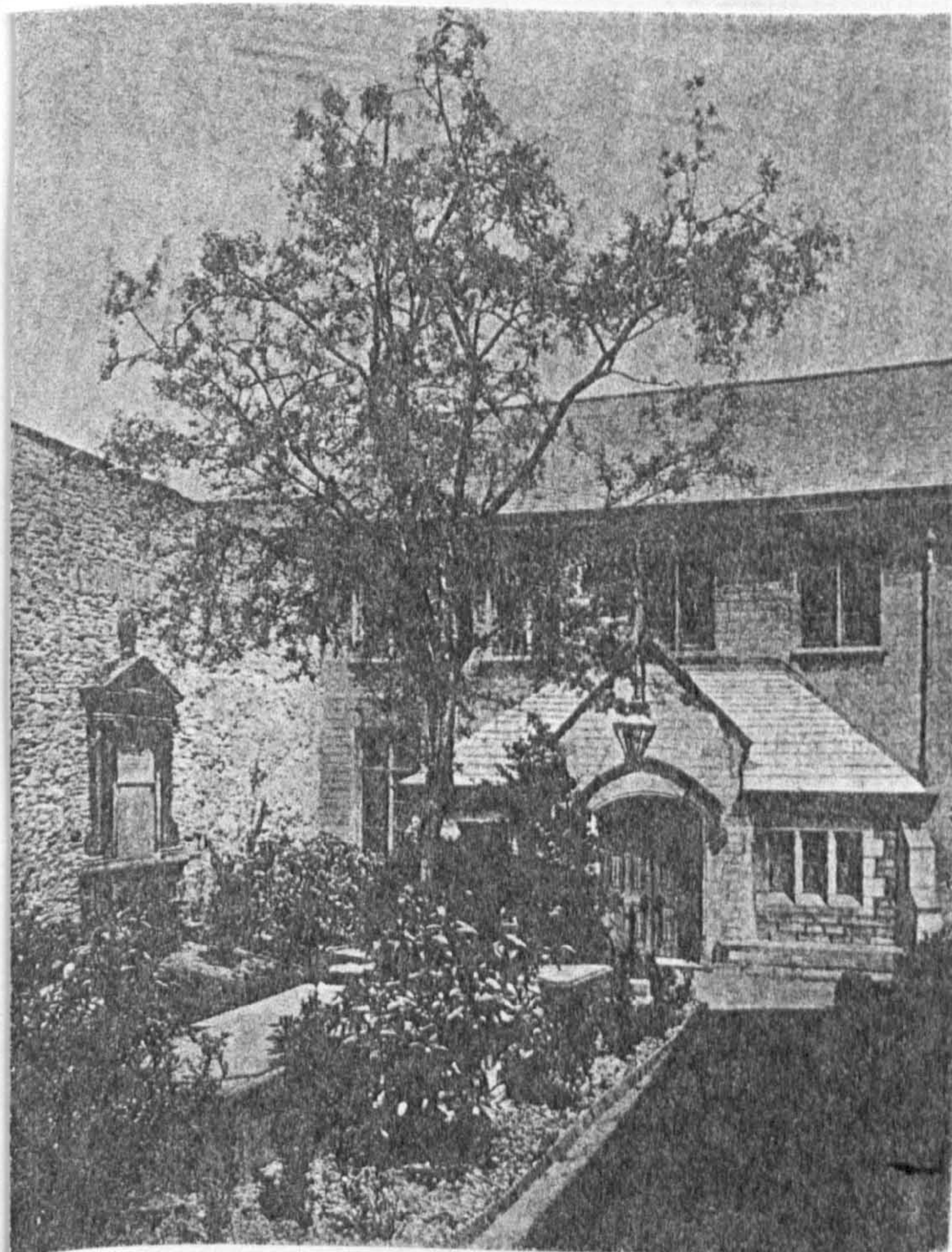
The Unitarians

The Unitarians possessed an unenviable reputation for their beliefs which denied the divinity of Christ and seemed to be so closely identified with radical political views in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. The denomination's sole stronghold in Cumbria was at Kendal, arguably the most sophisticated and advanced of north western towns and with an impeccable Dissenting pedigree from the 1650s¹. There were other Unitarian congregations and preaching places, but the old Market Place church remained the important one.

Through a succession of ministers including Richard Frankland the Kendal Dissenters had flourished more than others in Cumbria to become the wealthiest and most numerous of the region, and maintaining links with the Lancashire congregations long after most Cumbrian meetings had turned to Scotland². Caleb Rotheram, like Frankland the founder of an influential academy, had continued the leading of the meeting into the ranks of those churches who were to become Unitarian³. Two years after his death, Rotheram's son, also Caleb, took over the pastorate and completed the process in the 1760s⁴.

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1. F.Nicholson and E.Axon The Older Nonconformity in Kendal (Kendal 1915).
 2. Nightingale The Ejected of 1662 vol.2 pp.1285 ff.
 3. Nicholson and Axon The Older Nonconformity pp.292-329 for Rotheram, minister 1716-1752; pp.113-198 for Frankland, minister 1672-1687.
 4. Caleb junior, minister 1754- 1796.

The Market Place Unitarian chapel, Kendal, built 1721



to be an influx of wealthy Unitarian families to live in the Lake District who brought to bear further off-putting influences on the Kendal setting.⁵

5. Nicholson and Aron *The Older Generation* p. 242.

6. F. Nicholson 'Kendal Unitarian chapel and the Revolution' *From CHAS NS vol. 5 1905* pp. 172-181.

7. Nicholson and Aron *The Older Generation* p. 242.

8. See also p. 321; HBO WDFC/U for the *Historical Record* which are almost complete in their coverage after 1800.

A secession of orthodox Calvinists in the 1760s made little difference to the Market Place meeting and there were over two hundred hearers including a dozen gentlemen, fifteen county voters and a number of tradesmen ⁵. Kendal's Unitarianism developed out of its close links with Lancashire congregations, its distance from Scotland and lack of Scottish migrants unlike other Cumbrian towns, the wealth of the community which characterised few Cumbrian places, and the political independence of the town when Whitehaven's Dissenters were meekly subservient to the earls of Lonsdale. Kendal Dissenters enjoyed lengthy and stable pastorates which marked them out from the rest of the region where poverty and short ministeries were usual. The two Rotherams brought a succession of preachers from Lancashire to the Market Place pulpit and the community possessed trading and family links with the Liverpool and Manchester Unitarians ⁶. Robert and Samuel Nicholson were just two of the many Liverpool boys despatched for training at Rotheram's academy; they were related to the Blackstones of the Kendal congregation and their family was prominent in anti-slavery work ⁷. In the next century there was to be an influx of wealthy Unitarian families to live in the Lake District who brought to bear further off-comer influence on the Kendal meeting ⁸.

5. Nicholson and Axon The Older Nonconformity p. 296

6. F. Nicholson 'Kendal Unitarian chapel and its Registers'
Trans CWAAS NS vol.5 1905 pp.172-181.

7. Nicholson and Axon The Older Nonconformity p.329

8. See below p.321 ; KRO WDFC/U for the Unitarian records which are almost complete in their coverage after 1800.

Table 25Trustees of the Unitarian chapel, Kendal 1719 - 1868

<u>Trustee</u>	<u>residence</u>	<u>occupation</u>	<u>date</u>
S Williamson	Natland	yeoman	1719
J Harrison	Kendal	yeoman	1719
E Blackstock	Kendal	merchant	1719
J Moore	Kendal	mercier	1719
T Strickland	Kendal	cordwainer	1719
W Collinson	Kendal	mercier	1719
E Holme	Kendal	wool draper	1737
M Harrison	London	gentleman	1737
R Wilson	Kendal	shearman	1737
J Williamson	Natland	yeoman	1737
B Wilson	Kendal	weaver	1737
J Harrison	Kendal	innkeeper	1737
J Strickland	Kendal	cordwainer	1737
J Dodgson	Kendal	grocer	1737
G Carlyle	Kendal	doctor	1755
T Dodgson	Kendal	mercier	1755
R Harrison	Kendal	tanner	1755
T Gibson senior	Kendal	weaver	1755
W Gowthrop	Kendal	tanner	1755
B Atkinson	Kendal	shearman	1755
G Birkett	Kendal	shearman	1755
W Strickland	Kendal	pewterer	1755
J Ainslie	Kendal	doctor	1782
T Holme	Kendal	mercier	1782
J Thomson junior	Kendal	merchant	1782

Table 25 continued

<u>Trustee</u>	<u>residence</u>	<u>occupation</u>	<u>date</u>
I Steele	Kendal	dyer	1782
S Gowthrop junior	Kendal	hosier	1782
E Holme	Kendal	grocer	1782
M Whitaker	Kendal	tobacconist	1782
T Cookson	Kendal	merchant	1815
J Whitaker	Kendal	tobacconist	1815
T Relph	Kendal	saddler	1815
E Harrison	Kendal	son of minister	1815
J Gough	Kendal	teacher & philosopher	1815
A Fothergill	Kendal	cardmaker	1815
W Patten	Kendal	weaver	1815
J Braithwaite	Kendal	flourdealer	1833
G Hinde	Kendal	gentleman	1833
C R Greenhow	Kendal	gentleman	1833
G R Greenhow	Kendal	ivory comb manufacturer	1833
T Webster	Kendal	druggist	1833
W Jolly	Kendal	shopkeeper	1833
J Pearson	Kendal	canvas manfr	1833
T Ainsworth	Ulverston	gentleman	1833
J Greenhow	Kendal	gentleman	1868
J Robinson	Kendal	plumber	1868
R Atkin	Kendal	weaver	1868
R B Lee	Kendal	newspaper proprietor	1868
E Robinson	Kendal	leather merch- ant	1868
W Thornely	Windermere	gentleman	1868
A Thornely	Windermere	gentleman	1868
R D Holt	Windermere	gentleman	1868

Table 25 continued

<u>Trustee</u>	<u>residence</u>	<u>occupation</u>	<u>date</u>
P Bateman	Kendal	dyer	1877
J Crossley	Kendal	iron moulder	1877
S Naylor	Kendal	warehouseman	1877
J Tyson	Kendal	bank porter	1877
W Bolton	Kendal	tailor	1877
M Hodgson	Kendal	tailor	1877
J Barwise	Kendal	maltster	1877
F Lamb	Kendal	gardener	1877

Rotheram's successors included John Harrison, minister from 1796 to 1833, and Edward Hawkes, from 1833 to 1866⁹. The congregation reached a peak of town influence under these two men as their involvement in municipal and parliamentary politics bears witness¹⁰. Harrison was an important critic of the Lowthers in the elections of 1818, 1820 and 1826 and carried his congregation into the Brougham camp¹¹. Hawkes was a radical in political work in Kendal and became leader of the chartists in the town as well as mercilessly harrying those members of the town council who were not radical enough. George William Wood was Kendal's member of parliament from 1837 until his death in 1843, and as a Unitarian his work was generally supported by the Market Place meeting, although if his resolve to attack the tories and the Church of England ever weakened then Hawkes and the editor of the Kendal Mercury, George Lee, immediately assailed him¹². Lee was editor of the reform newspaper from 1835 until his death in 1862, and had been a Unitarian minister in Boston before taking his Kendal post and giving voice to his political beliefs.

9. Nicholson and Axon The Older Nonconformity pp. 366-394, 402-427.

10. Harrison, minister 1796-1833, born 1761, minister at Lancaster 1781-1795; Hawkes, minister 1833-1866, son of a Unitarian minister, educated at Glasgow university, married Jane Greenhow of Kendal.

11. S. Brown 'The Growth of middle class leadership in Kendal society and its influence in politics' University of Lancaster M.A. 1971.

12. D. Tate 'The Kendal elite: their cohesiveness and their challengers 1855-1885' University of Lancaster M.A. 1976.

Wood, previously member for south Lancashire, a Manchester merchant, son of a Unitarian minister in Leeds.

Unitarian influence in Kendal reached its peak between 1830 and 1845, a time of intense political and religious activity, of successive crises for local Quaker, Wesleyan, Presbyterian and Congregational churches and meetings, and of instability in urban affairs ¹³. Once matters quietened down, once Kendal was no longer the scene of political contests because the Lowthers had relinquished their stronghold to the reformers and retired ^{from} Westmorland politics, and once the denominations had started to enjoy expansion and stability rather than secession and turbulence, then the Market Place ministers lost their urban leadership. Even the members realised that their meeting's power was on the ebb ¹⁴.

Of course the Unitarians in Kendal remained important, but so much of the vigour and enterprise in religious initiative passed to the EU, or to the Wesleyan and Primitive Methodists, and to the rejuvenated Presbyterians and Anglicans ¹⁵. Market Place church income seemed to be reduced, the local wealthy men and their families were failing to continue to worship there, and it was hard to find suitable trustees. Baptismal and burial registers are inconclusive so far as members' occupations are concerned, but the mid-Victorian members were certainly less

13. See above p. 308 ; see below p. 351.

14. Nicholson and Axon The Older Nonconformity p. 428

15. See above pp. 290ff ; below pp. 371ff ; the church records are deficient in signs of energy, urgency, and sense of involvement in the community after 1850.

Table 26Entries in the Unitarian chapel, Kendal register of burialsOccupations:

<u>1780-1790</u>	<u>1790-1800</u>	<u>1800-1810</u>	<u>1810-1830</u>
dyer	mercerc(2)	surgeon	surgeon
tailor(2)	weaver (4)	others not	tailor
tanner (2)	ropemaker	given	clerk
shoemaker (2)	draper (3)		few others
baker	gardener (2)		given *
draper	dyer (2)		
hosier (3)	servant		
weaver	soldier (2)		
minister	woolcomber		
gardener	mantua maker		
barher	cardmaker		
	tanner (2)		
	minister		

* note that for 1800-1830 the register names are composed of many family names of the trustees and officials of the chapel but without occupations

Table 27Entries in the Unitarian chapel, Kendal baptismal registersOccupations

<u>1780-1800</u>	<u>1800-1820</u>
surgeon (2)	surgeon (3)
shoemaker (6)	no others
clerk (2)	listed *
merchant (5)	
dyer (4)	
weaver (6)	
soldier (5)	
hosier (6)	
gardener (3)	
tobacconist (3)	
hookmaker (3)	
ropemaker (2)	
cordwainer (2)	
workhouse inmate	
cooper (3)	
woolcomber	
mantua maker	
minister	

*note : after 1800 parental occupation rarely given

those of

public or wealthy figures than a meeting like the Brethren ¹⁶ . The church relied upon the support of rich off-comers: Thomas Roddick, a Liverpool merchant who had a country estate at Arnside and who died there in 1855, and the Thornely brothers who had retired from their Lancashire business to the shores of Windermere ¹⁷ . It was distinctly advantageous to the meeting to possess men as rich as R. D. Holt, a Windermere Unitarian and Kendal trustee, in membership, or to have former members who had left the area leave the church a legacy - as did Edmund Holme, a leading Manchester physician and native of Kendal who left the Market Place church £1000 in 1847 ¹⁸ . The off-coming members and especially the Lancastrians propped up the old Kendal Unitarian community ¹⁹ .

In the rest of Cumbria the Unitarians were few, though there were the various off-comers like Harriet Martineau and the Lancastrians already mentioned ²⁰ . One noteworthy planting of Unitarianism occurred in West Cumberland thanks to the Ainsworths of Cleator Moor, who were descended from Lancastrian migrants to the region.

16. See tables 25-27 pp.320ff; the full registers are in the KRO.

17. Nicholson and Axon The Older Nonconformity pp.507-531 for the biographical details of trustees. Links between Kendal families and national Unitarianism were as noteworthy and important as those within Quakerism.

18. Nicholson and Axon The Older Nonconformity p.418; the church contains a number of memorial tablets.

19. It remains today the only one in Cumbria.

20. Martineau of course left Unitarianism in later life.

H.A.L. Rice Lake Country Portraits(1967) pp.95-108.

Thomas Ainsworth had acquired interests in the Cleator Moor linen-thread mill in 1837 shortly after his marriage, and already owned the Penny Bridge flax spinning mill in Furness ²¹. His mills and industrial investments prospered and in the early 1860s he was one of the early and successful haematite ore producers using local ore and making his iron works into a major West Cumberland concern. Thomas's sons David and John came into the business, and the family encouraged Unitarian preaching in rooms set up at the Cleator mill. The Lancashire and Cheshire Unitarian and Presbyterian society provided an array of talented men to work the new meeting, and all were guests at the Ainsworth's home, the Floss ²². James Martineau, William Gaskell, Scott Porter, Charles Beard and Page Hopps were among the preachers who visited the area, paid for by the Ainsworths.

At the same time as encouraging their own denominational interests, the Ainsworths were eager to promote the work of less fortunate people, and in particular the Roman Catholics who were flocking to the Cleator Moor industries ²³. Catholic priests were invited in to work with their members on business premises, and a Catholic school paid for. The local gentry and industrialist rivals to the Ainsworths—the Lindows, Stirlings and Burns—did not appreciate such religious tolerance. They were industrial, political and religious rivals to the Unitarian, liberal, teetotal Ainsworths ²⁴.

21. C.Caine Cleator and Cleator Moor past and present(Whitehaven 1916)pp.118,210ff.

22. Caine Cleator and Cleator Moor p.309.

23. Caine Cleator and Cleator Moor pp.54, 148.

24. All were involved in the iron mining business, all were Anglican and tory.

Thomas Ainsworth had three sons, of whom William became a Unitarian minister and teetotal worker, gaining experience for national affairs by buying up the public houses in Cleator and Cleator Moor and turning them into non-alcoholic refreshment houses for workmen ²⁵. David, the eldest, succeeded to the Floss and defeated tory candidates in West Cumberland elections during 1880 and 1892 ²⁶. He purchased the imposing mansion known as Wray castle which overlooks Windermere and continued the family businesses. John maintained his Cumberland concerns and became high sheriff of the county in 1891, was created a baronet in 1917, and sat as liberal member for Argyllshire from 1903 until 1918 ²⁷.

Thomas Ainsworth disliked sectarianism and his views were incompatible with the permanent creation of Unitarian meetings which demanded a stronger denominational approach. He bought the parish tithes in 1842 when the Braddyll family sold the manor of Cleator, and then he never asked for payment, whilst the British schools found in him a ready source of finance ²⁸. It was typical of Thomas Ainsworth's generous sympathies that he could donate £100 towards a new parsonage when the patron of the living, the earl of Lonsdale, could only manage £25 ²⁹.

25. Caine Cleator and Cleator Moore pp.369-383.

26. Caine Cleator and Cleator Moor pp. 423-425.

27. Caine Cleator and Cleator Moor pp. 433-434

28. Caine Cleator and Cleator Moor pp.37,266.

29. Caine Cleator and Cleator Moor pp.394-395; for the political work of the family see below p. 671ff.

Part of the Ainsworths' political circle in the 1870s included George Howard, future ninth earl of Carlisle, who dallied with Unitarianism for some years but then abandoned it ³⁰. The only Unitarian congregation in the north of the county was centred on Carlisle yet nothing to do with Howard. The Losh family of Wreay were gentry with extensive business and industrial interests in the north east of England, and John Losh, high sheriff of Cumberland in 1811, was a partner in the Walker alkali works in Newcastle ³¹. He was an Anglican and one of his two daughters, Sarah, was responsible for building Wreay church ³². John Losh's brother, James, was a Unitarian who became a distinguished northern lawyer, recorder for Newcastle, and a political ally of Henry Brougham ³³. Yet there was no hint of Unitarianism in Carlisle until Sarah Losh's cousin, William Losh, inherited the Wreay estate.

William Losh had one son, James, who after graduating at Durham became vicar of Ponsonby after ordination by Henry Villiers. James Losh was appointed diocesan inspector of schools by Harvey Goodwin, but during the 1870s left the Anglican fold and became a Unitarian. Thanks to him a congregation was formed in Carlisle where he sometimes officiated in the face of strong opposition from dean Francis Close and the other trinitarian clergy ³⁴.

30. See below pp.580ff.

31. Lonsdale's Worthies of Cumberland (1873) pp.140-238

32. See above p.110 ; A.Hall Wreay (Carlisle 1929) *throughout*.

33. E.Hughes ed. The Diaries of James Losh (1956) 2 vols.

34. The autobiography of Mary Smith, schoolmistress and nonconformist (Carlisle 1892) pp.305ff; many attenders were trinitarians.

Losh died in 1904 but the congregation continued to function until the 1950s when it ended a separate existence because of financial problems ³⁵. Today there is nothing to show for its having lasted for eighty years in a cathedral city.

The Unitarians were restricted in Cumbria to a few churches and a circle of the better-off in society, tradesmen, merchants, professional men, and in Kendal some skilled workers. The Lake District attracted a number of industrial and commercial families, mainly from Lancashire and Yorkshire, who maintained their links with the Kendal Unitarians and provided trustees when men of substance were lacking. The one really prosperous native congregation was at Kendal, which was exceptional in many ways as regards Cumbrian Dissenters originating in the seventeenth century, and the denomination generally lacked appeal in the region. Kendal was so uncharacteristic for its Dissenting traditions that the Unitarians there were involved in the only Cumbrian congregation of Baptist-Unitarians who embodied the virtues of both denominations as well as their mutual inability to prosper in Cumbria ³⁶.

35. CRO CAE/4/2022 building inspector's plans for a moveable iron and wood chapel over a Sunday school and cottage 1888 on Victoria viaduct, Carlisle, costing about £3000; CAE/1/82 plans for the structure.

36. For the Baptist-Unitarians of Kendal see below p. 338.

Important Unitarians continued to settle, particularly around Windermere; Arthur Currer Briggs, of the Leeds colliery-owning family, commissioned Charles Voysey to build Broad Leys, Bowness in 1898. G. Beard The Greater House in Cumbria (Kendal 1978) pp.51-53. The Unitarians were men of taste and refinement.

The Baptists

The Baptists never found Cumbria to be particularly fertile ground, although there was a handful of seventeenth-century congregations planted around Furness and rather newer ones in West Cumberland¹. During the 1650s Baptists had settled in Cockermouth and Carlisle, but the former became paedobaptist and both died out quite quickly². The Great Broughton church lasted rather longer but was badly damaged by the success of the Quakers in recruiting Dissenters in the 1650s, and it never possessed great influence in Baptist circles in Cumbria³. The largest church in the region was at Tottlebank, where Colonel Roger Sawrey established a Dissenting meeting which contained many Baptists but also Independents⁴. Under the influence of David Cros ley between 1696 and 1705 the church became largely Baptist, and was the largest Baptist congregation in eighteenth- and mid-nineteenth-century Cumbria⁵.

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1. W.T. Whitley The Baptists of North West England (1913) and D. Douglas History of the Baptist churches in the North of England (1846) are standard histories.
 2. Nightingale The Ejected of 1662 provides details on early Dissent in Cumbria before 1720, but excludes Furness and Cartmel.
 3. Douglas Baptist churches pp.181-183.
 4. T. Taylor Historical Sketch of the Baptist church at Tottlebank (Ulverston 1864 and 1932); Tottlebank Baptist Church (no date or place but 1969)
 5. 'Index to Notable Baptists'; Transactions of the Baptist Historical Society vol.7, 1920-1921, p.145

Sawrey had bought Broughton Towers in 1653 and married a local woman. He had spent some time in London and in Scotland, and thus brought to bear an off-coming influence in the Furness area which was strengthened when north eastern Baptist preachers worked amongst the Coniston district miners in the 1670s and established a church at Torver⁶. Off-comers were to be responsible for much of what Baptist success there was in Cumbria; for example George Braithwaite, a London preacher with Cumbrian links, settled at Hawkshead Hill in the early 1700s and founded the church there which exists today⁷. The founding of the Whitehaven church by Christopher Hall about 1750 was financed and encouraged by a Liverpool merchant who had settled in the port, whilst Scottish Baptists were to be prominent in Maryport and other congregations in maintaining preaching⁸. A stream of north-eastern preachers worked eighteenth-century Cumbrian preaching places, but often with no permanent success amongst the natives unless off-comers had already migrated there⁹.

What native converts there were tended to move out of the region after conversion. The three Slee brothers were raised near Penrith; one of them went to work in Glasgow as a Baptist minister in the 1780s, his brother Isaac joined the Baptists after having been curate at Plumpton for two years, and a third brother left the Anglicans to join the Broughton church after marrying one of the members there¹⁰.

6. Whitley Baptists of North West p.113

7. Douglas Baptist churches pp. 100,122,161,185,207

8. Whitley Baptists of North West p.117; the merchant was George Sephton.

9. Douglas Baptist churches throughout.

10. C. Whitfield Memoirs of the Rev. Isaac Slee(1801)

Tottlebank was the exception for many years among Cumbrian Baptist churches, for it flourished under successive pastorates though experiencing occasional difficult years. The church was baptising believers in the river Crake which flowed past the old meeting house until a suitable pond was constructed in the 1700s. In an area of few people the meeting had twenty adult members in 1720 and forty by 1748, with about the same number spread across Dunnerdale, Ulpha and Broughton in Furness ¹¹. Ministers itinerated extensively, but after the long and stable pastorate of John Sedgfield, who died in 1765, there was a succession of five ministers in only fifteen years, and only sixteen adult members when Thomas Harbottle arrived to take charge in 1780 ¹².

Harbottle, like most of the Tottlebank men, was from the north east, and like most of his predecessors ran a private school in order to eke out his small stipend ¹³. Five of his pupils entered the Baptist ministry, including his son; the latter was offered the pastorate in 1824 on the death of Harbottle, but declined the offer. Harbottle senior was succeeded by a local man, Thomas Frearson ¹⁴.

11. Historical Sketch of Tottlebank pp.11ff; W. Butler 'Scroggs Baptist chapel' Trans CWAAS NS vol.31 1931 pp. 63-67.

12. Douglas Baptist churches pp.209ff.

13. The last Baptist minister in Carlisle was a teacher too.

14. Crossley was at Tottlebank 1695-1713; Thomas Richardson 1714-1722; Sedgfield 1724-1765; Harbottle 1780-1824; Frearson 1824-1840; Thomas Taylor 1840-1896 with 2 assistants; William Osborne 1896-1922.

Frearson was well known for his kindness, common sense and moderation, but he was no evangelist and Tottlebank entered one of its quieter phases until after his death in 1840 when Thomas Taylor commenced a fifty six year ministry ¹⁵. Taylor's stipend never exceeded £100 per year, but he was the organiser and evangelist needed for an active and enterprising church, and during the 1850s membership reached a peak of one hundred adults with over one hundred children in the Sunday school. In the last ten years of his ministry Taylor was aided by his son in law, J.L. Wilson, and then by A.M. Riddle, a decade when membership declined drastically to about thirty as members left the Furness area during the mining depression ¹⁶.

Being so close to Scotland the Cumbrian Baptists inevitably found their churches exposed to Scottish influence. The Scotch Baptists of the eighteenth century had originated in the work of Glas and Sandeman, and the Baptist churches at Brough and Crosby Garrett in Westmorland found their futures mixed up with both Scotch Baptist and Sandemanian involvements. These were the only two enduring Baptist churches in Westmorland, and it was no coincidence that Sandemanian societies existed locally ¹⁷.

15. Tottlebank Baptist Church pp.13-20

16. The Coniston Baptist and Primitive Methodist churches both died out in the depression.

17. J. Nicholson Crosby Garrett(Kirkby Stephen 1914) pp. 82-87; I am grateful to Mr. Parrott of Kirkby Stephen for drawing my attention to this; see above p. 260.

Scottish influence was marked in north Cumberland, where in the 1750s a Scots preacher, David Fernie, commenced a Baptist church which had a meeting house in 1757¹⁸. The congregation later used the old Wesleyan church in Fisher Street, but lost members to the Bereans, Scotch Baptists who maintained a separate existence in the city and were ministered to by James Lowes and William Hislop¹⁹. These two preachers were members and elders of the Maryport Baptist church, but like many Scotch Baptists they were to become founders of Church of Christ meetings²⁰.

The Churches of Christ originated in the atmosphere of disillusionment of the 1830s with denominational existence and individual religious experience²¹. Out of the work of Thomas and Alexander Campbell there grew up a number of isolated churches which placed the greatest emphasis on a congregational form of church government, believers' baptism, weekly communion, and on Christian unity²². Although several denominations provided Church of Christ members, the major losses were sustained by the Baptists.

18. D. Murray 'Baptists in Scotland before 1869' Baptist Quarterly vol. 23 1970 pp.251-165.

19. Whitley Baptists of North West pp.325-359 provides a brief summary for each church.

20. D.M. Thompson Let sects and parties fall: a short history of the
Association of Church of Christ in Great Britain and Ireland (1980)

21. L. Billington 'The Churches of Christ in Britain: a study in 19th century sectarianism' Journal of Religious History 1974-1975 vol.8 part 1 pp.21-48.

22. I am grateful to Mr and Mrs J Clague of Dalton in Furness for providing me with details on the denomination.

In Cumbria James Anderson established churches at Aspatria and Whitehaven, G.C. Reid started churches in Carlisle and Wigton, but the major Church of Christ impact was in south Cumbria, the old Baptist centre ²³. Walney and Barrow in Furness churches date from the 1860s when Church of Christ evangelists were working the area, but at Kirkby the Baptists in membership with Tottlebank divided from that church in 1842, whilst the Church of Christ preachers set up a circle of congregations ²⁴. Ulverston and Lindal became new congregations during 1874, and an influx of miners and quarry workers provided new recruits for the growing denomination.

The Churches of Christ took some years to organise themselves into an association, with Furness churches being part of the strong Lancashire association and others being in the Cumberland association ²⁵. Church of Christ strength mainly lay in industrial Lancashire, Cheshire, the east Midlands and Scottish Lowlands, with the Cumbrian members forming a sort of outpost between the two major areas of south Lancashire and Scotland. Churches proved unstable after the 1880s because the migrants who had created the original churches migrated out of Cumbria in search of work ²⁶. With many poor members it was hard for a Church of Christ to withstand economic depression.

23. Thompson Let Sects and Parties pp.26,29.

24. Thompson Let Sects and Parties pp.29, 61ff.

25. Mr. and Mrs. Clague's MS history of the Churches of Christ has been of great help.

26. The iron mines were the staple membership employers.

The Churches of Christ membership in Cumbria declined by two thirds between 1880 and 1910, and by over half again over the next thirty years until the peak membership of over six hundred had been greatly depleted ²⁷ . The thirteen congregations found it difficult to survive in Cumbria, just as the Baptists found the atmosphere discouraging and there was only the matter of believer's baptism which divided the Churches of Christ from the Congregationalist doctrines ²⁸ .

The intertwining of denominational fortunes did not only involve the Baptists with the Churches of Christ. The influence of Sandeman and Glas has been mentioned, as has the impact of the Scotch Baptists in Cumbria. However, in 1810 there came into being in Kendal a Unitarian Baptist church which kept a separate existence for just eight or nine years ²⁹ .

The Unitarian Baptists of Kendal came to exist through the work of James Kay, who was appointed to be minister of the Kendal Congregational church in 1801 ³⁰ . He may at that time already have held Baptist beliefs, but in 1810 he seceded to establish the only Cumbrian Unitarian Baptist church after some months of spiritual crisis. The Greenhow, Braithwaite, Atkin and Smith

27. The remaining five churches joined the United Reformed Church in 1980; Carlisle had already joined the Baptists.

28. Both Congregational and Presbyterian churches formed the URC in 1972, and each had influenced the Churches of Christ.

29. Nicholson and Axon The Older Nonconformity pp. 395-401.

30. Kay, born Bury 1777, died 1847, a student at Rotherham college.

families were the main members of the church, but the single most prominent man was William Jennings, who like the others was brought out of the Congregational church and into Unitarian Baptist beliefs by Kay. Jennings was a prosperous corn merchant, grocer and cheese dealer and famous locally for his prodigious height and girth. He was also a radical in politics and one of the founders of the New Union building society which was a political tool of the Brougham party against the Lowthers ³¹ .

Kay eventually impaired his health by over-work and left Kendal in 1817. He then took a pastorate at Wigan as a Unitarian, but in 1821 he emigrated with his large family to the USA, took a Unitarian pastorate, and kept in touch with his friends in Kendal for many years ³² . After his death his children remained in the USA and stayed within Unitarian ranks. In Kendal after his resignation the church continued to meet separately, but eventually decided to unite with the Market Place Unitarians under John Harrison in either 1818 or 1819, and no Baptist church was formed. In a sense it was an interesting but unimportant Unitarian flirtation with Baptist beliefs.

31. J. O'Connor Memories of Old Kendal (Kendal 1961) pp.71-72;

Jennings was architect and builder of the houses which enabled Blue or anti-Lowther men to vote. He died aged 51 in 1833.

32. Nicholson and Axon The Older Nonconformity pp.398-400 for extracts ^{from} Kay's letters on his work in the USA.

Carlisle was the ultimate frustration for the Baptists, since the church was established and re-established several times in the nineteenth century ³³. There was an English home missionary at work in the city in 1839, followed by an Edinburgh Baptist preacher, Francis Johnstone, who had been trained at Bradford for the ministry ³⁴. After Johnstone returned to Scotland Osborne, the Brough Baptist minister, removed to Carlisle but quarrelled with the home missionary society and lost his grant ³⁵. During the 1850s the congregation was dispersed and no minister attempted to reform a Baptist church until the late 1870s when a congregation was established which opened the church in Aglionby Street in 1880 ³⁶. It was a well chosen site just off Warwick Road and surrounded by respectable terraces of private houses for the people employed at Cowan Sheldon, the railway yards, and the city centre. The congregation was chiefly made up of railway workers and their wives and children, commercial travellers and clerks, a few teachers and domestic servants, and a variety of skilled workers, yet membership never topped one hundred and its impact on the area ^{was} decidedly modest when compared with Charlotte Street Congregational church ³⁷.

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33. Whitley Baptists of North West p.225; it took four attempts.
34. Murray 'Baptists in Scotland before 1869' p.262.
35. Autobiography of Mary Smith (Carlisle 1892); the authoress was for some time companion to Osborne's wife and teacher in his school in Brough and Carlisle.
36. Aglionby Street Messenger in 1973 gave a history.
37. I am grateful to Mrs. M. Howe of Carlisle for her information on the church; the records were not made available.

One of the problems for the Cumbrian Baptists was the lack of Baptist migrants who moved into the region, when other denominations like the Methodists gained substantially from such off-comers who were already members of the connexion. There were a number of Scottish migrants who brought their Baptist beliefs with them to Cumbria, mainly to Furness and West Cumberland, and Welsh Baptists were responsible for rejuvenating churches in the same areas. However many of these migrants led the Baptist churches into Churches of Christ which seriously damaged Baptist fortunes, whilst the old native churches at Tottlebank and Torver were in irreversible decline in the Victorian period. The regional strongholds of the Baptists, like the east Midlands, provided few migrants to West Cumberland or Barrow, which robbed the denomination of opportunities for expansion.

One of the few wealthy Baptists who lived for much of the year in Cumbria was Nathaniel Caine, one of the founders of the Hodbarrow mining company, who purchased a house at Broughton in Furness and played a prominent role in iron mining and production in south Cumbria ³⁸ .

38. A. Harris Cumberland Iron: the story of Hodbarrow Mine 1855-1968 (Truro 1970) puts Caine in the centre of the story; pp. 18, 20, 22, 23ff, 28ff, 45ff, etc. Caine's son, W.S. Caine, was also involved in the company and became member of parliament for Barrow, see below p.678 ; John Newton W.S. Caine: a biography (1907)

Nathaniel Caine was a partner in a Liverpool firm of iron and metal merchants, but his interests in Cumbria took much of his time as did his temperance and denominational work for the Baptists. However he found that the Cumbrian Baptists presented none of the activities and energy which he had found in Liverpool congregations, and at the opening of the new Millom Primitive Methodist chapel in 1867 he held forth on the worth of particular denominations:

The company directors looked around them, and they were convinced by their own experience and the reports of others that a Primitive Methodist chapel was the thing most likely to provide for working men ... For myself I am sorry that my own church, the Baptist, is unable to provide fittingly for the people of the town ... I as a Baptist look upon you all as Dissenters ... are not the Baptists the Established Church of all realms ? I may think that our friends, the Primitives, are sometimes needlessly demonstrative in their meetings ; I may even have a preference for something much quieter and subdued; and I have been accustomed to the extreme quietness of our Baptist services. From year to year, in my chapel, you would scarcely hear so much as one Amen from any member in the congregation ; and if one did so far allow his feelings to find suitable expression, the congregation seems to be quite startled, almost as if a pistol had been fired in the place ... our hearts would seem to be very empty ... the

visible and audible manifestations of warmth and earnestness are lacking with too many of us. ³⁹

The Baptists of nineteenth century Cumbria lacked the several advantages of the Methodists : large numbers of already committed members migrating into the county, a well organised circuit and connexional system which relied on both local and national strength, and the sort of emotional warmth and appeal to people who found that this was what they required in their worship. The arrival of Scottish migrants tended initially to bolster native churches but in the long term encouraged the growth of rival Churches of Christ, which suggests that the Calvinism noted in Cumbrian Baptist churches may have prevented expansion except by secession ⁴⁰ .

39. Reprinted in the Millom Gazette 2 August 1907 from reports of August 1867. See also Millom Gazette 30 August 1907.

40. Whitley Baptists of North West p.109.

The Quakers

The arrival of George Fox amongst the Seekers of Westmorland in 1653 determined that the new Quaker movement would find Cumbria a source of strength¹. Fox's belief that all men possessed the inner light mentioned in the gospels, that all had or were open to the influence of the Holy Spirit, and his concomitant refusal to acknowledge spiritual or social superiors, guaranteed that the Quakers would have a stormy future. The way in which Quakers refused to pay tithes or church rates, to take oaths or the sacraments, and their distinctive mode of speech and dress, encouraged magistrates and Anglican clergy to persecute them whenever possible².

Fox married Margaret Fell, who provided him with Swarthmoor hall as his mission centre and from where he despatched thirty five pairs of Quaker preachers to work throughout Europe, Britain and America³. In the uncertainties of the Commonwealth the Quakers took advantage of the timidity of some magistrates, and of uncertain parochial and county boundaries, to recruit about three thousand adult Quakers by the 1660s out of a total population of only one hundred and twenty thousand⁴.

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1. R.S. Ferguson Early Cumberland and Westmorland Friends(1871); W.C. Braithwaite The Beginnings of Quakerism(1955) ; Watts The Dissenters pp.186-207.
 2. 'Brief account of the Rise and Progress of Truth' MS CRO.
 3. Jackson library contains over 100 biographies of Quakers in the county.
 4. J. Burgess 'Dissent in the Diocese of Carlisle' MS CRO provides the figures.

Persecution was rapid and brutal in the 1650s and 1660s: impossible fines, gaol sentences, enforced detention in London, trumped-up charges and a variety of tricks and subterfuge ⁵. Cumbrian Quakers always kept a reputation for evangelistic endeavour which encouraged them to support Methodism in the eighteenth century, but in the early nineteenth there was to be damaging conflict within Quaker ranks that broke their influence as a denomination and dispersed their members ⁶.

Some Quakers had adopted Unitarian views and already caused difficulties for Quaker meetings in 1824 at Kendal, which helped gain that meeting some notoriety in Quaker circles ⁷. What sparked off the major split amongst the Quakers was the Beaconite controversy, the occasion being the publication of Isaac Crewdson's A Beacon to the Society of Friends in 1835. Crewdson was a Kendal Quaker long domiciled in Manchester where he had made a fortune in silk and cotton manufacture ⁸. His book was a reply to the growing spirit of quietism which was pervading many meetings' worship in England and had spread from the works of Elias Hicks in the USA. Hicks condemned the old Quaker evangelism, the forms of worship which were more akin to mainstream Nonconformist forms than the silence and formality which characterised some aspects of Quaker worship. A struggle between quietist and evangelical Quakers ensued and led to major secessions.

5. Book of sufferings CRO FCF/2/3 1670-1702.

6. E. Isichei Victorian Quakers (Oxford 1970) pp.45-53.

7. Nicholson and Axon The Older Nonconformity p. 382.

8. The Crewdsons were a famous Quaker family; Memoir of Crewdson, attached to his Glad Tracts for Sinners(1845).

Kendal was the foremost Cumbrian meeting and in the 1800s there were an estimated eight hundred Friends in the parish ⁹. Fifty years later only one of a dozen prominent manufacturing families remained Quaker, and the devastation of the Beaconite controversy had reduced the number of Friends to not much over one hundred ¹⁰.

The Wilsons of Kendal were a numerous family, originally tanners but acquiring a variety of manufacturing interests and investments. The Crewdsons were hosiers and bankers in partnership with the Wakefields, and the Croppers were off-comers brought in by marriage to be partners to the Wakefields in the Burneside and Cowan Head paper mills ¹¹. Through the generations these families had intermarried amongst themselves and with the Whitwells, carpet and woollen manufacturers, and the Braithwaites. Working together in control of the Fell Trust, an alternative to the decayed, Anglican and tory town corporation, and *they managed* the town's sewage, water, roads and other services ¹².

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9. Brown 'The Growth of middle class leadership' thesis pp.3ff
 10. D. Butler Quaker Meeting Houses of the Lake Counties(1978) p.106.
 11. Brown 'The Growth of middle class leadership' thesis pp.5-10.
 12. Brown 'The Growth of middle class leadership' thesis pp. 23-35; Nicholson Annals of Kendal pp.181-188 for the Fell Trust, and for the Quaker manufacturers pp.235-250.

The reformed corporation immediately fell to the Quakers with the help of the Unitarians and some Anglicans in 1835, whilst parliamentary politics too came under their control once the borough was taken out of Westmorland and the Quakers had been energetic in support of Henry Brougham against the Lowthers¹³. The Kendal meeting spent over £4,000 on a new meeting house opened in 1815, designed by the country house specialist George Webster and a confident assertion of Quaker affluence and dominance¹⁴.

William Dillworth Crewdson had founded the first bank in Westmorland during 1778, shortly followed by another Quaker, John Wakefield who was in partnership with two Anglicans, Maude and Wilson¹⁵. The latter partnership was dissolved in the 1800s by Maude, and Wakefield and Crewdson merged in the 1830s¹⁶. The Crewdsons and Wakefields were two of the richest families of Westmorland, with John Wakefield alone providing £20,000 for Brougham to contest the Westmorland seat in 1818 and 1820¹⁷. However, the family with the widest connections within Quakerism was the Wilsons.

13. See below p. 643 ; Brown 'The Growth of middle class leadership' thesis pp.36-53.

14. See below p. 592 ; Butler Quaker Meeting Houses pp.99-109.

15. G. Chandler Four Centuries of Banking (1968) vol. 2 pp. 19-120; the Kendal bank became part of Martins.

16. See below p. 350.

17. See below p. 647.

Isaac Wilson of Kendal was born in 1714 and apprenticed to a dyer in the town. His family WQS already related by marriage to the Braithwaites and Wakefields, and after becoming the manager and then the owner of the Castle mills he married Rachel Wilson of the High Wray branch ¹⁸. His wife was typical of the Quaker matriarchs of the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries: a forceful preacher who had itinerated in Ireland and the Americas at the age of eighteen, who had travelled Britain and who came to know the important Quaker families ¹⁹. Their children married into prominent families: one daughter married John Whitwell in 1765, another married George Braithwaite two years later. Their eldest son, John Wilson, ran a private bank for relatives and friends some years before Crewdson and Wakefield started their own ²⁰. John's sister Sarah helped run the bank until her own marriage to John Abbatt of Plymouth added the important south western Quakers to her family relations ²¹.

Isaac and Rachel Wilson's numerous grandchildren brought in an extended web of Quaker relations. John's son Isaac married Mary Jowitt, another son, William married Mary's sister Rachel, of the Leeds manufacturing firm ²². John's daughter Rachel

18. J. Somervell Isaac and Rachel Wilson, Quakers of Kendal (Kendal 1924).

19. Somervell Wilson pp. 28ff, 68ff.

20. Somervell Wilson pp.135ff; he held over £5,000 at any one time.

21. Who included the Fox family ; see below p.362 ; they mostly became Brethren in the 1830s.

22. Somervell Wilson pp.147ff.

married a teacher of many young Quakers, Josiah Forster of Tottenham, uncle of W.E. Forster, the future cabinet minister ²³ . John Wilson's sister Dorothy married Edward Pease, the Darlington member of parliament and industrialist, who had railway and other investments in Cumbria ²⁴ . John Wilson's grandchildren added new family connections and reaffirmed old ones: Deborah married William Crewdson in 1798, Rachel married Samuel Lloyd of the Birmingham banking family, whilst George married Samuel's sister Mary in 1806 and Isaac married their sister , Anna Lloyd ²⁵ .

Anna Lloyd arrived in Kendal during 1808 and her forceful personality gained for her the position of matriarcha/ Quaker at the meeting in the 1820s ²⁶ . She had made three tours of Ireland and the USA, and led evangelical attacks on the Quietism of Elias Hicks and his followers. She had nine children who had to endure her frequent and protracted absences and at the time of the Beaconite quarrel she was seriously ill.

The Kendal meeting had often presented problems for the yearly meeting in London, at which they were forcefully represented. The yearly meeting had to take the highly irregular steps of sending a deputation to Kendal to suppress talk of infant baptism, Unitarianism and the taking of communion as compatible with Quakerism ²⁷ .

23. W.E. Forster spent his holidays in the lakes with his in laws, the Arnolds of Fox How, Clappersgate.

24. Isichei Quakers pp. 195ff.

25. S. Lloyd The Lloyds of Birmingham(1908) pp. 175ff.

26. J. Bevan Braithwaite a Friend of the 19th century (1909)pp.50ff.

27. Isichei Quakers p.50.

Many meetings were aghast at the way the Wakefields gave large amounts of money towards Brougham's campaigns, whilst their overt political activity was an unwelcome innovation in many Quaker minds ²⁸. John Wakefield the third was a prominent town magistrate, a town councillor in 1831, mayor five times and proposer of Henry Brougham's brother as member for Kendal in 1833 ²⁹. John the third's banking partner, William Dillworth Crewdson the second, was as prominent in political circles as his partners ³⁰. In regional terms their wealth was substantial: Crewdson had an annual income of £3,000 in the 1830s and investments totalling £41,000. The Crewdson and Wakefield bank returned an annual profit of £12,000 on average between 1870 and 1893 which was divided between five family partners ³¹. When it was taken over by the Liverpool bank in 1893 it was considered a bargain at £120,000 which excluded extra payments to the families and new posts in the amalgamated banks ³².

28. See below p. 647.

29. Chandler Banking pp. 79, 84, 87.

30. See below pp. 362ff ; Short Memorial of W.D. Crewdson by his wife (Kendal 1878) no pagination.

31. Chandler Banking pp. 80ff, 380; W.D. Crewdson II and Jacob Wakefield became directors of the new Martins bank.

32. The tortuous negotiations behind the sale of the bank took many months to complete; Chandler Banking pp. 376-380. One of the other major Cumbrian banks, Head's of Carlisle, was Quaker owned, see below p. 352.

When the final struggle between the two factions within Quakerism finally broke over Crewdson's book in 1835 the Kendal meeting was deprived not only of Anna Braithwaite's wise counsel, due to her illness, but of that of other prominent Quakers whose moderating effect was missed. Isaac Whitwell and his sister Hannah had just died, whilst their sister Rachel, married to one of the Pease family of Darlington, had died in 1833. This depleted the ranks of older sensible Quakers who might have ameliorated the divisions. Between 1835 and 1837 the arguments continued about Crewdson's book and by the latter date most of the Crewdsons, Wakefields, Whitwells, Braithwaites and Wilsons had abandoned Quaker ranks ³³. Of Anna Braithwaite's children, Mary remained a Quaker, Robert entered the Anglican ministry and became vicar of Chipping Campden, in Gloucestershire, whilst George and John energetically supported the new evangelical Anglican churches being built at Kendal and joined their congregations ³⁴.

The Beaconite controversy was the occasion for many Quakers to leave their traditional faith which they had found restricting for some years. Until 1858 the meetings still disowned or expelled members who married non-Quakers, and a certain narrowness of views might restrict initiative ³⁵. The Wakefields had benefited from partnership with an Anglican, Joseph Maude, because of his links with Newcastle industrialists and Cumbrian landowners ³⁶.

33. See below p.360; see above p. 345.

34. J. Bevan Braithwaite pp. 72ff, 313ff.

35. Isichei Quakers pp. 111-165.

36. Maude married Margaret Holme of Kendal and settled on her country estate .

Upward mobility was not restricted to Anglicans, and families like the ex-Quaker Wakefields came to own five thousand acres as well as mills. The Quaker inheritance remained within the other denominations who benefited from the Beaconite secession: Anglicans, Brethren, Congregationalists gained valuable new recruits, whilst temperance, charity, education, the YMCA, and international peace claimed the ex-Quakers of Kendal to their flags.

The second major Cumbrian Quaker meeting was at Carlisle, where the Quakers suffered a few shudders over the Beaconite issue but suffered nothing of the trauma that Kendal endured. However there were in the mid-1830s some problems in the city which involved the Wesleyan and Primitive Methodists amongst others ³⁷. John Carrick, a hat manufacturer with other business investments, left the Quakers for the Wesleyan Association who seemed to promise great evangelistic fervour and a lack of ministerial interference, but he was a tory and not at ease with his new radical ^{CD-}worshippers. Carrick returned to the Quakers ³⁸. George Head was an important regional bank owner, who rode through Carlisle giving out tracts and sermons to children on his way to work ³⁹. His father had been a grocer

37. See below p. 385.

38. Wes Assoc Mag 1853 p.389

39. W.F. Crick and J.E. Wadsworth A hundred years of Joint Stock Banking (1936) pp.190ff.

who prospered in the city's expansion between 1780 and 1800 and who forged links with Scottish banks eager to become involved in the financing of Ferguson's and Dixon's mills ⁴⁰. Banking proved to be a precarious business so that George Head's marriage to Maria Woodrouffe, from a Surrey county family, stabilised the bank's fortunes and allowed Head to purchase the Rickerby estate in 1832 ⁴¹. The property comprised five hundred acres of pasture and wood running from Linstock right into the heart of the city through Stanwix. After the death of his first wife, Head married Sarah Gurney, of the great banking house, in 1859 ⁴².

By judicious investment and prudent speculation Head survived the financial crisis of 1835 which ruined his two city rivals and took over their clients by guaranteeing debts ⁴³. He was one of the promoters of the Lancaster to Carlisle railway in 1844, of several West Cumberland lines, and amalgamated with the Cumberland union bank of Whitehaven in 1865 ⁴⁴. Head's banking assets in that year were £418,000, over £14,000 in the black, whilst his investments amounted to £83,000 in Overend Gurney and company, and £22,000 elsewhere. In the collapse of Overend and Gurney during 1867 Head gave £80,000 as security.

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40. A.G. McInnes Recollections of the Life of Miles McInnes(1911) pp.85ff; McInnes was Head's heir; see below p. 635.
41. Complete with model cottages, school, library etc.
42. By then Head was no longer a Quaker.
43. Chandler Banking p.302-310
44. Crick and Wadsworth Joint Stock Banking pp. 113-118, 127-130.

As his banking career and fortune progressed, Head became prominent in politics and was treasurer for the county and city tory parties ⁴⁵. In religious matters he left the Quakers because he agreed with Crewdson's book the Beacon and joined the Lowther Street Congregational seceders in 1835 ⁴⁶. He then moved for political reasons to the Church of England where he stayed until his death in 1876 ⁴⁷. Yet Head was no sectarian and his charitable efforts covered all denominations: building a place of worship at Patterdale for Quakers and Wesleyans to share, financing the Stanwix reformatory for training young people and finding them jobs, providing premises and funds for a day school in Caldewgate for factory workers' children ⁴⁸. His Quaker concerns and interests followed him into the Church of England.

Most of the Carlisle meeting remained Quaker and it was not the split which happened at Kendal. The great split within city Quakerism was to be over thirty years later, when the Carrs influenced both Quakers and Presbyterians to establish the Brethren ⁴⁹. In a sense neither Carlisle nor Kendal was typical of Cumbrian Quaker meetings in the nineteenth century, for most

45. See below pp.662ff.

46. See above p. 273 for what happened to Head there.

47. At first he attended St. Cuthbert's under Fawcett, then the cathedral under Tait and then Close.

48. Miles McInnes pp. 85-90.

49. See below pp.366ff and above pp. 305ff.

meetings in Cumbria remained dependent upon rural Quakers in declining numbers as people left the region for work, and as Quaker communities failed to regenerate themselves⁵⁰. Mosedale, a village and township nestling in the folds of eastern Blencathra behind that mountain and Skiddaw, was typical of the Cumbrian meetings⁵¹.

Mosedale remains the wild and desolate region it was in the 1650s when the Slee family had given shelter to George Fox⁵². The rector of Caldbeck, in which parish Mosedale is situated, proved to be one of the great county persecutors of the Quakers and between 1681 and 1690 distrained goods worth over £2,000 in lieu of tithes⁵³. The Rev. Mr. Savage had lived up to his name but after his death in 1700 the Quaker community continued to exist within the same small group of families, and notably the Sles and Bewleys. Thomas Bewley, a yeoman, died in 1747 and left only £222 in goods, but he also left over £2,000 in loans. The Cumbrian fells were full of such thrifty and careful Quakers. Nonetheless by 1831 so many younger Quakers had migrated for employment to West Cumberland and Carlisle that Caldbeck monthly meeting was forced to unite with that of Carlisle⁵⁴.

50. Isichei Quakers pp.118-143.

51. D. Butler Quaker Meeting Houses pp.73-76.

52. Nightingale The Ejected of 1662 pp. 547-553

53. For tithes see above p. 179.

54. M. Grubb The Quakers of Mosedale (1976)

Mosedale lost members through migration out but few off-comers attended the Quakers' place of worship, and until 1858 members who married non-Quakers risked disownment. The old Quaker patterns of solemn faces and staid worship possessed decreasing attractions for Mosedale families in the face of competition from Wesleyan Methodism. Slees, Todhunters, Bewleys, and Martins joined this more exciting denomination which offered a full round of social activities as well as worship⁵⁵. By 1851 only a dozen attended Quaker worship and between 1864 and 1877 Sunday services were held intermittently⁵⁶. It was even agreed by the monthly meeting in 1881 to allow the Wesleyans to use it permanently. A handful of members objected to this and their work to revive interest coincided with the re-opening of the ancient mines of the Caldbeck and Uldale fells which brought in many off-comers⁵⁷. Though there were less than six members thereafter, average attendances at worship numbered twenty three.

In the twentieth century the Mosedale Quakers continued to worship, attracting a proportion of the off-comers who settled in the fells and a number of tourists during the season. The old meeting house was renovated and used as functions room by the whole community, and for combined services with Wesleyans and

55. I am grateful to the Rev. Henry Broadhurst for this information.

56. Grubb Mosedale pp.17-23

57. J. Postlethwaite Geology of the English Lake District (Carlisle 1906)

Anglicans . The meeting house was used not only for worship, but for all manner of parish events, as a youth hostel, tourist information centre, cafe, and reading room. It was a case of realistic adapting in difficult times, and it remains a focal centre for Quakerism within the wider community ⁵⁸ .

Quakers in Cumbria continued to be outstanding members of the community in spite of declining numbers and the Beaconite controversy. Typical of the successful Quakers was John Harris of Maryport, whose grandfather had been a sea captain plying between Maryport and Ireland in the coal trade ⁵⁹ . The old captain was a man who made his crew attend morning prayers, refused to use clothes dyed with materials from slave labour, and with his family was a teetotaler long before it became widespread or fashionable . John Harris's father William was a sailcloth manufacturer bankrupted in the financial crisis of 1816 when John was four, and he then took to the sea. At sixteen John Harris was apprenticed to the Quaker engineer Thomas Storey and became an important engineer, railway planner and businessman in the north east.

John Harris took as his wife Mary Mason of Penrith, who died young. His second wife was Mary Wilson of Kendal, a union which put Harris right into the centre of Quaker events nationally ⁶⁰ .

58. See M. Irwin History of Pardshaw meeting and meeting house (no date but c.1920) for a similar meeting to Mosedale.

59. H. Smith 'John Harris, Quaker engineer and investor 1812-1869' Trans. CWAAS ns vol.69 1969 pp.330-343.

60. See above p. 348 ; Smith 'John Harris' p.343 for a family tree.

Harris used his wife's ample dowry to invest in iron ore mining on the Leconfield estates in West Cumberland, to back the Derwent valley branch line on the Carlisle to Maryport railway, and to invest with the Pease family in Darlington. Harris became the leading assistant to Joseph Pease in the latter's political life. Harris himself was regularly in Kendal and West Cumberland with his own or his wife's families, overseeing his investments, speaking to British and Foreign Bible Society meetings, chairing teetotal meetings, championing political reform.

Quakers who chose to stay in their native county might be quieter and less public but just as worthy and respected figures. Richard Bowman Brockbank was born in Stanwix in 1824 and spent some years living at the family farm at Burgh by Sands during which time he saw his parents attacking slavery, working against the Lowthers in politics, and urging teetotalism⁶¹. He served an apprenticeship in the family grocery concern but in 1852 joined Carr's biscuit company and rose to become chief employee. Despite the troubles of 1835, and once more in the mid 1860s in Carlisle, the Brockbanks remained at the meeting though saddened by the secession of the Carr family⁶².

61. Richard Bowman Brockbank: a memoir (Carlisle 1912)

62. Brockbank pp.20-30; see below pp. 366ff.

for temperance and teetotalism see below p. 419;

for political activity in Carlisle during Brockbank's lifetime see below pp. 662ff.

Brockbank retired in 1876 from Carr's and devoted his time to farming at Burgh by Sands and to his work for education, peace, teetotalism and the liberal party. He was one of Sir Wilfrid Lawson's greatest admirers and one of the Quaker's last acts was to be carried on a stretcher to vote for the liberals at the election of 1910⁶³. However, like many late Victorian and Edwardian Quakers, Brockbank was slightly confused and rather worried about the world. For a start he had increasing doubts about the Trinity which reading volumes of biblical criticism increased so that he was almost a Unitarian⁶⁴. He also could not reconcile socialism with the workings of the capitalist industries he had known, and was confused as to the role of trade unions and their involvement with Christianity.

Brockbank might well have left Quaker ranks had he lived longer, for he already attended other places of worship including the Methodists and Unitarians. As was the case with many nineteenth century Quakers, Brockbank was moving into a wider denominational field of activity than being a Quaker would suggest, and Quaker beliefs became the essential ingredients for the Brethren in Victorian Cumbria⁶⁵.

63. Brockbank p.46.

64. Brockbank p.45

65. The modern peace movement in Cumbria had its origins within Quaker meetings in the county; in September 1983 an Allonby Quaker was taken to court over non-payment of that percentage of her tax that was to be spent on nuclear and conventional weapons by the government.

The Brethren

The Brethren were born out of the evangelical impulses released by the reviving Church of England and Church of Ireland in the 1820s and 1830s, though other denominational exiles, and a few who remained within their original fold, were involved in the attempt to unite Christians in a common communion and enterprise ¹. The national centres were Dublin, Bristol and Plymouth and their environs; in Cumbria the Brethren formed an important element within Nonconformity and were largely the product of controversies which distressed Quaker meetings in the 1830s and 1860s².

The Brethren took many of their beliefs from the Quakers: a desire to draw on the gifts of all members, male and female, a desire to abolish a paid professional ministry, an urgent sense of mission, and an austere and restrained mode of living which for so many wealthy people was not easy ³. In some matters the traditional Quaker tolerance was adopted: baptismal practices were capable of variance and not a matter for argument.

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1. D.J. Beattie Brethren: the story of a great recovery (Kilmarnock 1930) deals with the Brethren regionally and provides local details; F.R. Coad A History of the Brethren Movement (Exeter 1970) deals with the British origins and then its worldwide impact; H.H. Rowdon The Origins of the Brethren (1967) deals only with the period 1825-1850.
 2. Beattie Brethren pp.181-200.
 3. Coad Brethren pp.91ff.

Disputes within Brethren ranks in the 1840s created the so-called exclusive congregations loosely tied to the leadership of J.N. Darby, but their numbers declined over the century ⁴ . On the other side were the open Brethren, informally led by Craik, Muller, Newton and Groves, and never restricted to their own sectarian view point. In Cumbria Darby received scant support or attention after the 1840s rift, and the Brethren were open and variously known as Brethren, Plymouth or Christian.

During the Beaconite controversy in Kendal a group of Quakers decided to take communion in members' homes in 1836 until premises in rooms above a tea business in Soutergate could be fitted up ⁵ . The meeting used a variety of places for worship over the next ten years, including the Whitehall lecture hall, a girth manufacturer's in Highgate, a vacant book shop, and homes until a cottage was purchased for a permanent place of worship. However not until 1857 was a proper place of worship opened in the Sands, mainly due to the reluctance of members to found yet another denomination which proved the sectarian nature of their secession ⁶ . Hopes of reuniting with the Quakers may have existed for some years, but were not to be fulfilled.

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4. Coad Brethren pp.105ff; Rowdon Brethren chapters 9-11.
 5. J.F. Curwen Kirkbie Kendal (Kendal 1900) pp. 311,323,382.
 6. The first meeting house seated three hundred, but had to be extended as early as 1863 to add another one hundred and fifty seats, and again in the 1890s; today a recently completed place of worship in modern style serves the Brethren .

There were three prominent members within the ranks of the Kendal Brethren, although it was an important congregation in Westmorland even without these men. William Dillworth Crewdson was the man with nationwide connections. Edward Wakefield was the man with the greatest wealth. John Jowitt Wilson was the man with the public position.

Crewdson of course was wealthy as a banker, and married Sarah Fox of Plymouth in 1825. The marriage brought Crewdson into contact with the south western Quakers who were to become Brethren in the 1830s ⁷. Crewdson's sister Sarah married one of the Quaker Fox family of Shropshire, and her son Dillworth Crewdson Fox was to become the Brethren hymn writer. Another of Crewdson's sisters, Maria, married John Howard of Tottenham; Howard's brother Robert had married into the banking family of Lloyds of Birmingham. Crewdson's wife Sarah was cousin to a numerous body of Quakers, including Hannah Fox, wife of B.W. Newton, the leader of the Brethren, who was one of the regular guests at the Crewdson family home at Sizergh, and later at Helme Lodge and finally Elleray, Windermere ⁸. The circle included Newton's former colleague and future arch-enemy J.N. Darby, Henry Groves, John Wilkinson, the Gurneys, the Arnolds, the Forsters, and the Harford Battersbys ⁹.

7. R.C.F. Stunt Early Brethren and the Society of Friends (1970)

8. R. Braithwaite Life and Letters of the Rev. William Pennefather(1878); see above p. 346.

9. Braithwaite Pennefather p. 431.

Before the building of Troutbeck Bridge and Carver Memorial churches the Somervells and Whitwells used to worship at the Windermere Brethren meeting house built by Edward Wakefield, Crewdson's banking partner ¹⁰. Crewdson perhaps was the organiser, the man with the links which attracted the Brethren to the Lakes and to Kendal, but his partner was the man who spent generously. Wakefield had joined the Brethren in 1835, and immediately paid for the rooms required. Not only was the first Kendal place of worship owing to his money and encouragement, but he paid for the ones at Windermere and Bowness, and then encouraged the congregation at Keswick. Wakefield was the man to whom all turned for aid in charitable enterprises, and especially where education and young people were concerned.

Edward Wakefield's brother, John the second, did not join the Brethren but under the influence of the vicar, John Hudson, became an Anglican ¹¹. With several other ex-Quakers John helped pay for the new churches of St. Thomas and St. George. Within Brethren ranks the old Quaker kinship was perpetuated as Edward Wakefield's son John the third married Rachel Crewdson Fox, daughter of Henry Fox and Rachel Crewdson and respectively nephew of Sarah Fox and her daughter by William Dillworth Crewdson.

10. See above p.347; Robert Somervell by his son(1935) p.14.

11. Beattie Brethren pp.186-191; Wakefield's obituary is in Kendal Mercury 14 April 1866.

Both Wakefield and Crewdson were in the public eye, but the single most public figure at the Brethren meeting was J.J. Wilson. He was the son of Isaac and Mary Wilson, and grandson of Isaac Wilson and Mary Jowitt, and had been educated at the home of the Forsters of Tottenham, relations of the Wilsons¹². His cousins included members of the Crewdson, Wakefield and Whitwell families of Kendal, the Abbatts of Plymouth, Lloyds of Birmingham, and Peases of Darlington. Such kinship made him a Quaker, brought him into the Presbyterians in 1835 and then into the Brethren within months.

Wilson became a town councillor at the age of twenty eight, in 1836, acted as mayor five times, was an outstanding defender of public rights of way against encroaching landowners, and chaired local branches of the British and Foreign Bible Society, teetotal, temperance and tract societies, of the poor law guardians and Fell Trust, supported the Mechanics Institute, led the anti-Corn Law League, and championed the cause of the northern states in the American civil war. His brother in law John Whitwell was member of parliament for the constituency, and Wilson was his liberal party chairman.

On special occasions - royal weddings or birthdays, empire celebrations, public holidays - J.J. Wilson could be found footing the bills for lavish public banquets and street feasts. When Wilson died in 1875 all of the town turned out for his funeral, all works and shops closed, and on a freezing January day ninetyseven mourners in twenty carriages with ten carriages

12. Obituary Kendal Times 20 January 1875, Kendal Mercury 27 January 1875.

belonging to friends escorted the body to the cemetery, accompanied by as many of the town and county magistracy who could be tempted out, the board of guardians, Fell Trustees, thirty town officials, the town council and thousands of workmen. A lengthy funeral oration was delivered by Henry Groves, son of A.N. Groves, one of the founders of the Brethren movement ¹³ .

Henry Groves had been on his father's early missionary trips to Persia in the 1820s as a child, and after more than thirty years of continuous field work Henry retired to Bristol in the 1860s ¹⁴ . In 1868 he accepted an invitation which had been made repeatedly over the years to visit Kendal and the lakes, where he decided to settle. From then until his death in 1891 Kendal was his headquarters for his work in Britain and abroad.

Groves partnered James Showell and Henry and William Dyer in their annual Lake District summer missions, arranged to hold conferences in Bowness and Keswick, opened a meeting place in Langdale, and looked after the Kendal meeting ¹⁵ . Kendal became the major Brethren capital of the north west of England, and its members, the ex-Quakers, the major personalities.

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13. Wilson figures prominently in Brown 'the Growth of Middle Class leadership' and Tate 'the Kendal Elite', theses; see above pp. 346ff.
14. Henry was 10years old on the first mission in 1828; Beattie Brethren pp.187-189.
15. Coad Brethren p.125; Lloyds of Birmingham chapter 14. Owen Lloyd had been a curate in Langdale 1829-1841 when his family lived in the Windermere area and WAS part of the Wordsworth circle.

J.D. Carr brought his brothers Henry and John into the business and within ten years a dozen Carrs were living in the city. J.D. Carr prospered and bought ten acres of land in Stanwix where he built a villa , but Henry unwisely speculated in Cornish tin mining and lost his money during 1853. J.D. paid off his brother's debts by cutting his own family income from two to one thousand pounds per year and selling his home for £5,000 ¹⁹ . J.D. became a founder director of the Cumberland Building Society, promoter of the Carlisle to Silloth railway and of Silloth's development as a town, and provider of model cottages for his workers. He was too a devoted liberal and teetotaler frequently in conflict with the Tories and the Church of England. It was impossible for Quakers to conceive that he might leave their meeting.

The Carrs were all evangelical Quakers who had remained within Quakerism over the Beaconite controversy. However in the 1860s tensions within the Carlisle meeting had been caused by J.D.'s sons Henry and James leading a move to introduce hymns and bible readings into morning worship and business meetings. When this group insisted that their changes be implemented they were expelled in 1868, and twenty Carrs resigned with them. Eventually in 1869 J.D. and his wife followed suit at a most painful meeting of the society ²⁰ .

19. John Carr retired to Ullswater after serious disagreements with his brothers; he later became a director of Carr's rivals Peak Frean. MS history of Carr's, no pagination.

20. Ms history of Carr's.

For J.D. Carr the resignation was traumatic. He was sixty three, in indifferent health, and reliant on his faith to keep him active. He immediately handed over the running of the company to his sons Henry, James and Thomas, and the whole family moved to the new Warwick Road Presbyterian church under the ministry of William Reid ²¹. Reid had established an independent meeting as well as leading Warwick Road, and the Carrs seem to have attended both. Reid's disagreements with the presbytery of Cumberland led to Reid and many members of Warwick Road forming a new Brethren congregation which opened new premises in London Road in the following year, 1874, thanks to the generosity of the Carrs ²². For the next thirty years J.D.'s three sons led the Brethren of the city, and organised annual missions which toured throughout Cumbria on gospel cars ²³.

David Beattie was one of the Presbyterians who followed Reid to London Road, and who later wrote the history of the Brethren ²⁴. His partner for a time in his masons and building firm included another Warwick Road member, David Laing who became senior elder at Warwick Road and did not secede.

21. See above p.305 ;Beattie Brethren pp.192ff.

22. MS history of Carr's chapters 1-3; the church roll for Warwick Road records the Carr family as members and then as leavers, in the hands of Mr. I. Moonie.

23. G. Winter With Caravan and Tent in North West England (Penrith 1950)pp.15-29 especially, records their work.

24. Beattie's firm continues on Warwick Road a few yards from the Presbyterian church.

About the year 1800 a David Laing had crossed from Scotland and settled at Sebergham after marrying the daughter of a local farmer ²⁵. His son James worked in the small building firm commenced by David, and his own son John had settled in Carlisle in 1867 in order to supervise the firm's expansion in building the new estates and factories of the city. There was a strong religious vein running through the whole family and their spouses, and the Laings of Carlisle immediately joined Reid at Warwick Road. When Reid left, John Laing followed him, but his brother David remained with half of the family at Warwick Road.

John Laing's son John William became one of the outstanding business men of Carlisle ²⁶. John Willy, as he was invariably called throughout his life, attended the grammar school before learning the various trades in the family building firm. On the death in 1905 of the last of J.D.'s sons, the Carrs' influence was greatly reduced and John Willy became the secretary and organiser of the Brethren ²⁷. He had read Darwin, Huxley and volumes of biblical criticism, so that little intellectual narrowness characterised the Laing family. John William also admired the arts and crafts movement, and in particular the buildings of Philip Webb, the pre-Raphaelite architect at work ^{in 1906} on Brampton parish church tower for which Laings were the contractors ²⁸.

25. R. Coad Laing: the biography of Sir John William Laing (1979)

26. Coad Laing chapters 2 and 3.

27. G. Harrison Life and Belief in the experience of John W Laing (1954) chapter 1.

28. See below p. 580 .

What marked Laings the builders out from other builders was the quality of their work, and unlike their rivals Laings employed their own craftsmen rather than casual labour. Poor work was instantly recognisable as somebody's responsibility and was not tolerated, and before World War one the firm had two hundred men employed on extensions at the Garland¹ mental hospital, Carlisle, and a similar number on city housing ²⁹ . John Willy lived on site during the week with his men, for instance at Uldale during the construction of the reservoir in 1902, for Barrow sewers in 1906, and Vickers factory at Barrow in 1913. Such strong paternalism encouraged what the family regarded as good habits, made the Laing navvies some of the most religious and sober of all workmen, and brought a national reputation to the company ³⁰ . Shortly before the firm moved its headquarters to London in 1922, John Willy persuaded the Brethren to build a new meeting hall, Hebron Hall, in Botchergate ³¹ .

The formation of Brethren congregations in Cumbria was due to the work of prominent former members of other denominations, and most notably ex-Quakers, who took their beliefs and abilities into the new denomination. The Brethren however lacked the mass appeal of the Methodists, and relied on a few vigorous and well known families. Like the Methodists though they were devoted to evangelistic enterprise, and the region possessed more than its quota of Brethren meeting halls.

29. Coad Laing pp.65ff.

30. Coad Laing pp.66-80; Harrison Laingpp. 35-40.

31. Coad Laing pp.71-72; the main leaders after Laing were his cousin T.W. Wood, David Beattie, and railway director William Bell.

The Methodists

Wide swathes of Cumbria never possessed a Nonconformist place of worship during their whole history, but there were few parishes which had never had Methodists commence preaching, however temporary, and the several Methodist connexions in nineteenth century Cumbria were a success story ¹. In the changing and constantly shifting economic and social structure of the time the Methodists came to attract the largest number of members, of hearers, and of local preachers, to open the largest number of places of worship, by a combination of warmth and emotional appeal, of local initiative with central authority and security, and provided people with a sense of belonging to a community which cared for both their present and future life. Methodist accessibility ensured that it would reach the widest public, and when members moved that they would not be lost through seepage to another denomination. The Methodists were the trend and pace setters, the denomination that spurred others into action or usurped their role and work, the ones who offered the fullest alternative way of life to remaining within Anglicanism.

1. The research for this chapter originally formed part of 'The Growth and Development of Methodism in Cumbria' University of Durham M. Litt. 1979; it has been researched afresh and has been rewritten. In this form it has appeared nowhere else. The thesis was subsequently published as A History of Cumbrian Methodism (Kendal 1980)

There were in Cumbria several Methodist connexions which experienced varying degrees of expansion in the nineteenth century. The Wesleyans were as large as all of the others combined in terms of membership, places of worship and wealth, with a strong organisational centre in London which prevented the sort of minor secessions and quarrels which plagued other connexions. On the other hand, when trouble did come, in 1835 and 1850, it came from the centre and disrupted the entire connexion². Out of the troubles were born the Wesleyan Association in the 1830s and the Wesleyan Reformers in the 1850s, who united to form the United Methodist Free Churches in 1856³. The UMFC came into existence where Wesleyanism was strong, but failed to regenerate itself and acted almost as a group of Congregational churches.

The Primitive Methodists were active and enterprising former Wesleyans born during the Napoleonic Wars of the 1800s, and were in Cumbria a serious rival to Wesleyan influence in certain circuits. The Primitives tended to attract the fervent, the noisy and the poor, but as with other connexions there was great dependence upon the off-comer both as minister and as member⁴.

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2. G.Smith History of Wesleyan Methodism(1857, 1858, 1861)3vols.
 3. O.Beckerlegge The United Methodist Free Churches(1957)
 4. H.B.Kendall The Origin and History of the Primitive Methodist Church(1900) 2vols. Townsend, Workman and Eayrs A New History of Methodism (1909)2vols.

In the north of Cumbria there had been some Brethren influence in Carlisle, but no congregation appears to have been formed by seceding Quakers in 1835. In 1850 there was an assembly meeting in Porter's school rooms on West Walls, and some of its members had urged the Wesleyan seceders of 1850 to join the Brethren and avoid the sin of sectarianism shortly before they were ejected for their own safety ¹⁶. However it took a further crisis amongst the Quakers to create the Carlisle Brethren.

Henry Carr of Kendal had been a Quaker in the 1800s, a poor weaver with ambitions, and WQS' son Jonathan inherited a grocer's shop off his father in law Dodgson ¹⁷. Jonathan's son Jonathan Dodgson Carr hankered after a new field of operations and in 1831 he removed to Carlisle.

Carr found thirty five rival bakers and confectioners at work in the city, but his Quaker contacts, business acumen and skilful marketing brought success. He became the first biscuit maker to introduce large scale machinery, advertised widely and sent a ton of biscuits annually to the anti-Corn Law League, and used a negress during the American Civil War to advertise both his own biscuits and the cause of the northern states ¹⁸.

16. Carlisle Journal 29 November 1850.

17. Curwen Kirkbie Kendall is full of references to the Carrs.

18. I am grateful to the late Dr. Clare Burgess and to Sir John Burgess for the loan of their MS history of Carr's company; chapter 1.

An evangelistic fervour characteristic of the Primitives was also found in the work of the Bible Christians, a small connexion mainly to be found in Devon and Cornwall and imported to west and south Cumbria with the Cornish mining community of the 1860s⁵. Their few churches and ministers formed an outpost of south west England, and by the 1890s several societies had joined the Primitive circuits whilst others happily merged with the United Methodist Free Churches and the Methodist New Connexion to create the United Methodist Church in 1907⁶. In Cumbria there was just one New Connexion circuit, with two churches in Barrow, founded by off-comers in the 1860s⁷. The New Connexion had been the first to break away from Wesleyanism in the 1790s, but it had a restricted appeal and in Cumbria the circuit was a Lancashire creation and depended upon Manchester and Liverpool.

All of the connexions organised their efforts via annual conference, districts, circuits and societies or chapels, all used full-time travelling preachers or ministers as well as local lay preachers, and a variety of class leaders and stewards. Yet they all differed in details and attitudes sufficiently to have appeal to differing types of people and to maintain a separate identity.

5. T. Shaw The Bible Christians 1815-1907 (1965).

6. R. Davies and G. Rupp eds. A History of the Methodist Church in Great Britain (1965, 1978)¹⁹⁸³ 3 vols. is the standard history.

7. See below pp. 499, 501.

Wesleyan progress was slow until the early nineteenth century expansion of the migrant population in West Cumberland, the development of Carlisle, and in the 1860s the rise of Millom and Barrow. The problems that beset a hard-working and concerned preacher appear in the letter sent by S. Ashton, stationed at Lancaster and responsible for northwards to Kendal and Sedbergh, to Jabez Bunting in 1800. Ashton wrote

The last preachers quarrelled one with the other and Mr. Chittle with most of the leading people, several places gave up preaching and would receive the preachers no more. The ministers state the numbers in society at 380. But we found only 300, Mr. Chittle having not honesty enough to strike from the list the places which he had given up. ⁸

Ashton then went on to describe his three-weekly tour of duty in the circuit, covering Kendal, Beathwaite Green, Strickland, Gaskill Row, Dowbiggin, Sedbergh, Kirkby Lonsdale, Coppleside, Settle, Stainford, Arncliffe, Malham, Coniston, Gargrave, Paythorn, Long Preston, Burton, Wray, Caton, Lancaster and other preaching places, involving him in walking two hundred miles and preaching thirty six sermons .

8. Bunting Correspondence, Ashton to Bunting 4 November 1800. Bunting became the leading Wesleyan of the generation and the dominant force between 1820 and 1850.

Table 28

Formation of Wesleyan Methodist circuits

<u>Circuit</u>	<u>date</u>	<u>origin</u>
Whitehaven	1769	Haworth
Carlisle	1801	Whitehaven
Brough	1803	(Brough 1803/1825, Appleby 1825/1877, Kirkby Stephen 1877)
		Dales
Kendal	1805	Lancaster
Alston	1808	Hexham
Ulverston	1810	Kendal
Wigton	1818	Whitehaven
Penrith	1824	Brough(reunited 1818/1824 after original formation 1806)
Brampton	1836	Carlisle
Cockermouth &		
Keswick	1854	Workington and Wigton
Workington	1865	Whitehaven(reunited 1854/1865 after original formation 1840)
Kirkoswald	1871	Penrith
Sedbergh	1871	Hawes and Kendal(united to Appleby/ Kirkby Stephen 1900)
Barrow	1871	Ulverston
Maryport	1876	Wigton(reunited 1900)
Ambleside	1878	Kendal(reunited 1900)
Millom	1892	Barrow

Note: Whitehaven District formed 1798, replaced by Carlisle 1805.

Ashton continued:

This was my first month's work on foot, the fatigue of walking, talking, rain by day and damp beds by night, has caused me to suffer much in health - whether I shall be able to stand travelling is a matter of doubt, through grace I am resolved with Mr. Crook to die in harness ... One of our friends offered me the loan of a young horse ... it has killed itself - I have bought one.⁹

The gradual formation of circuits, the painstakingly thorough consolidation by local preachers and class leaders after preachers had broken new ground, and the continuing attention to details of finance and organisation helped the Wesleyans become the major Nonconformist body in Cumbria¹⁰. However, stresses were involved in so rapid an expansion between 1800 and 1830¹¹. In a place like Carlisle where membership doubled in ten years and necessitated the recruitment of new class leaders and local preachers the ministers had a tense time in controlling and directing people with no traditional loyalties to conference or themselves¹². There was the inevitable neglect of smaller or remoter societies

9. Bunting Correspondence, Ashton to Bunting 4 November 1800.

10. See table 28 p. 375.

11. See table 29 p. 379, table 30 p.388.

12. R. Currie Methodism Divided: a study of the sociology of Ecumenicalism (1968).

whilst ministers concentrated on the more important ones. This left laymen to assume leadership and to direct society opinion, which might run counter to that of the ministers. Within the ministry, the single vital element in Wesleyanism, jealousies and suspicions led to problems, and Cumbrian posts were often regarded with apprehension by ministers who thus thought that their fears that they had offended some important member of the stationing committee were justified ¹³ .

Robert Gent, sent to Alston in 1844, was the sort of man who might become a part of the disruption within ministerial ranks. He wrote to Bunting:

... never do I expect to labour among a people more signalised for vital godliness, more attached to the constitution of Wesleyan Methodism ... my chastening has been great and deserved, for which no place ... could be better than Alston... ¹⁴

Gent's predecessor had been an equally upset Jewett, who wrote to Bunting in 1842 thus :

I must confess at the last conference I did think I should have had a different circuit than Alston ...
For many years past I have laboured under very painful

13. As a foil to Currie's views see J. Kent The Age of Disunity (1966).

14. Bunting Correspondence, Gent to Bunting 24 February 1845.

feelings from an impression that certain prejudice exists among the preachers against me, which leads me to conclude has been of great evil to me in the Stationing Committee ... If I can be removed from the north to the south I shall be thankful ... ¹⁵

When the Wesleyans decided to set up a theological college in order to educate men for the ministry it was the occasion of a storm of protest led by Samuel Warren, a minister who became the figurehead for the complete disruption of connexional life. Before this decision in 1834 candidates for the ministry had been recruited from amongst young local preachers, who were recommended to conference by their circuit, and then served a four-year probation as ministers ¹⁶. Hoxton was set up in 1834 to provide a more careful and thorough training, followed by Didsbury in 1843, Richmond in the same year, Headingley in 1868, and finally Handsworth in 1881. The tensions over ministerial power, the stresses that had accumulated over the previous forty years, came to a head in 1835.

15. Bunting Correspondence, M.Jewett to Bunting 28 June 1842.

16. The Primitives opened colleges at York 1865-1868, Sunderland 1868-1882, and Manchester 1882 onwards; one third of Wesleyans received training of 2 or 3 years between 1842 and 1868, two thirds between 1868 and 1881, and virtually all thereafter. The Primitives put only half of their men through a 1 year course, later two years. The UMFC used a minister to train men in Manchester until a small college was started in 1869, whilst the New Connexion opened their small college in 1864 at Sheffield.

Table 29Ministerial preaching appointments: Whitehaven circuit 30 November to 26 April 1835 (Wesleyan)

<u>Society</u>	<u>ministerial</u> <u>appointments</u> <u>to preach</u>	<u>local preacher</u> <u>appointments to</u> <u>to preach</u>	
Whitehaven	21	4	
Workington	17	8	
Cockermouth	11	13	
Harrington	11	16	
Maryport	5	17	
Dearham	0	23	
Egremont	0	23	<u>Total Ministerial:</u>
Cleator	0	23	<u>70</u>
Santon	2	20	<u>Total local</u>
Distington	2	22	<u>preachers:</u>
Hensingham	0	22	<u>472</u>
Greysouthen	0	23	
Pardshaw	1	22	
Branthwaite	0	23	
Rowrah	0	11	
Lorton	0	12	
Gilgarron	0	21	
Seaton	0	11	
Mawbray	0	22	
Gt Clifton	0	22	
Brigham	0	11	
Broughton	0	11	
Asby	0	11	
Parton	0	22	
Ginns	0	22	
Sandwith	0	22	

Resistance to the theological institute was based on the fear that Bunting and his friends would turn out generations of ministers who supported their policy of centralising the connexion and its work, and who would develop into devoted supporters of the dominant Bunting. It was also suspected that formal training would stifle individual initiative and the evangelistic impulse amongst young preachers, and that Wesleyan expansion would be retarded¹⁷. Wider issues were also involved: a struggle for power between one clique of ministers and another, and between London and the provinces, the support for the Church of England and the tory party by Bunting, the conference's opposition to teetotalism and to radical political work by members, and the personal standing of Bunting in all matters.

In Cumbria where Wesleyan societies were strongest then the schism was at its worst: Appleby, Carlisle and Whitehaven suffered most. At Whitehaven the redoubtable minister Abraham Watmough faced a circuit leaders' meeting in which only two of fifteen men were loyal, but he expelled the whole of the opposition and single-mindedly struggled for a year to expel from membership all their sympathisers¹⁸. Thomas Dunn, the Carlisle superintendent minister, did exactly the same, whilst their colleague at Appleby, Abel Dernalley tried

17. W.R. Ward The Early Correspondence of Jabez Bunting 1820-1829 (1972) and Early Victorian Methodism: the Correspondence of Jabez Bunting 1830-1858 (1976) are two masterly studies of the Wesleyan secessions.

18. Burgess Cumbrian Methodism pp. 18-69.

to impose his authority on wayward societies but failed. One of Watmough's colleagues at Whitehaven, James Kendall wrote to Bunting about the struggle:

In my present circuit dear Doctor we have fierce work which more than ever convinces me that thorough paced Dissenters holding offices in our Connexion are no great acquisition to us. I have fought in my poor way many a battle for yourself and the theological institute, and have repeatedly perhaps imprudently challenged the outrageous defamers of your character ... the Radicals are in earnest as they not only stop supplies^s from the funds of Conference but from us poor fellows the preachers. ¹⁹

In the Whitehaven circuit the leader was Richard Gordon on the rebel side, and he organised the Association forces into some sort of order and disrupted Wesleyan services ²⁰. Gordon's chief helpers were all local preachers, mainly men who had not been Wesleyan members for more than five years, and a rival Association circuit was quickly established ²¹.

19. Bunting Correspondence, Kendall to Bunting 2 June 1835.

20. See Watmough's article to The Illuminator no.22 November 1835 pp.342-348.

21. Gordon was an ironmonger, his main aides Joseph Casson a tailor, Richard Allason a shoemaker, John Harrison a brewer, Joseph Nicholson a grocer.

Many circuit records disappeared during the troubles, either by design or carelessness, and connexional obituaries written some years later furnish details from the Association side, but not from the Wesleyan ²². In Carlisle the Association was led by T.J. Cox, William Blenkinsop, John Carrick, John Lowthian, William Randleson and James Hogg ²³. Dunn, the circuit superintendent, took on the entire body of dissidents and expelled nearly two hundred members before he felt that he had sufficiently cleansed the city society ²⁴. In Appleby the seceders were led by the Dent family of Bolton and the Crosby family of Kirkby Thore, and Abel Dernaley wrote to Bunting seeking his advice:

... a formal division has taken place. About seventy have left us, perhaps near sixty of them have united with the Association, a few have become Ranters ... Kirkby Thore ... chapel ... was enlarged in the year 1828. Before its enlargement it was 11 yards by 8, now it is 15 by 9. It appears that the old chapel was settled on the Conference plan ... the new part has not been settled... James Crosby says the chapel is his he being the heir ... at Bolton .. Mr. Dent considers the chapel as being little more than a family chapel ...

22. For example UMFC Mag 1881 p.123. Thomas Atkinson.

23. Respectively an architect, builder, textile manufacturer, ironmonger, wholesale merchant and shoemaker.

24. See table 30 p. 388.

at Appleby ... there is a ponderous debt of £1150.
 Very few sittings comparatively are let ... there are
 since the division took place only 13 members ...
 several of the trustees are dead, and others are
 removed to America, several are very poor, and of the
 others who are left who are able to do something
 4 or 5 are Radicals ... at Murton ... trustees ...
 will insist on the chapel being sold ... ²⁵

Bunting replied in peremptory manner:

If people will foolishly build chapels on other people's
 land, or without properly securing them to the Connexion,
 they must abide the consequences ... The case of
 Appleby ... Were the people Mad when they built such
 a costly chapel and premises for so small a society?
 I should think they were. ²⁶

It was not only the membership and connexional finance
 that ^{were} damaged severely, but the recruiting ability of Wesleyan-
 ism was impaired for ten years and more. In the confusion of the
 secessions Cumbrian circuits were in a poor way for some years,
 as Watmough informed Bunting in 1837:

25. Bunting Correspondence, Dernaley to Bunting 30 September 1836.

26. Bunting Correspondence, Bunting to Dernaley 29 October 1836.

... out of nine trustees belonging to the Whitehaven chapel, one is a resident in Liverpool, four are here among the Radicals and have possession of the deeds, another who resides in this town is friendly to us but not a member of any society nor ever attends our chapel, and three of them continue with us ...

but for two of the last named trustees, who raised objections ... on the grounds of the money it was alleged that a new deed would cost them ... for the management of the chapel affairs was in the hands of the Radical trustees, and the feeling of mutual dislike has been such that the two parties of trustees could not or would not meet with each other ... we have difficulty to find men in our own circuit ... willing to become trustees ... Our most respectable members are in other parts of the circuit and will have as little to do with Whitehaven as they can possibly help... To put it connexional rule in force in this circuit according to its letter would give us .. a meeting to execute our laws consisting to a considerable extent of the very enemies of our system and of God, whose presence and influence in the meeting might fully control its decision, and compel us to retain in our societies individuals whose character and conduct are anything but good. ²⁷

27. Bunting Correspondence, Watmough to Bunting 27 January 1837.

It was no use putting a brave face on matters, as did Samuel Wilde, Dunn's Carlisle successor, surrounded as he was with a wrecked circuit halved in membership and places of worship:

The Division which took place two years ago was the worst case in the Kingdom. The late trustees laboured with all their might to embarrass ... The most respectable people in Carlisle think better of Methodism now than before the division. The leading men of the party who left us were never much respected in Carlisle. The Warrenites are making nothing out, either in the town or country. In Carlisle they are at sixes and sevens among themselves. ²⁸

Hugh Beech arrived the next year, 1838, and painted a dim picture where Wilde had wished to emphasise his success:

... I manifested reluctance ... to go to Carlisle the congregations were very small and in the prayer meetings all was still and lifeless. I found 99 members in Carlisle; at the last visitation the number was 148. The other parts of the circuit are not doing much... some time ago I went 10 miles and preached and returned without being asked to take any refreshment ...

I have turned my attention to the state of this district, and at our district meeting last week we thought Whitehaven circuit should be divided, and make Workington the head of a circuit, a married and single preacher at each place, and by taking Keswick from the Wigton circuit where a young man resides, and where he has only one place of five members besides Keswick to attend to, and placing the young man in Workington where he will be surrounded by plenty of work, and do something worth living for ... when we look at Wigton a large and populous place, I wish something could be done in it ... they are extremely low ... Many of our new hearers have come from the church ... ²⁹

Ironically Beech returned to do a second tour of duty at Carlisle just at the outbreak of the Reform agitation of 1850. A series of personal attacks on Bunting and his supporters in the 1840s eventually led to the suspension and expulsion of several ministers including Everett, Dunn and Griffiths, all of whom became the figureheads for a new secession from Wesleyan ranks in the country ³⁰. The whole affair became mixed up with the papal aggression of 1850 in Cumbria, as elsewhere, and the Wesleyan ministry once more found itself under siege ³¹.

29. Bunting Correspondence, Beech to Bunting 22 May 1838.

30. J.C. Bowmer 'Church and Ministry in Wesleyan Methodism from the death of John Wesley to the death of Jabez Bunting 1791-1858' University of Leeds Ph.D. 1966.

31. Ward, Early Victorian Methodism introduction and throughout.

The so-called Fly Sheets of 1846 and 1848 stirred up one major division in Cumbrian circuits, at Carlisle, where once more the circuit almost disappeared from sight amidst a fierce exchange of letters, pamphlets and public debates which as in 1835 involved the local press and political parties ³² . The Reform leaders were William Parker, H.L. McCutcheon, William Proctor, J.S. Cooper, and John Hargreaves ³³ . Beech was at first kind and tolerantly disposed, but faced with rabid public meetings and hostile preachers and leaders' meetings he simply struck out the offenders' names. David Rutherford, the Association preacher, delightedly reopened the wounds of 1835 in the press and drew the Reformers into his own circuit ³⁴ . The effects of the two secessions of 1835 and 1850 in Carlisle were great, and even in circuits where no formal separation took place, Wesleyan work was in the doldrums for years afterwards ³⁵ .

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32. The liberal or whig press—the Carlisle Journal, Whitehaven Herald and Kendal Chronicle — were on the side of the rebels of 1835 and 1850; the tory press—Kendal Advertiser, Carlisle Patriot and Cumberland Packet—strongly pro-conference.
33. Respectively a textile manufacturer, shopkeeper, clerk, retired nco, and whip maker; see J. Hargreaves Methodism as it is in Carlisle ...(Carlisle 1851).
34. J.H. Beech The Good Soldier: the life, labour and character of the Rev. Hugh Beech(1856); ministerial mortality was high due to the two secessions of the 1830s and 1850s causing strain.
35. See table 30 p. 388.

Table 30Methodist attendances on census Sunday March 1851

<u>Whitehaven Registration</u>	<u>total attendances at</u>	<u>places of</u>
<u>District</u>	<u>services</u>	<u>worship</u>
Wesleyan	1815	6
Primitive	966	4
Association	908	4
<u>Carlisle Registration</u>		
<u>District</u>		
Wesleyan	1096	5
Primitive	410	2
Association	2158	12
<u>East Ward Registration DISTRICT</u>		
(Appleby)		
Wesleyan	1897	18
Primitive	818	14
Association	1145	12
<u>Penrith Registration</u>		
<u>District</u>		
Wesleyan	2433	30
Primitive	375	4

Note: Penrith unaffected compared with other areas by the events of 1835 and 1850.

Carlisle Wesleyan circuit membership: 1830, 800;
1836, 400; 1849, 350 ; 1856, 169.

William Morley Punshon, a minister then in Newcastle, became involved in the Carlisle conflict because of his own experiences as a probationer minister for two years in Carlisle and two in Whitehaven in the 1840s³⁶. He had endured great financial privation due to the quarterly meetings' failure to pay proper stipends or expenses, and got on badly with the short-tempered and intolerant local officials³⁷. Punshon clearly felt that he was getting his own back with his attack on the personal appearance of the Reformers, their failings, politics and manners. His words were the product of an over-enthusiastic young preacher, who after migrating to Canada where he became president of the Canadian conference returned to similar influence within British Wesleyanism. Punshon was too a rare catch for Cumbrian circuits, for few of the future big names within Methodism served Cumbrian circuits³⁸.

The Wesleyan Association and Reformers had joined forces in Cumbria long before the national union of 1856, and in Cumbria there were only the three circuits of the United Methodist Free Churches: Whitehaven, Carlisle and Appleby. The men who had cost Wesleyanism so dear were largely those new members and officials who had no particular regard for the ministry, and who

36. F.W. McDonald The Life of William Morley Punshon (1888) pp.61-64.

37. Punshon A Reply to the Wesleyan Reform Meeting ... (1850)

38. Punshon also had a reputation amongst other denominations as an important church leader and preacher.

were determined to force on a national church their own peculiar designs. The schism involved politics, teetotalism, circuit and conferential discipline and authority, and issues of finance, and it was not easy to be precise about men who sometimes wished to abolish the ministry and to ally the new movement to liberal politics.

The Association and Reform leaders were typically the small businessmen represented by Henry Bulman, Isabella Dickinson, William Corbett, Richard Dalton and William Ireland. Bulman came to Armathwaite in the wake of the Carlisle to Settle railway in the early 1870s, and opened a profitable supplies trade to the navvies and company as well as owning the village store ³⁹ .

After a few years the local Methodist church was purposefully built with his money to face the small Anglican one on the other side of the valley. He was a prominent local councillor, liberal, and UMFC member. Dickinson was the widow of a tradesman in Egremont, who used her money to pay off the local chapel debts and to keep it solvent from its origins in 1835 until her own death in 1871 ⁴⁰ . Like Corbett, she was teetotal, and a determined campaigner on behalf of temperance.

Corbett was a Carlisle man who divided his time between that city and Newcastle as preacher, temperance agent and liberal party worker ⁴¹ . His fiery speeches and strongly anti-Anglican

39. Un Meth Mag 1916 p.207; Armathwaite centenary .

40. UMFC Mag 1871 p.665.

41. UMFC Mag 1881 p.702.

stance brought a certain notoriety to the UMFC congregation which also attached to the Dalston church, an outpost of Methodism in close proximity to the parish church and Rose, the bishop's residence. Dalton had been raised at Holme, near Kendal, and after working as a stonemason he sought work in Oldham where he joined the UMFC ⁴². He later settled at Barrow in Furness and was one of the men responsible for persuading the New Connexion, the Bible Christians and UMFC to join forces in the union of 1907. Ireland too had been a stonemason, in Egremont, but turned to farming and became the leading figure in late Victorian United Methodism in West Cumberland, stabilising the Egremont church before founding that at St. Bees, an Anglican bastion with no other place of worship, and several preaching places ⁴³. It was Ireland who noted that the UMFC embodied the strengths of both Congregational and Wesleyan churches without their weaknesses of isolation or central dominance ⁴⁴.

The Cumbrian UMFC was rarely able to expand its societies or preaching places in the way the Wesleyans or Primitives eagerly did, and as the century unfolded the Cumbrian circuits experienced declining fortunes as members emigrated and young people were not enrolled ⁴⁵. In a way it had been as a reaction to Wesleyanism that the circuits came into being; they were

42. Un Meth Mag 1926 p.401.

43. Wes Assoc Mag 1856 p.446.

44. In his MS history of Egremont UMFC c.1880, CRO

45. See table 31 p. 392.

Table 31Appleby United Methodist circuit annual schedules 1881 and 1919

<u>Society</u>	<u>date of cost</u>		<u>seats</u>	<u>attendances</u>		<u>membership</u>	
	<u>chapel</u>	<u>£s</u>		<u>1881</u>	<u>1919</u>	<u>1881</u>	<u>1919</u>
Appleby	1870	800	200	223	46	40	38
Colby	1874	200	72	50	36	16	14
Maulds Meaburn	1878	245	100	93	46	26	28
Murton	1841	100	83	42	20	18	10
Warcop	1844	120	80	72	0	18	4
Sandford	1848	90	70	41	21	7	8
Bolton	1818	gift	140	90	33	22	19
Kirkby Thore	1851	150	120	123	28	14	15
Asby	1859	140	120	40	36	21	23
total			984	774	266	182	155

Number of services per Sunday 1881: 18

1919: 12

Number of local preachers on plan 1850: 25

1888: 20

1910: 16

1920: 14

1932: 10

parasitical on the host connexion, and without the conference and preachers to react against and feed on, their connexional isolation in Cumbria was at times acute.

In contrast, the Primitives were as enthusiastically evangelistic as the UMFC proved staid and respectable. At a time when the Wesleyans were consolidating the Primitives arrived with a flourish during the winter of 1822-1823 and missioned two hundred villages and hamlets ⁴⁶. They were aggressive, intolerant, humourless and poor preachers, easily persecuted where the magistrates or Anglican clergy replied in kind, and some like Francis Jersey were beaten up, imprisoned and fined ⁴⁷. The first generation of Primitive preachers—John Flesher, William Batty, William Harland, Joseph Jopling and others—were usually north easterners, rough, tough, outspoken, devout, and broad in language and accent ⁴⁸. Their contrast with the Wesleyans was deliberate and provocative.

The Primitives appealed at first to Wesleyans dissatisfied with their own connexion, and the new movement required the aid of important local men. In Carlisle, James Johnson and John Boothman, partners in a hat manufacturing business, members of the Wesleyan circuit committee, left with others to establish a Primitive circuit which they felt was more in accordance with Wesley's designs ⁴⁹. Johnson, Boothman's son in law, led the

46. J. Hawkins O'er hill and dale and by the Solway shore(Carlisle 1907) is the circuit history; W. Patterson Northern Primitive Methodism (1909)

47. At Ulverston, Kendal and Lancaster; PM Mag 1823 pp.167, 187, 259.

48. PM Mag 1875 p.106 for Flesher, 1867 p.559 for Batty.

49. PM Mag 1832 p.345, 1833p. 302.

Table 32Formation of Primitive Methodist Circuits

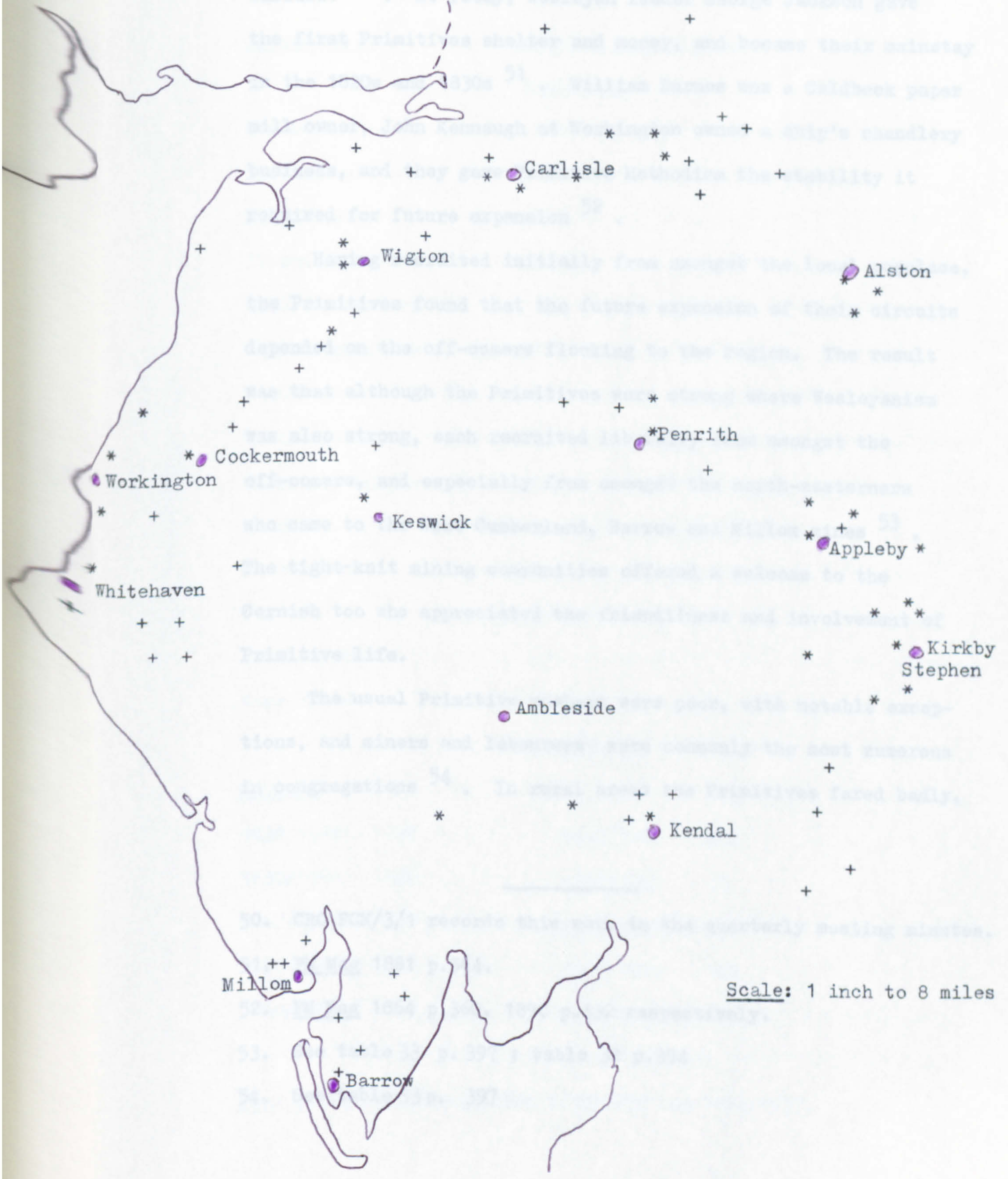
<u>Circuit</u>	<u>date</u>	<u>origin</u>
Carlisle	1823	Hull
Alston	1835	Hexham
Whitehaven	1840	Carlisle
Brough	1849	Barnard Castle
Kendal	1857	Lancaster
Maryport	1862	Whitehaven
Barrow	1866	Kendal
Penrith	1876	Kendal and Carlisle
Wigton	1883	Carlisle and Whitehaven
Workington	1884	Whitehaven and Maryport
Cockermouth	1893	Workington and Maryport
Dalton and Millom	1894	Barrow
Brampton	1906	Carlisle

Note:Sunderland District until 1886 when Carlisle and Whitehaven District created; Barrow, Dalton and Millom under Liverpool District.

Map 10

Distribution of churches in Cumbria

Primitive Methodist: before 1830: * +
 after 1830 : +



Scale: 1 inch to 8 miles

Carlisle mission to Paisley, and helped organise Primitive preaching in fifty villages down the Eden valley and around Carlisle ⁵⁰ . At Tebay, Wesleyan leader George Jackson gave the first Primitives shelter and money, and became their mainstay in the 1820s and 1830s ⁵¹ . William Barnes was a Caldbeck paper mill owner, John Kennaugh at Workington owned a ship's chandlery business, and they gave Primitive Methodism the stability it required for future expansion ⁵² .

Having recruited initially from amongst the local populace, the Primitives found that the future expansion of their circuits depended on the off-comers flocking to the region. The result was that although the Primitives were strong where Wesleyanism was also strong, each recruited liberally from amongst the off-comers, and especially from amongst the north-easterners who came to the West Cumberland, Barrow and Millom mines ⁵³ . The tight-knit mining communities offered a welcome to the Cornish too who appreciated the friendliness and involvement of Primitive life.

The usual Primitive members were poor, with notable exceptions, and miners and labourers were commonly the most numerous in congregations ⁵⁴ . In rural areas the Primitives fared badly,

50. CRO FCM/3/1 records this work in the quarterly meeting minutes.

51. PM Mag 1881 p.564.

52. PM Mag 1864 p.360, 1890 p.432 respectively.

53. See table 33 p. 397 ; table 32 p.394

54. See table 33p. 397

Table 33Occupational structure of Whitehaven Primitive Methodists 1839-1937

<u>Occupations</u>	<u>entries in baptismal registers</u>
Coalminers	1420
Iron miners	151
Labourers	183
Illegitimate	111
Colliery workers	179
Carpenters/Joiners	116
Stonemasons	66
Blacksmiths	73
Insurance agents	23
Grocers	17
Railwaymen	283
Carters	20
Shopkeepers	63
None listed	291

Entries:

1839/1849	350	1890/1899	460
1850/1859	560	1900/1909	55
1860/1869	600	1910/1919	140
1870/1879	440	1920/1929	180
1880/1889	720	1930/1937	67

Source: Baptismal registers 1839/1882 and 1882/1937.

and in Penrith area the Wesleyans excluded other Methodists from all but a few villages⁵⁵. The Primitives did well in Cumbria's industrial and mining communities, with the notable exception of part of Westmorland's East Ward.⁵⁶ Primitives did not have the money which was pumped into Wesleyan circuits, and ministerial housing, stipends and expenses were small in value.⁵⁷ By the 1860s the early financial mismanagement and insecurity was disappearing, and so was some of the Primitive sense of urgency in mission work as they built chapels-places of worship normally under half the cost and half the size of the Wesleyan churches. Nonetheless, the growth of respectability within a denomination that had picked up so many who might otherwise have been lost to Methodism encouraged permanent breaking of new ground in the late nineteenth century, and circuit formation was not complete until the 1900s⁵⁸.

Mention has been made of training for ministerial candidates, and the Primitives of all the Methodist connexions placed least emphasis upon official education⁵⁹. Entry into

55. See below p. 403.

56. See map 10 p. 395.

57. See table 19 p. 228.

58. See table 32 p. 394 ; the Primitives were the last connexion to cease expanding in Cumbria.

59. See above p. 378 ;see C. Field 'Methodism in Metropolitan London 1850-1920' University of Oxford D.Phil. 1974 chapter 2, on the training of the ministry.

Table 34Occupational structure of Penrith Primitive Methodists 1857-1901

<u>Occupations</u>	<u>entries in baptismal registers</u>
Labourers	106
Farmers yeomen	
Smallholders	55
Carpenters and joiners	54
Masons	45
Shoe clog and bootmakers	32
Tailors and drapers	34
Railwaymen	66
Husbandmen and farmworkers	36
Blacksmiths	16
Shopkeepers	14

Entries:

1858/1869	156	1880/1889	215
1870/1879	321	1890/1901	103

Source: Baptismal register 1857/1901.

the ranks of the Primitive ministry was easy, and Cumbrian circuits were often in difficulties to find suitable men ⁶⁰. Exit too was as easy, and in Cumbria quite common too through illness, depression, early death, and scandals ⁶¹. Former Primitive ministers turned up in other denominations- in the Charlotte Street Congregational church records, Carlisle, two former Primitives turned up. George Wood and his wife Annie were enrolled in 1872, and he went on to train at the Nottingham institute before leaving Carlisle in 1880 ⁶². John Hall was a member in 1878 before leaving for Alston ⁶³. Unlike the Congregational ministers, those in the Primitive connexion received an indifferent education.

The difference in status and education between the Methodist connexions was marked. The Wesleyans' ministers tended to be distanced from their members in Cumbria where less than ten per cent of men who served regional circuits came from the county. In Primitive ranks, over one third of ministers posted to Cumbria had been raised in the county ⁶⁴. The

60. Burgess Cumbrian Methodism pp.70-96.

61. W. Leary MS list of Primitive Methodist Ministers, in the Rylands library, Manchester.

62. Charlotte Street Congregational church roll; see above p.282.

63. Why Alston was not explained and he was not a minister there.

64. J. Burgess Methodist ministers who served in Cumbrian circuits (Carlisle 1977) 2 vols. provides lists on all known ministers in the several connexions. The Primitives specialised in an inexpensive ministry recruited via circuit local preachers.

result was a host of petty local difficulties since many ministers were related to members and involved in disputes within the circuit membership, whereas the Wesleyans experienced far less problems. John Robson took one third of the Penrith Primitive members out into his 'own special brand of Christianity' in 1898, leaving the remnant leaderless ⁶⁵. The shambles created by ministerial disaffection at Brough in 1858 and in Whitehaven in the 1850s did not spread beyond circuit boundaries but seriously impaired Primitive effectiveness ⁶⁶. In Carlisle the problems created by William Saul, who had re-entered the ministry, were as tiresome for the district committee delegated to sort them out as the fly sheet controversies were to the Wesleyans ⁶⁷.

By the 1860s most Cumbrian Methodist circuits, in all connexions, were set for forty years of prosperity with the steady flow of migrants into the region and the consolidation of early evangelistic endeavours by the pouring of money into places of worship. The provision of a new £10,000 chapel at Whitehaven for the Wesleyans signalled the recovery after 1835 and 1850, whilst in the 1870s a measure of success was granted even to the Lake District ministers at Keswick and Ambleside ⁶⁸.

65. CRO FCM/3/2/1 Penrith PM circuit quarterly meeting minutes 1868-1900.

66. Burgess Cumbrian Methodism pp.78ff.

67. Burgess Cumbrian Methodism pp.81-89.

68. Facet of Life in Keswick p.12 ;Keswick and Cockermouth Centenary; Ambleside circuit early records are in the KRO.

The work of expansion was given fresh impetus by the dramatic rise of Barrow and Millom, and the Methodist connexions were prominent in the towns' religious history as in its economic development ⁶⁹. There was too the growth of select resorts such as Arnside and Grange over Sands, where large numbers of Lancastrian Methodists had retired and where there remains today a genteel suburban Methodism quite alien to Cumbrian society ⁷⁰.

There were a few conflicts, notably in Carlisle and Barrow Wesleyan Methodism when the decaying central churches wished to deny inevitable supremacy within the circuit to the new up-and-coming societies further out in the suburbs ⁷¹. G. Branwell Evens amicably settled the Carlisle dispute by building a large new central hall on the site of the decayed society; at Barrow the wealth of the Abbey Road suburban society triumphed over the artisans of Hartington Street ⁷². The spirit of missionary enterprise continued in Barrow's slums, whilst the Irish of each industrial area presented the ultimate challenge to Victorian Methodists. Caldewgate mission tackled Carlisle's Irish, the Kirk and Hogarth missions wrestled with those in Whitehaven ⁷³.

69. See below p. 498.

70. W.N. Birkett 'A Typical country circuit:chronicles of Ulverston Methodism' Methodist Recorder 12 February 1905.

71. Burgess, thesis, pp. 222-224.

72. CRO FCM/1/2/115-and 223, Carlisle Wesleyan circuit quarterly minutes 1891-1940; BRO BDFC/M/1/ Barrow Wesleyan circuit quarterly minutes 1887-1916; see below p. 498.

73. Wes Meth Mag 1868 pp.276,468,966;Wigton Road centenary, this church being Caldewgate's successor.

Penrith Methodism provided a pattern of how Methodism developed in Cumbria. Methodist services were commenced by Dales preachers invited by the Varty family after being converted on business to Yorkshire in the 1770s, but after Varty senior's death in 1814 his family declined to support Wesleyanism further and the small new circuit was in immediate difficulties ⁷⁴ . A gift from Varty's sons of £1,000 helped the town society open the Sandgate church but the debt acquired was not paid off until the 1860s, and the circuit had to merge once more with Brough because of its financial instability ⁷⁵ . After six years Penrith Wesleyan circuit was re-established in 1824 and its fortunes dramatically changed.

What helped the circuit to recovery was migration into the town, migration encouraged by the railways of the 1830s and 1840s which offered new work and business opportunities, and the expansion of Penrith as a market centre for the Eden valley and ancient forest of Inglewood ⁷⁶ . Large numbers of people moved just a few miles into Penrith, but once removed from their rural environment they were easily brought into the Methodist fold by the friendliness and warmth of the welcome at chapel. The Presbyterian, Congregational and Primitive churches could offer none of the connections, facilities and extended

74. G.G.S. Thomas The Christian Patriarch: the life of Mr. Robert Gate (1869) contains a history of Penrith Wesleyanism.

75. See below p. 614.

76. Lancaster - Carlisle railway c.1846, Penrith to Cockermouth c. 1865, Settle to Carlisle c.1872.

network of surrounding village societies which characterised Penrith Wesleyanism, and after several decades of groundwork by Robert Gate and a band of local preachers there were thirty permanent preaching places and twelve chapels in 1830. There was within the Wesleyan circuit a clear division between the large, prosperous farming communities of the Eden valley and fellside who supported a large amount of Wesleyan work, and the small poorer societies of Inglewood and the area south of Penrith and into Westmorland ⁷⁷. The influence of the earls of Lonsdale kept Methodism out of the parishes around Lowther and Methodism was discouraged by unofficial means amongst the many tenant farmers. On the fellside and along the Eden there were many small owner-occupier farmers who found in Methodism the sort of religion that they wanted, and who had no overweening landlord ⁷⁸.

In the 1860s the prosperity of the farming community encouraged Kirkoswald to become head of a new circuit which included most of the large societies but left it a circuit without a major society. Penrith was left in 1871 with all the small causes which increasingly depended upon town money, workers and local preachers for their survival ⁷⁹. Penrith money was

77. Wes Meth Mag 1848 pp.535-537, 1866 p.1152.

78. P. Bowstead 'Rural Methodism in parts of east Cumberland and west Westmorland during the nineteenth century with special reference to its social background' University of Lancaster M.A. 1973.

79. 80% of trustees in 1890 lived in Penrith, most trustee meetings were held in the town chapel; membership was evenly divided between town and the others, but 80% of all officials lived in Penrith town in 1890.

used to breach the Lowther estates in the 1870s when three earls in ten years with decreasing interests and involvements in the region ignored Methodist encroachment and a rash of chapels were opened : Helton, Pooley, Bampton, Shap, Blencarn, Strickland, Askham, Melkinthorpe, Clifton and Cliburn amongst them.

Town dominance in circuit Wesleyanism showed in the work of a handful of men : Gate, his son in law John Pattinson, and his partner in the solicitor's firm, Christopher Fairer, Alfred Marriner, a railway director and business man, and John Crone, a retired sugar refinery owner from Liverpool. Pattinson and Gate were the organisers, Fairer the legal expert in demand by all denominations and a public figure, and Crone had the money⁸⁰. It was not only the farmers who figured prominently in local Methodist chapels, but shopkeepers too. By the end of the nineteenth century forty seven shopkeepers in Penrith rented seats in the Wordsworth Street church, and most village shops were Methodist meeting places⁸¹. It was the sort of organised, daunting, connected religion which kept the Primitives weak and dissuaded other denominations from mission work⁸².

80. See below p. 615 ; Westmorland and Cumberland Leaders Social and Political gives biographies to only two Methodists, Marriner and Fairer.

81. CRO FCM/3/1/99 seat rent ledger 1891-1921.

82. Patterson Northern Primitive Methodism pp.121ff; Penrith Primitive circuit was the most precarious in Cumbria, and had only 100 members in the 1920s.

An Anglican rural deanery notorious for its high church proclivities did much to send communities into the Wesleyan camp, a high church influence centred on the Lowther incumbents and on Skerwith⁸³. Methodist chapels adorned most larger villages and many smaller ones in the Eden valley, often built on the edge of the community due to Anglican opposition and the strangely common practice of having to obtain land for chapels via subterfuge⁸⁴. It is instructive to see at Skerwith a decidedly high church Anglican building with large vicarage next door, facing across a beck and narrow but steep valley to the Wesleyan chapel which was only built in the 1860s, once membership had doubled in five years and a ritualist sympathiser had been installed in the parsonage⁸⁵.

Bishop Waldegrave was no particular friend to Nonconformity, and viewed the interdenominational agencies such as the YMCA with jaundiced opinion. His being an evangelical led some to suppose that Waldegrave would support the YMCA, or that he might favour the work of any evangelicals. The bishop informed one correspondent that in Salisbury 'the YMCA did not meet with my support'⁸⁶. He went on to add:

83. See above p. 126.

84. For example Armathwaite, Lazonby, Wetheral, Kirkoswald, Ainstable and Ousby.

85. See above pp.125ff.

86. Waldegrave MS, book 1, Waldegrave to Rev. Mr. Roundell, 21 January 1860.

Few Nonconformists ... have ever looked upon me with that favorable eye with which it is often supposed that they regard the clergy commonly called Evangelical ... I could never agree to the sending of Dissenting agents into any parish ... ⁸⁷

Repeated attempts by YMCA officials to tempt Waldegrave to their cause failed, as in 1868:

Sir, the experience of more than seven years has not done otherwise than confirm the judgment finally favored by me-namely that it is not expedient for me to join a society like that of which you are secretary when it is impossible for me, living several miles from Carlisle, to exercise any real influence over its proceedings . ⁸⁸

To the editor of the Wesleyan Methodist Magazine he was able to agree with Methodist condemnation of the common enemy, Roman Catholicism and ritualists, but Wesleyan and bishop had little else in common and Wesleyan success in Penrith rural deanery was one sign of Anglican failure ⁸⁹ .

87. Waldegrave MS, book 1, Waldegrave to Roundell, 21 January 1860.

88. Waldegrave MS, book 3, Waldegrave to W.Watt, 29 May 1868.

89. Waldegrave MS, book 2, Waldegrave to Wes Meth Mag editor, 2 December 1867.

The Penrith Wesleyans had founded the town's largest day school as a response to Sir James Graham's education bill in 1843, and it had flourished ⁹⁰. They also ran most of the town's social, sporting, and recreation clubs and societies, Bands of Hope for twelve hundred children, Sunday schools for over fifteen hundred, and attracted both Presbyterian and Congregational churches to take part. When the circuit went on its annual school trip to Morecambe or Blackpool, it hired a special train at cheap rates off Marriner, packed in fifteen hundred Methodist members, hearers and friends, and three hundred people from other churches. Penrith Wesleyan society, with its neighbour and child Kirkoswald, ran forty churches which attracted several thousand Cumbrians to worship, and affected most aspects of everyday life. ⁹¹

The Primitives and United Methodists always acted more like Nonconformists than did the Wesleyans before the 1860s, and their opposition to the Church of England and the tory party tended to differ substantially from the friendly neutrality of Jabez Bunting and the conference of the period 1820-1860. Of course it is an over-simplification to say that Wesleyans became Nonconformists at a particular date or due to certain causes, but the Wesleyans were not seen as part of mainstream non-Anglicanism by the other denominations until after the late 1860s ⁹².

90. CRO FCM/3/1/87 on are the school records.

91. Burgess Cumbrian Methodism pp.10-14, 111ff, 143ff.

92. See below pp.669ff.

The 1840s had pushed some Wesleyans away from the Church of England, but the denomination continued for years to occupy middle ground between the two warring sides of Church and Chapel ⁹³. What finally pushed the body of Wesleyan Methodists into outright Nonconformity in the 1860s was the activity of a reformed and aggressive Anglican establishment under Waldegrave and other reforming bishops. The Wesleyan district education schedule recorded in 1876:

Three Sunday schools have been given up, two of them owing to undue Church of England influence which can only be regretted ... the committee urge renewed efforts in areas where provision might be improved notwithstanding present circumstances ⁹⁴ .

When Robert Gate retired as a local preacher in 1865 after sixty years work the whole town turned out to honour him, but his day of respectable, religion oriented Wesleyanism had passed, and he would have found the activities of later Victorian Wesleyans hard to understand. Gate had devoted himself to religion and charitable works through his Good Samaritans, but the Wesleyans of the late 1860s were becoming increasingly involved in overt political activity and tending strongly towards the liberals ⁹⁵ .

93. See above pp.406,407.

94. CRO FCM/3/1/66 Wesleyan district education schedule.

95. See below pp.659ff ; Thomas Christian Patriarch pp.120-132.

The wider spheres of Wesleyan activity did mean that the religious content within the denomination declined, and in Cumbrian circuits of most of the connexions there was a subsequent reaction to this secularisation. The arrival of the Salvation Army in the county in 1879 led to several serious secessions from both Primitive and Wesleyan ranks, and nowhere was this more noticeable than in Penrith. Of course the Army was imported through off-comers despatched by Booth from London, but their work was lasting where locally important people joined them. In Penrith, James Irving brought the new movement the stability it required ⁹⁶.

Irving, or Happy Jimmy as he became known in Methodist circles, had been raised at Uldale and Harrington where his parents had been farm servants. He occasionally attended the parish churches but until the age of twenty one, in 1821, Irving had had no contact with Methodism in his farm work. Irving was one of the farm workers who changed farms every six months or annually, but in the 1840s he was converted in a general Wesleyan mission in the Matterdale district, north of Ullswater; by 1849 he was on plan as a local preacher and had married into a Wesleyan family.

Irving was a revivalist, a mission worker, devout, noisy and effective in moving his audiences or congregation. He was one of Robert Gate's friends and a Wesleyan of the old school who disliked political Nonconformity ⁹⁷. As he moved job and

96. W. Furness Reminiscences and Diary of Happy Jimmy (James Irving coal merchant of Penrith) the eccentric local preacher and Salvation Army soldier and treasurer ... (Penrith 1888)

97. The biography has no pagination.

settled first in Watermillock, then Temple Sowerby, Shap and finally Penrith in the 1860s where he prospered as a coal merchant, Irving was the permanent evangelist, and regarded the recreational side-the entertainments, clubs and sports-attached to the connexion as so much useless frippery. He was in the forefront of the revivals which regularly occurred in the late 1850s, the 1860s and 1870s, and in his diary recorded his black moods of depression when not engaged in such work. Irving also recorded the arrival of the Army in the town during 1880, led by Captain Hemming.

It was the urgency in the Army's message and work, the zeal and dedication, the flurry as they marched through the town, that attracted Irving at first. At his invitation and expense the Army missioned the surrounding villages, and he paid for their Penrith premises. Irving's enthusiasm knew no bounds, and he became the Army's treasurer, secretary, financier, and chief supporter, but only finally breaking with the Wesleyans in 1882. For the last four years of his life, Irving remained the chief Salvationist of the district, and attracted into Army ranks a number of Methodists-including his biographer, William Furness, who was expelled for his evangelistic endeavours which upset the Wesleyan circuit authorities.

Irving and his friends saw in the Army what they felt had been lost or abandoned by Methodism: religious fervour and devotion to God as secular interests corrupted honest religious work. The same was true in other circuits. At Wigton forty Primitive members abandoned the circuit and joined the Salvation Army in the years 1885 to 1890, whilst in Maryport, Workington

and Whitehaven similar losses were reported ⁹⁸. Whitehaven Primitive circuit investigated claims that their local preachers were doing duty on behalf of the Army, found these to be true, and banned all members from attending Army services ⁹⁹. A number of officials then resigned and joined the Army in 1880, and membership losses were reported as being caused by defections to the Salvationists. The early Salvation Army seems to have been as much a parasite on the Methodists as the United Methodists had once been.

Methodism was so often the nineteenth century leader in denominational matters, and encouraging or forcing other denominations to use evangelists, local preachers, effective Sunday or day schools, Bands of Hope, a plethora of recreational and not strictly religious societies and clubs, and above all to organise properly, that Methodist determination to remain between Nonconformity and Anglicanism requires comment. The Primitives and United Methodists, as has been noted above, were readier to become Nonconformists at an early stage in their history, and had the UMFC people not been expelled from within Wesleyanism in 1835 and 1850 they would have pushed that connexion

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98. Circuit quarterly meeting minutes 1880-1890 for Wigton, CRO FC/M, Maryport CRO FCM/1/102, for Workington CRO FCM/7/2/1, for Whitehaven FC/M; annual circuit schedules report a summary of the year's problems and successes, often simply stuck into the minutes.
99. Whitehaven PM annual schedule 1879/1880 CRO FC/M.

far earlier into Nonconformity. As it was, in Cumbria the Wesleyans of the late 1860s and 1870s adopted a Nonconformist stance characteristic of the UMFC of the 1830s and 1840s. The common reliance in the several connexions on the off-comers made them akin to the Nonconformists, although more notable within Methodism was the important role played by Cumbrians who moved from village or town to new areas over the course of their careers. Methodism was the denomination for the vigorous native, the man who was determined to better himself by removing area, as well as one of the denominations of the off-comer.