

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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Section 3Religion and Cumbria

Religion and Cumbria

Religious history was never simply a matter of strict denominational enterprise and activity, and whatever the type of religious beliefs a part of the Cumbrian community possessed it was impossible for them to remain outside the general religious workings of the region. A large number, and in places or at time even a majority, of Cumbrians did not attend places of worship, but this did not mean that their lives were unaffected by religion. Most aspects of daily life were touched by more than a hint of religiosity, and Christianity as well as pagan remnants achieved a position of pervasive influence.

The issue of alcoholic liquor was a live one in nineteenth century Cumbrian society, and the rise of strong Nonconformist opinion meant that drink would remain a key theme in the early twentieth century. Sir Wilfrid Lawson, first baronet of Brayton, was one early teetotal and temperance leader subsequently overshadowed by his more illustrious son, Sir Wilfrid, second baronet. The elder Sir Wilfrid was in many ways a typical Cumbrian, and far more so than the Lowthers and others. Lawsons married into Cumbrian families, lived and worked in the county, and formed an important piece of society's fabric when Lowthers lived in London, married into families without local ties, and beyond imposing their political and economic will took a decreasing amount of interest in Cumbrian affairs as the century progressed. The Lawson temperance work forms a necessary background to the start of the Carlisle state management scheme of 1916, when the most

prominent and successful Carlisle industrialist families were united in a common need to guarantee their commercial enterprises by concerted action in regulating both drink and drinking habits. They were linked not only by this scheme, but by their political outlook which involved the Lawsons and Wyberghs, their common evangelical sympathies though expressed from within different denominations, and their artistic tastes which hinged on admiration for the pre-Raphaelites¹.

It was inevitable that education would be closely involved with religion due to the role of the Church of England over the centuries. Once a religiously pluralistic society was established the effects of the conflict between Anglican and non-Anglican determined the shape of educational provision until and even after the ^{intervention} of the state. Education was one issue which might flare up or die down and which could lie dormant for years; one issue which would remain a burning one was Barrow in Furness, a great Victorian creation with suitably large social and industrial problems.

Barrow was the creation of the off-comer, so that religious history concerned the work of the off-coming denominations imported by a horde of migrants from all over Britain. As a town it was unique in Cumbria, as were its difficulties; in this thesis Barrow's religious history is

1. See below pp. 579ff.

contrasted with that of a rural Westmorland parish, Ravenstonedale, where traditional Dissenting history was affected by the off-coming families with local links or who returned to their native parish with new religious ideas. Into the present century the Ravenstonedale community was deeply affected by religious divisions centred on Anglican and Nonconformist places of worship.

The survival of pagan beliefs both as part of and extraneous to mainstream Christianity was to be observed in Ravenstonedale as in the rest of rural Cumbria, but the off-comer was of little benefit to such popular religious expressions and often adversely affected ^{their} survival. Nonetheless in the nineteenth century popular religion was not simply a superficial folklore but a set of ideas embedded in many Cumbrian farming parishes.

The most concrete survival of religious history from 1780 to 1920 was the places of worship scattered in large numbers across the region, and testimony to the virility of the denominations, as well as to their money. The architects and the patrons were important in Anglican church building, but the non-Anglicans often continued to use their own ideas and plans and the skills of their congregation until they too turned to the experts with taste. There remained a vein of Cumbrian skill that did not only find expression within Quakerism: Wreay parish church was at once the product of native craftsmen and patroness and of off-coming ideas.

Within religious architecture there was too a split between the products of the native patrons and those of the off-comers, whether Nonconformist or Anglican, and their own individual interpretations of what was required. The two important regional firms of Paley and Austin, and Charles Ferguson, might be used to an extent in all types of parishes, but the ~~Pre-Raphaelites~~ found favour in Howard areas, never in the Lowther parishes.

The single most important theme in Cumbrian life affected by religion was that of politics. Religious history was often closely identified with political history, the main parliamentary contestants and their leading supporters being from different church or denominational backgrounds although it was usually a struggle within Anglican ranks. Carlisle was not only the Anglican centre for the diocese, it was the non-Anglican centre, and what went on there was watched by the rest of the region. Not only did each denomination provide differing patterns of polling in city elections, but no congregation remained politically unchanging and the developments for example within Methodism showed how dedicated political partisanship continuously varied. The intermixing of politics and religion was a complex matter, and for most of the period under review local circumstances were of greater significance than national trends. This third section is above all a study of how religion affected wider issues and themes of Cumbrian life.

Temperance, Sir Wilfrid Lawson, and the State Management Scheme

The preoccupation with alcoholic drink and its abuses developed into a peculiarly acute one in the nineteenth century. The first widespread interest in the drink problem during the 1830s attracted members of certain denominations but either passed others by or repelled them, and in particular the Church of England and the Wesleyan Methodists¹. The Presbyterians and the Roman Catholics showed little inclination even in the late Victorian period to take part in temperance work, and the Bewcastle Presbyterians were typical of Cumbrian congregations in showing no desire to encourage temperance². On the other side were the Primitive Methodists, the UMFC, and the Congregational churches of Cumbria who provided the leading proponents of teetotalism as well as temperance from the 1830s onwards, and whose work was given a sense of urgency by the railway construction of the 1830s through to the 1870s when drink turned bands of navvies into raging mobs in certain parishes³. It was easy for traditional rural society to label these congregations as killjoys determined to stop their pastimes and pleasures, but by the later nineteenth century where Nonconformity was strong, which was usually where the off-comers were numerous, then temperance too was powerful.

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1. B.Harrison Drink and the Victorians (1971); A.E.Dingle The Campaign for Prohibition in ^{Victorian} England (1980)
 2. See above pp.310ff.
 3. D.Joy Railways of the Lake Counties (Clapham 1973) pp.9,19, 55, 69.

Isel Parish church:

temperance work was due to the inevitable link between

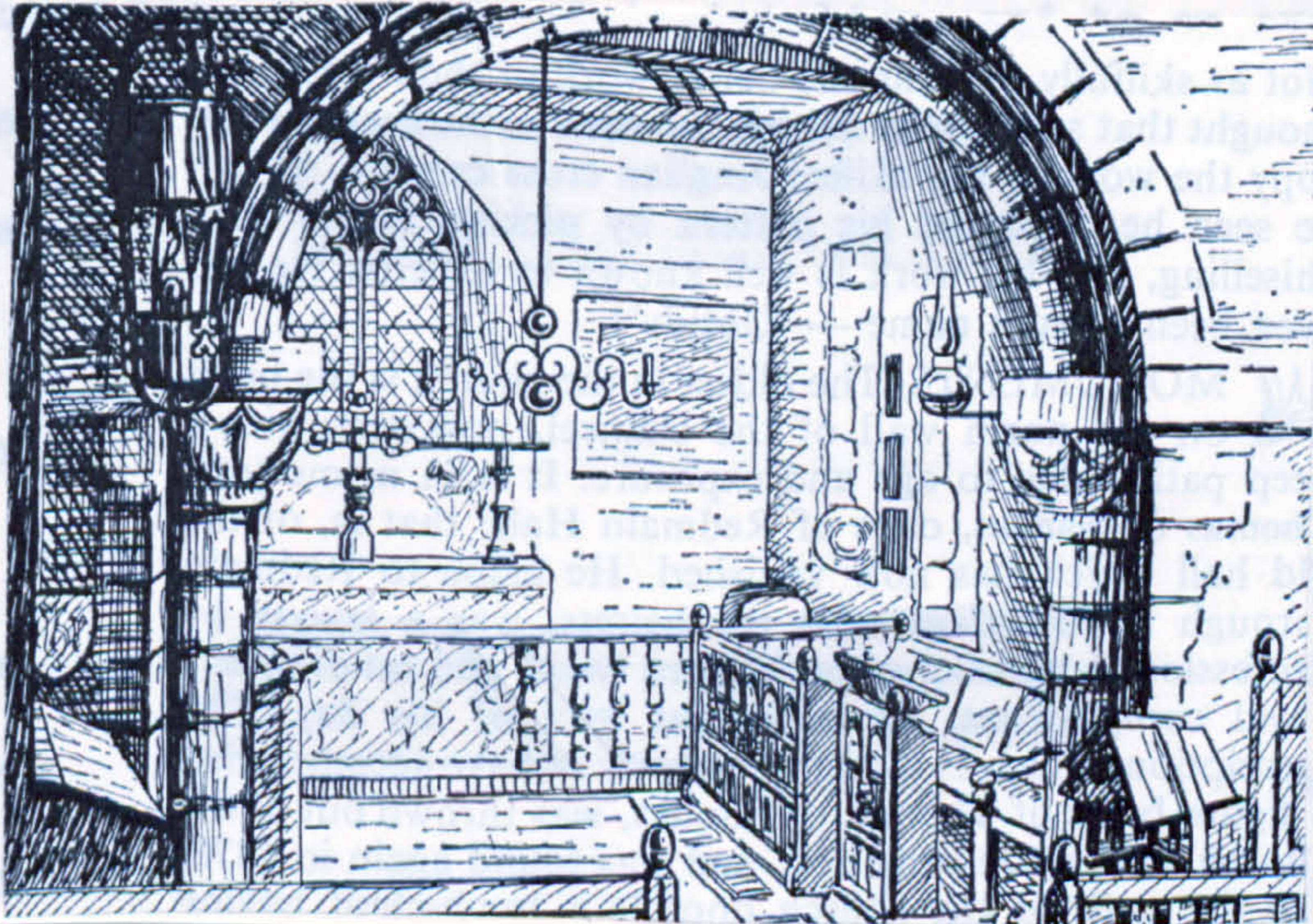
in a largely rural
population lay with the

exterior

land. In mining centres
and not only at election
of treating workers and of
However by the last third
and some Anglicans



interior



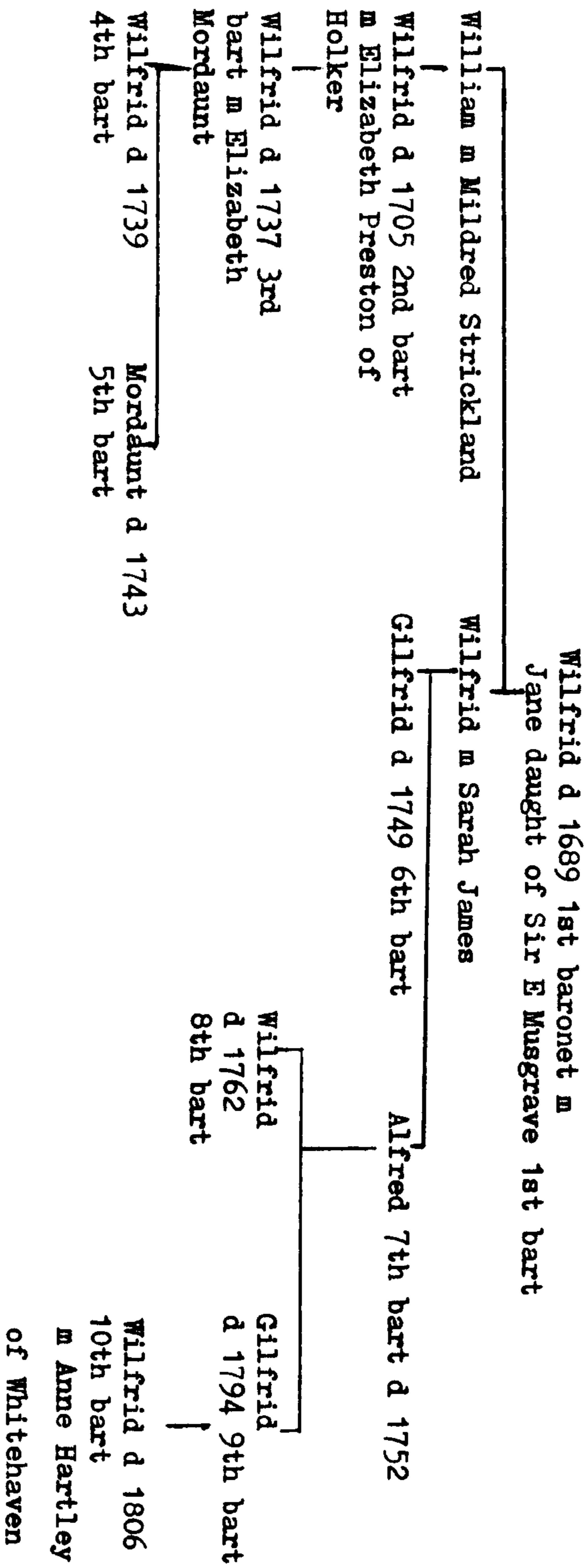
Isel church with the
Lawson gravestones and
Isel hall above the river
Derwent.

Wesleyan and Anglican reluctance to associate with temperance work was due to the inevitable link between radical politics and teetotalism, and in a largely rural county such as Cumbria traditional sympathies lay with the agricultural society favoured by the Lowthers, the Tories, the public house and the Church of England. In mining centres too the Lowthers encouraged drinking, and not only at election time, and it had been the usual way of treating workers and of encouraging community solidarity ⁴. However by the last third of the nineteenth century the Wesleyans and some Anglicans were favoring temperance if not teetotalism, and to an extent cooperating with the early denominational teetotal leaders, the Congregationalists, the Primitives and the UMFC.

Sir Wilfrid Lawson, first baronet of the new creation, of Brayton, was an unlikely recruit to teetotalism in the 1840s ⁵. Estates amounting to about seven thousand acres, together with extensive colliery development in West Cumberland and the ancient home of Isel Hall as well as the more modern Brayton, had come to Thomas Wybergh in 1806. Wybergh inherited the old Lawson estates, and changed his name to Lawson, because of his aunt, Anne Hartley, through her marriage to Sir Wilfrid Lawson, tenth and last baronet of the old creation. Thomas Lawson, formerly Wybergh, died in 1812 and the estates passed to his younger brother Wilfrid.

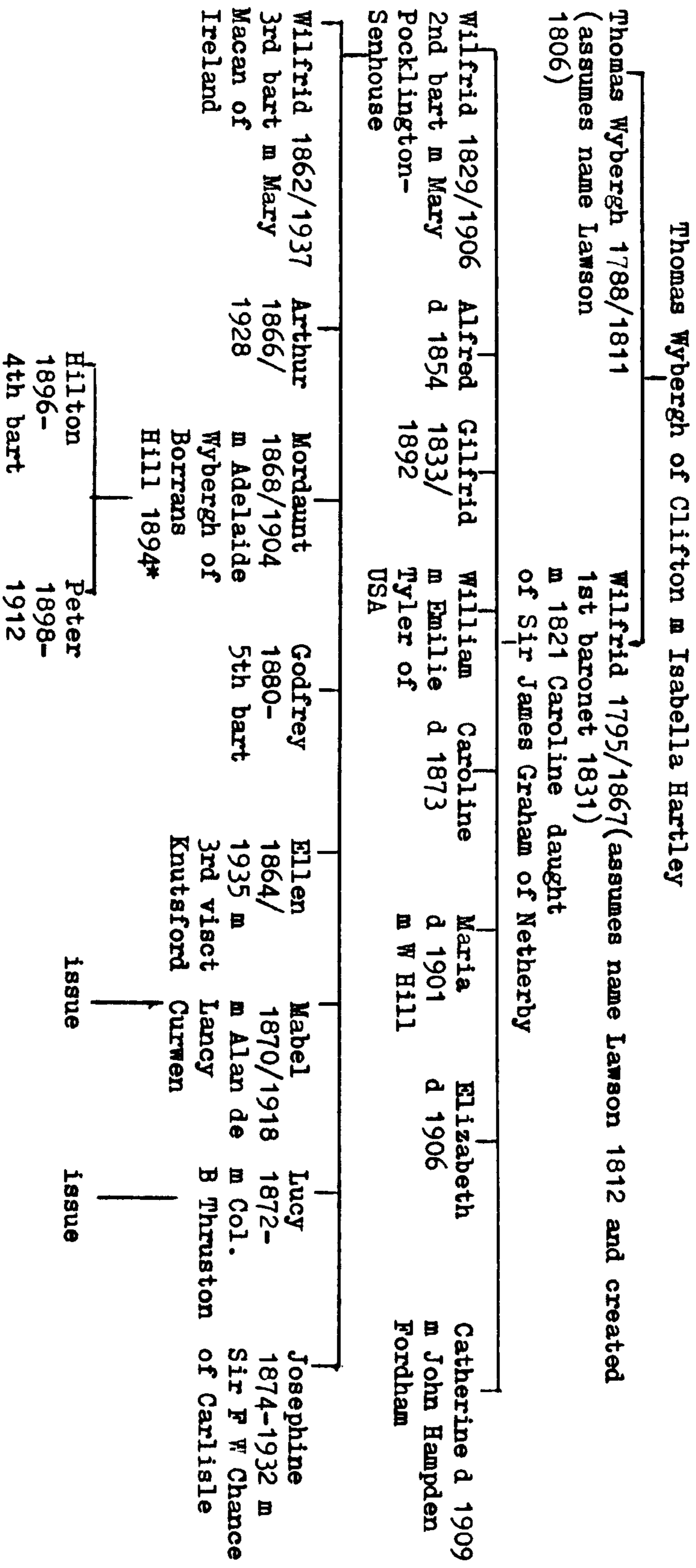
4. O'Neill, thesis, 'Paternalism in Whitehaven' pp.8ff.

5. See family tree pp. 422-423.

Lawson of Isel and Brayton

title extinct; estates pass
 to Wyberghs of Clifton Hall,
 nephews to Anne Hartley by
 her sister Isabella Hartley
 and Thomas Wybergh of Clifton

Lawson of Isel and Brayton



* Wybergh family moved from Clifton to Borrans c.1840, near Sebergham

Wilfrid Wybergh too assumed the name Lawson, and was created a baronet in 1831 due to the influence of his brother in law, Sir James Graham of Netherby⁶. At first Sir Wilfrid had devoted himself to raising the value of his estate, to the traditional pursuit of fox hunting, and later to bringing up a large family. He tried to enter politics, and had aided his friend Henry Brougham at Kendal during the 1818 election, as well as encouraging his family to participate⁷. In 1816 Lawson rode to Carlisle to offer himself as the blue or reform candidate, but was turned down, and then finally in 1827 went to the poll against the tory James Lushington, who beat him at Carlisle by thirty nine votes⁸.

What dramatically altered Lawson was a serious illness about the year 1840, when he thought he was dying and asked the Blennerhasset Dissenters' minister, Mr. Walton, to comfort him. Walton did the job so well that Lawson became one of the major evangelical figures in Cumbria between 1840 and 1870⁹.

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6. J.T. Ward Sir James Graham (1967) p.113
7. G.W.E. Russell Sir Wilfrid Lawson, a Memoir(1909), and W.B. Luke Sir Wilfrid Lawson(1900)are biographies of the second baronet, but his father figures in the opening pages. The Poll Book for the Westmorland election of 1820 records that in Helbeck township Wilfrid Lawson of Brayton, John Wybergh of Liverpool, William and Peter Wybergh of Isel, all polled for Brougham, who owned Brougham hall , near the Wybergh family home of Clifton hall.
8. Ferguson Cumberland and Westmorland MPs p.223.
9. See above pp. 270ff.

One of Sir Wilfrid's passions was evangelistic endeavour; another was teetotalism:

For one thing he was a devout Evangelical; for another he was a fervent total abstainer, at a time when total abstinence was commonly denounced as unpatriotic, ungentlemanly and unChristian. More than sixty years ago we are told he ordered all his whisky and its kin out of his cellar and poured it into a pond. Naturally the United Kingdom Alliance claimed him as one of its earliest supporters ... He had besides a deep concern for the spiritual welfare of the people, which led him to employ a band of travelling evangelists; and he was the principal owner of a religious newspaper-The Christian News, organ of the Scottish denomination known as the Evangelical Union.¹⁰

Lawson was co-partner in the County Towns Mission with Peter Dixon, the Carlisle millowner, and George Moore, the owner of Whitehall, Mealsgate, and a London merchant¹¹.

10. Luke Lawson p.4

11. S. Smiles George Moore merchant and philanthropist(1872) pp. 194, 244, 285, 379, 432-433. See above pp. 187ff and for the Evangelical Union pp. 290ff.

Lawson was instrumental in inviting EU preachers to work in Cumbria, and paid for Henry Wight's tours in the county during 1842¹². Lawson's important role in the fortunes of the EU has already received mention, and Brayton was a centre of both Scottish Congregational and EU work for several decades¹³. Lawson was especially concerned about the rural parishes where Nonconformists were rarely seen and where temperance was rarely preached by the Anglican clergy, so that it was as part of his wider evangelistic and teetotal enterprises that the baronet despatched missionaries to work the fells of the lakes.

One of Lawson's agents was Robert Pool, who had arrived as a baby in 1832 in Aspatria where his parents were encouraged in their shoemaking business by Lawson¹⁴. Pool's family were Presbyterians at Annan, but found the Aspatria Congregational church to their liking, and by the early 1840s the Pool children were being taught by Sir Wilfrid in the Sunday school attached to it. At the age of twenty Pool was chosen to work as one of the missionaries in the Caldbeck district, where he clashed repeatedly with the Anglican clergy and with publicans¹⁵.

12. See above p.275; D. Hamilton MS history of Charlotte Street Congregational church Carlisle p.16.

13. See above p.275; Cecil Street, Carlisle was virtually Lawson's creation single-handed, and he helped many Cumbrian Congregational churches.

14. J.J. Pool The Life Story of a Village Pastor (1897).

15. R. Pool A few thoughts on the Natural, Social and Religious Aspects of the parish of Caldbeck (Wigton 1862).

Pool and his fellow workers tackled drinkers in public houses, lay in wait for the inebriated as they left the premises, and faced upto Anglican clergy irritated by their doings. After six years working for an annual salary of £60 and with a family to support, Pool became minister to the small Parton Congregational church in West Cumberland. Later in that decade he was briefly at Sedbergh and Ravenstonedale before settling in Yorkshire ¹⁶ .

There were a number of Scottish families attracted to the Aspatria and Wigton district by Lawson. The Scotts were already EU members before they moved from Roxburgh to Wigton in the confectionery trade ¹⁷ . By 1866 the family had been installed in the Royal Oak temperance hotel, Wigton, recently purchased by Sir Wilfrid Lawson and used as the local centre for his temperance work ¹⁸ . Scott senior eventually became a full-time agent for the Good Templars teetotal association and was employed by Wilfrid Lawson as his agent in Carlisle at election time ¹⁹ . Scott junior recalled how he had had to fight many battles over his family's teetotal work at school, where the boys from tory families persecuted those who were liberals and especially those who were liberals and teetotal.

16. See below pp. 526ff.

17. J.W. Robertson Scott The Day Before Yesterday(1951).

18. Day Before Yesterday chapters 6 and 8. The Oak remains a temperance hotel.

19. See below pp. 680ff Scott junior became a journalist in Birmingham and then London, changing his name to Robertson Scott because of the large number of Scotts. He founded the magazine the Countryman .

It was families like the Scotts and Pools who were the workers for Lawson and who gave a biting edge to Cumbrian teetotalism.

Sir Wilfrid Lawson, first baronet, was never a member of the assembly of gentlemen, gentry and friends who gathered at Wigton hall, courtesy of the Rev. Richard Matthews, in the 1820s and 1830s, and who numbered Sir James Graham, John Christian Curwen and William Blamire²⁰. Lawson was too radical, too against the Anglican church, too teetotal, to be accepted by the men who made up those convivial evenings based on mutual opposition to the Lowthers. Lawson remained an outsider in his class because of his peculiar religious and teetotal affiliations, although on the best of terms with men like George Moore and their fellow huntsman John Peel of immortal fame²¹. The first Brayton baronet's politics and teetotalism were inherited by his son, the second Sir Wilfrid, who became a figure of more than local importance in both spheres²².

Sir Wilfrid, second baronet of the new creation, promoted the work of temperance in parliament for nearly fifty years, and towards the last decade of his life he had close family links with an important group of county figures centred on Carlisle²³. Lawson's father had married Caroline Graham of Netherby; Sir Wilfrid the second baronet married into another prominent family,

20. Lonsdale's Worthies of Cumberland (1872) pp.189/200.

21. Lawson purchased Peel's pack after his death.

22. Russell Lawson and Luke Lawson throughout.

23. See family tree p. 423 and p.432.

the Senhouses of Maryport. One of his sons, Mordaunt, married into the original Wybergh family, formerly of Clifton and by then of Borrans Hill, near Sebergham, and two daughters married into the Curwens of Workington and the Chances of Carlisle. The Wyberghs themselves had close links with the Chance family, who were newcomers to the region but prominent in industrial, political and religious life; they were also to be important for temperance in Cumbria.

Family links were to be crucial in the creation of the Carlisle State Management Scheme of 1916 for the Lawson interest was well represented via the Chance family. For the temperance lobby in Cumbria the SMS was a triumph which had potential for taking to the rest of Britain, and the episode illustrated both the peculiar power of the lobby as well as their limitations.

What brought the SMS into being was the crisis of the First World War, when twenty thousand munitions workers were simply put to work at Gretna seven miles north of Carlisle and just over the Scottish border²⁴. By 1915 Laings had three thousand workers on site building the largest munitions factory in Britain, whilst thousands of lonely, bored and highly paid shift workers were unleashed on Carlisle each weekend²⁵. City public houses, breweries and off-licences enjoyed the initial bonanza but the weekend arrests for being drunk rose from fifty to five hundred within months. The police could not cope, the public were appalled,

24. J. Hunt A City under the Influence(Carlisle 1971); B.Oliver The Renaissance of the English Public House(1947) contains a chapter on the SMS.

25. Wages at Gretna were 20 times the peacetime level.

and national security was threatened by the drink problem. Under local pressure the prime minister, Lloyd George, established a board of control for the duration of the war, which organisation shortly became known as the Carlisle State Management Scheme.

The inauguration of the board was due to the major employers of Carlisle: Mortons, the fabric makers, Carrs the biscuit manufacturers, Scott's Metal Box company, Ferguson's textile firm formerly owned by Dixons and run in the later nineteenth century by the Chances, and Laings the builders. Between them they employed nine thousand people in the city and environs, and the SMS was their reaction to the drink problem that threatened their work force ²⁶.

Alexander Morton and his sons James and Gavin had come to Carlisle from Ayrshire in 1900. Their fabric firm needed a favorable local set of circumstances increasingly denied in Scotland: superior communications, abundant female labour, lower wages, promising markets, and pool of expert workers. The Mortons were off-comers who found in Cumbria the place they were searching for. They were also liberals, teetotal, and Presbyterian, and James Morton knew David Lloyd George well ²⁷.

26. I am grateful to Sir John Burgess and to the late Dr. Clare Burgess for information on the city firms.

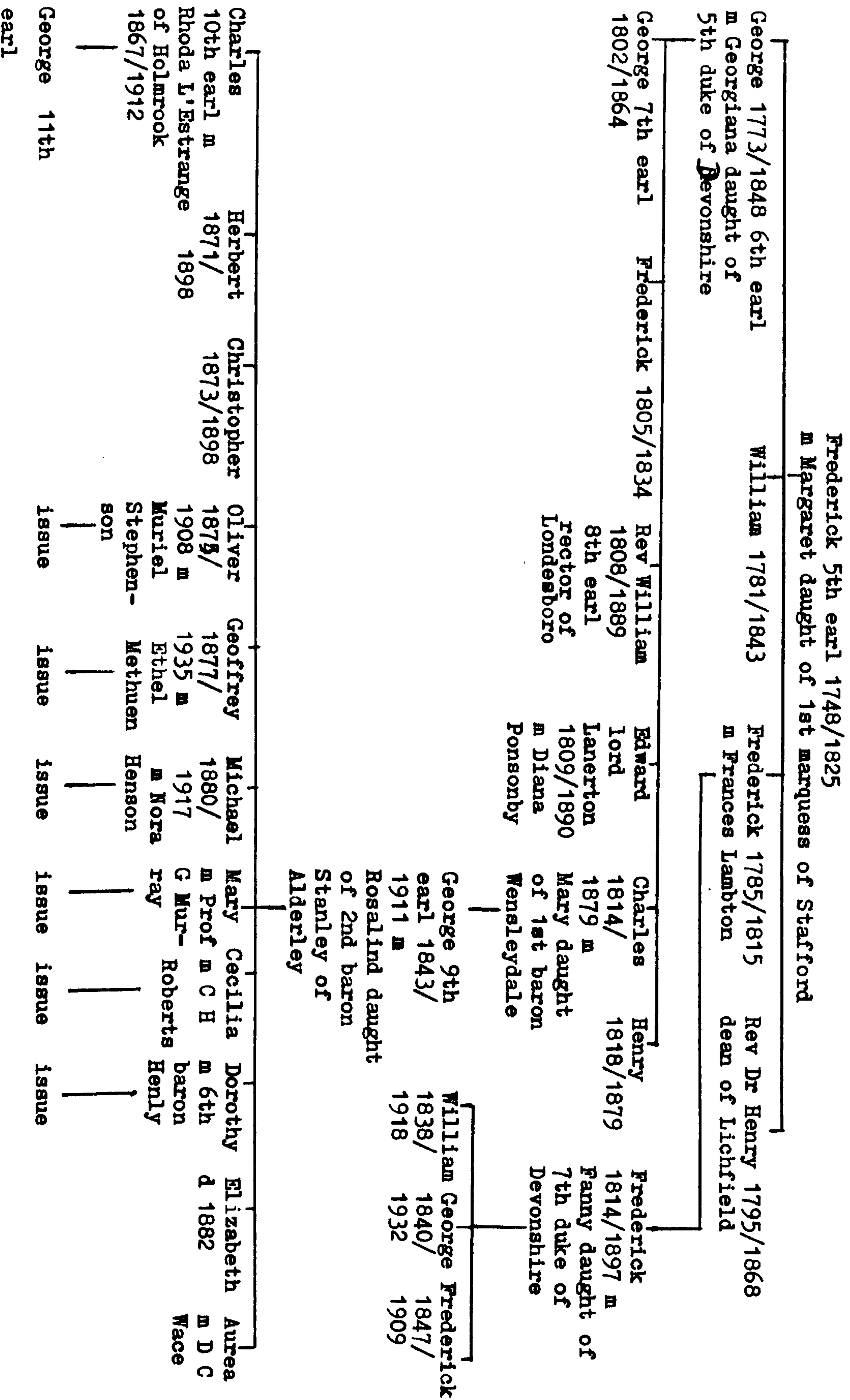
27. J. Morton Three Generations of a Textile Firm (1971) p.123, 205ff.

The Mortons had initiated the SMS plan after commissioning a Wesleyan minister, Wilson Stuart, to survey the drink problem in 1915²⁸. The statistics thus obtained were used by the board when it immediately closed down fifty three of the city's one hundred and twenty one public houses and eighty five of the one hundred off-licences. All of the city's drink outlets were put under the board apart from the two leading hotels; all had to sell good quality and cheap food, to provide entertainments such as darts and snooker, to submit to regular inspection, and to refuse to serve customers who had drunk too much²⁹. Under the vigilance of a tough inspectorate the public house managers installed by the board ceased serving adulterated food or drink, staff were properly trained and paid, and before long all premises renovated and rebuilt³⁰.

The Mortons were friends of Rosalind Howard, countess of Carlisle, and one of the fellow teetotal leaders with Sir Wilfrid Lawson, second baronet³¹. She wielded great power in parts of Cumbria over the years, although by 1916 she was declining in zeal and stamina. James Morton, the artistic brother, was also a supporter of the ~~pre~~-Raphaelites, artists patronised by the Howards³².

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28. W. Stuart The Carlisle experiment ... (Carlisle 1916)
29. Hunt City under the Influence pp. 25ff; the Crown and Mitre, and the Cumbria, were left out.
30. The board architect Harry Redfern initiated a public house building revolution copied throughout Britain.
31. See below p. 579; Morton Three Generations pp. 133ff.
32. See below pp. 579ff.

Howard earls of Carlisle



The Mortons received widespread support. The firm of Hudson Scott was at that date run by Edward Scott Nicholson and F. N. Hepworth, only yards from the Morton factory ³³. Hepworth attended the Charlotte Street Congregational church, and Scott Nicholson, who had married Hudson Scott's daughter, was an Anglican. Scott Nicholson was the artistic designer behind the successful range of boxes produced in Carlisle; his large garden bordered on that of James Morton on the Beaconside, and their two wives shared a similar artistic bent which embraced the lakes, Rawsley, and the ~~P~~re-Raphaelites ³⁴. Both Morton and Scott Nicholson had met John William Laing at Brampton, where he was overseeing work on the new Brampton church tower in 1906, designed by Philip Webb ³⁵.

Hepworth was notoriously keen to employ non-drinkers at the firm, and so too were the Laings. Laing was still forbidding drink even at the board meetings of his international company in the 1950s, and his strong Brethren adherence fortified his teetotal work ³⁶. One of Laing's fellow Brethren included Henry Carr and others of the Carr family, all of whom were eager teetotal workers ³⁷. It was a tradition of Laings and Carrs to look after the interests of their workers, and this was also the case amongst the Ferguson and Chance families.

33. H.Moses 'Notes in connection with the history of Hudson Scott'
MS Jackson library no date but c.1960.

34. Morton Three Generations pp.172,204ff; Moses Hudson Scott p.16

35. See above p.369 and below pp.579ff.

36. See above p.370 ;Laing installed Brethren foremen at Gretna.

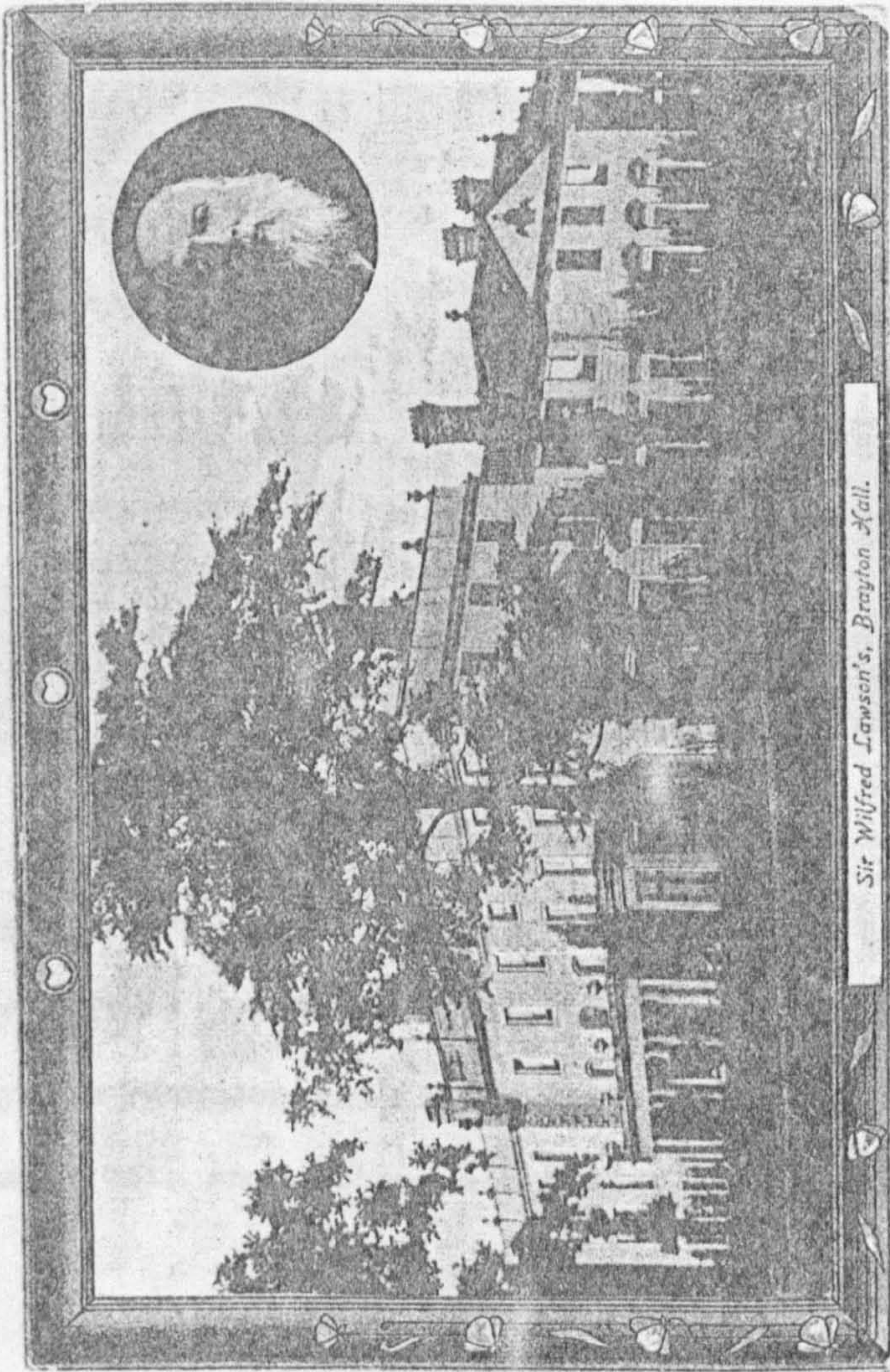
37. See above p.367 ;the Carrs employed only non-drinkers.



Sir Wilfrid Lawson second bart.

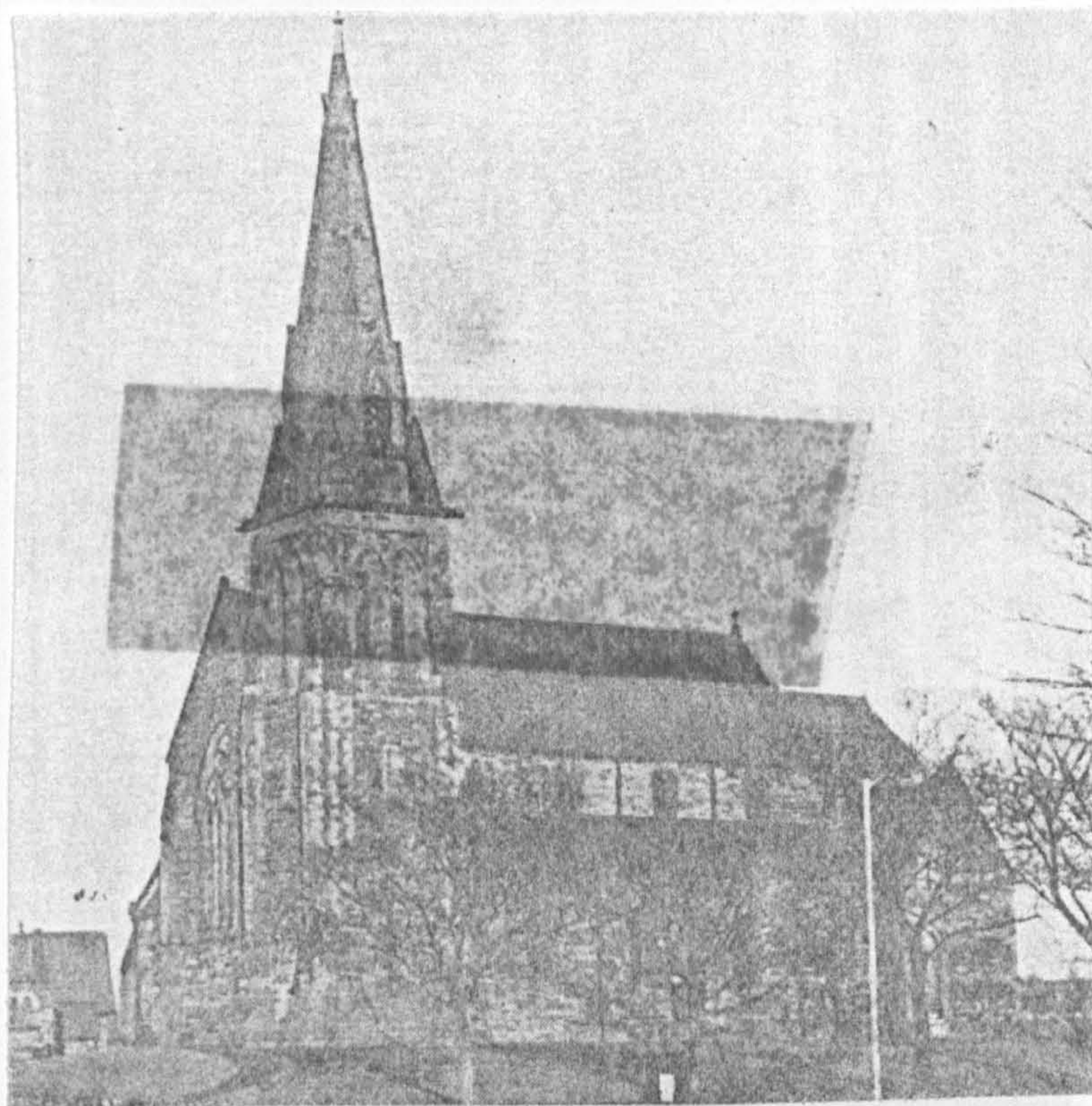
link between his father's early temperance work
and the SMS

Wilfrid Lawson



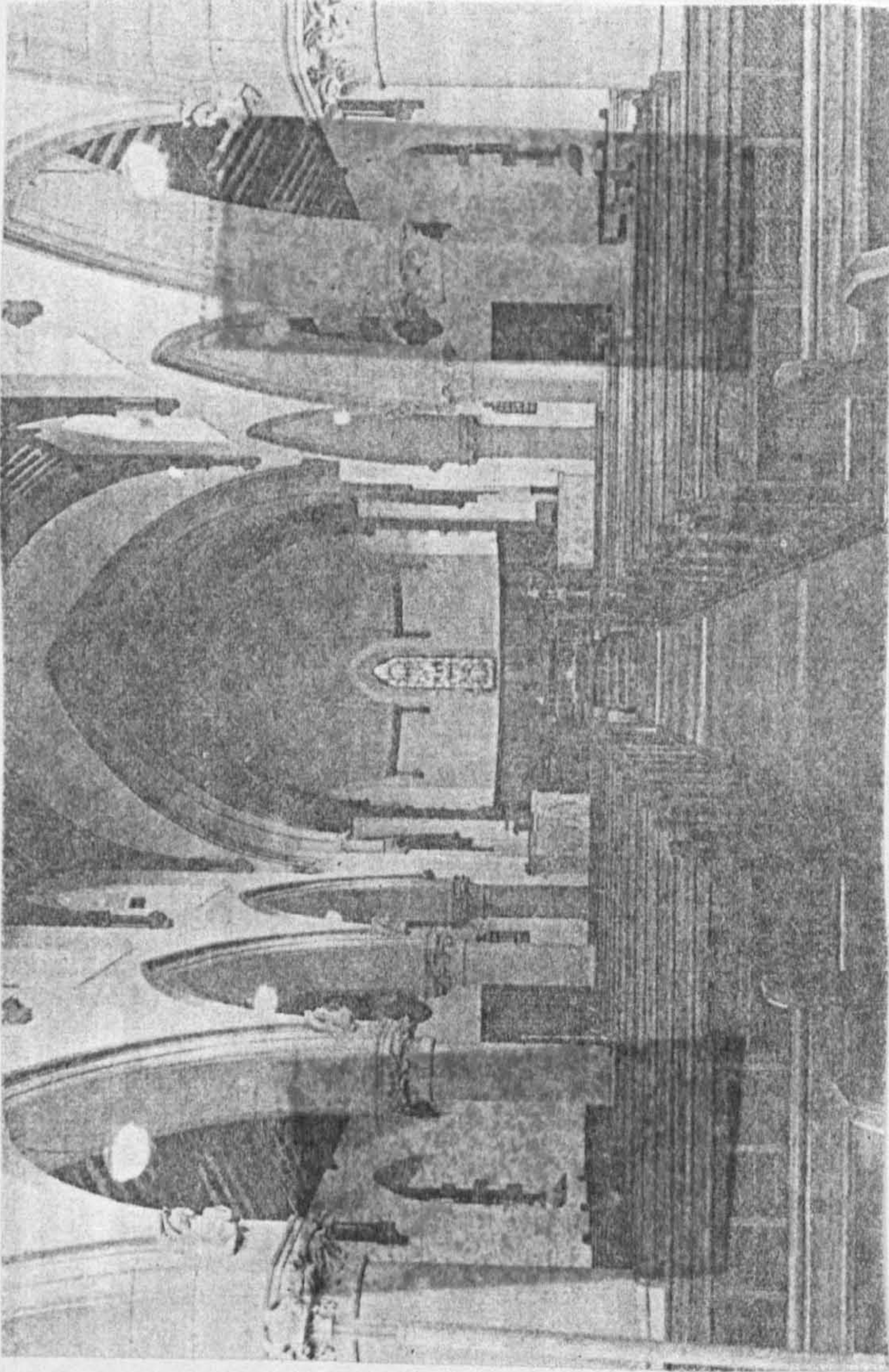
Sir Wilfred Lawson's, Brayton Hall.

Brayton home of the Lawsons



St. James' church, Denton Holme, Carlisle built 1867
by Andrews and Pepper of Bradford and largely financed
by the Ferguson and Chance families of Morton. It is
large with an apse and south west steeple.

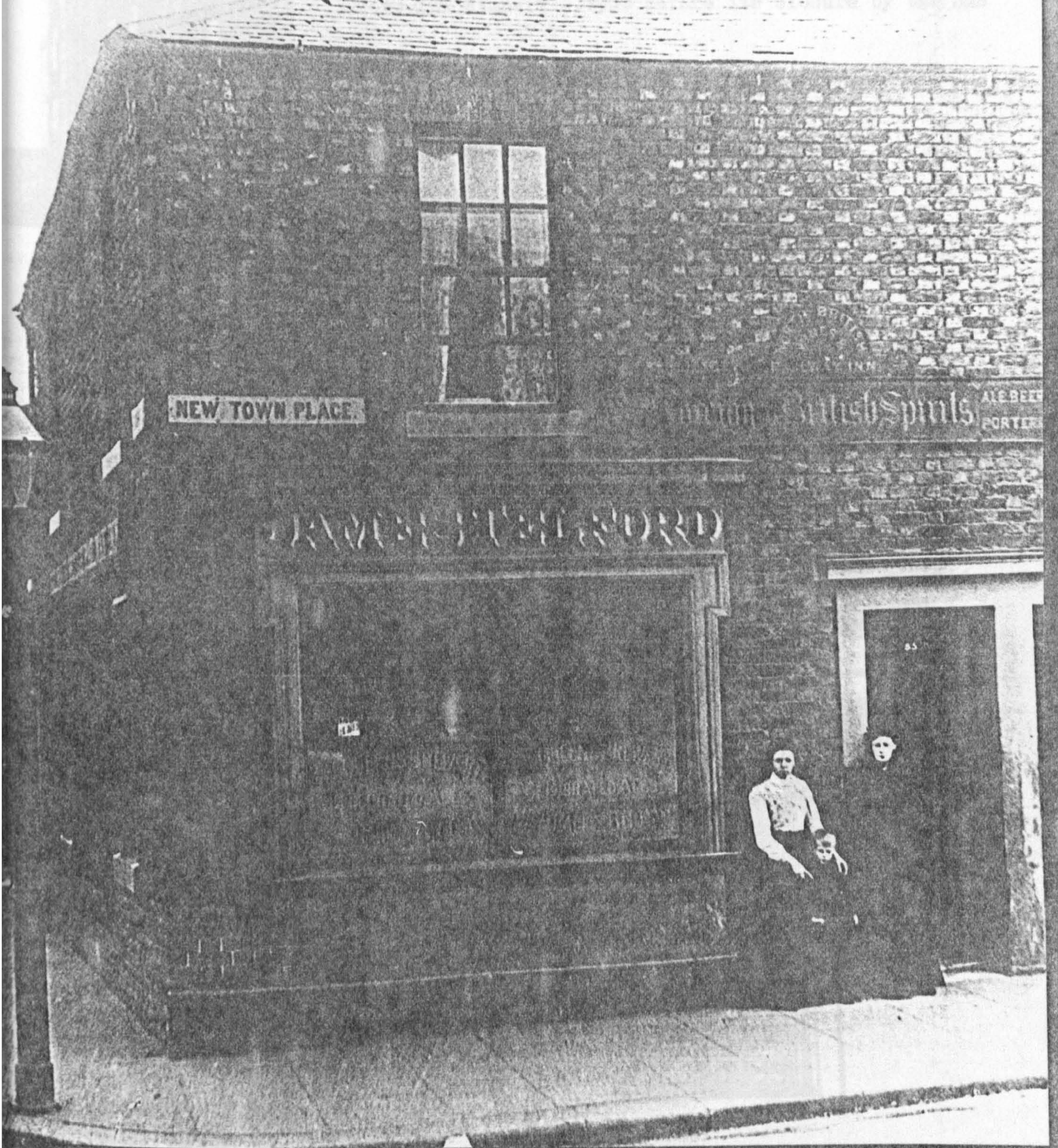
North British Railway Inn, Newcastle, 1900, a typical Carlisle public house before the days of the S&A



Interior of St. James' church, Carlisle

North British Railway Inn
Newtown Place

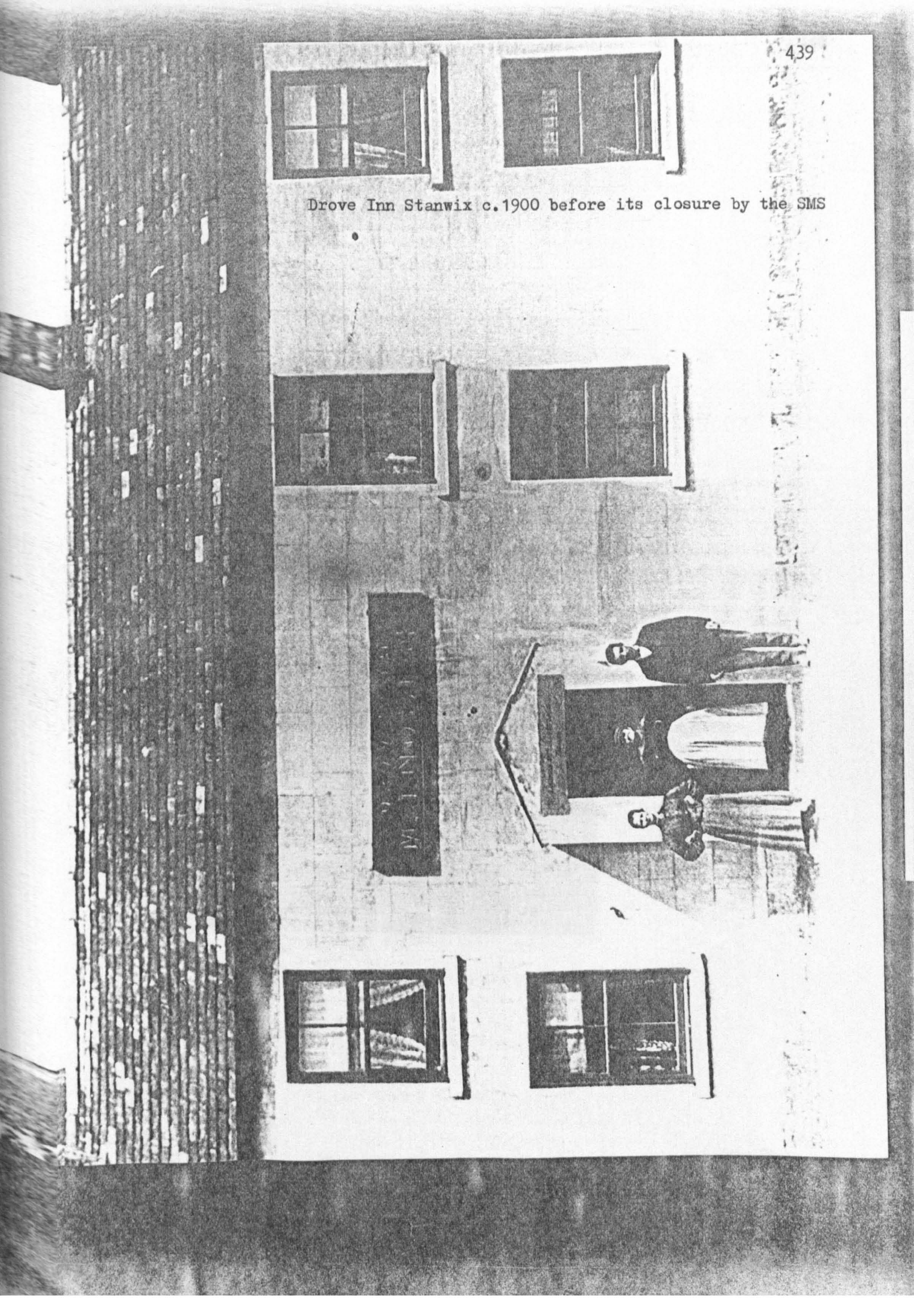
North British Railway Inn c.1900, a typical Carlisle public house
before the days of the SMS

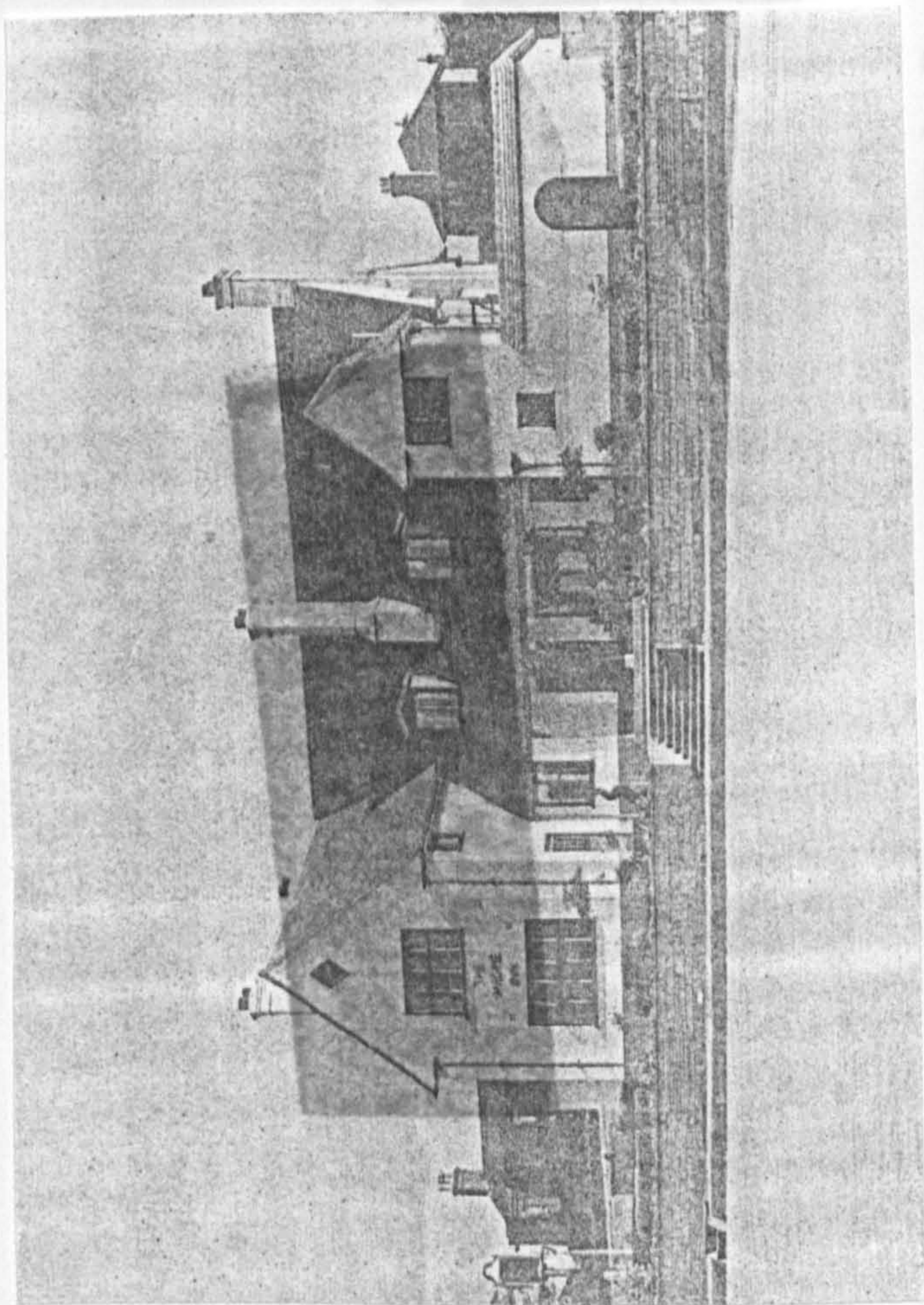


North British Railway Inn
Newtown Place

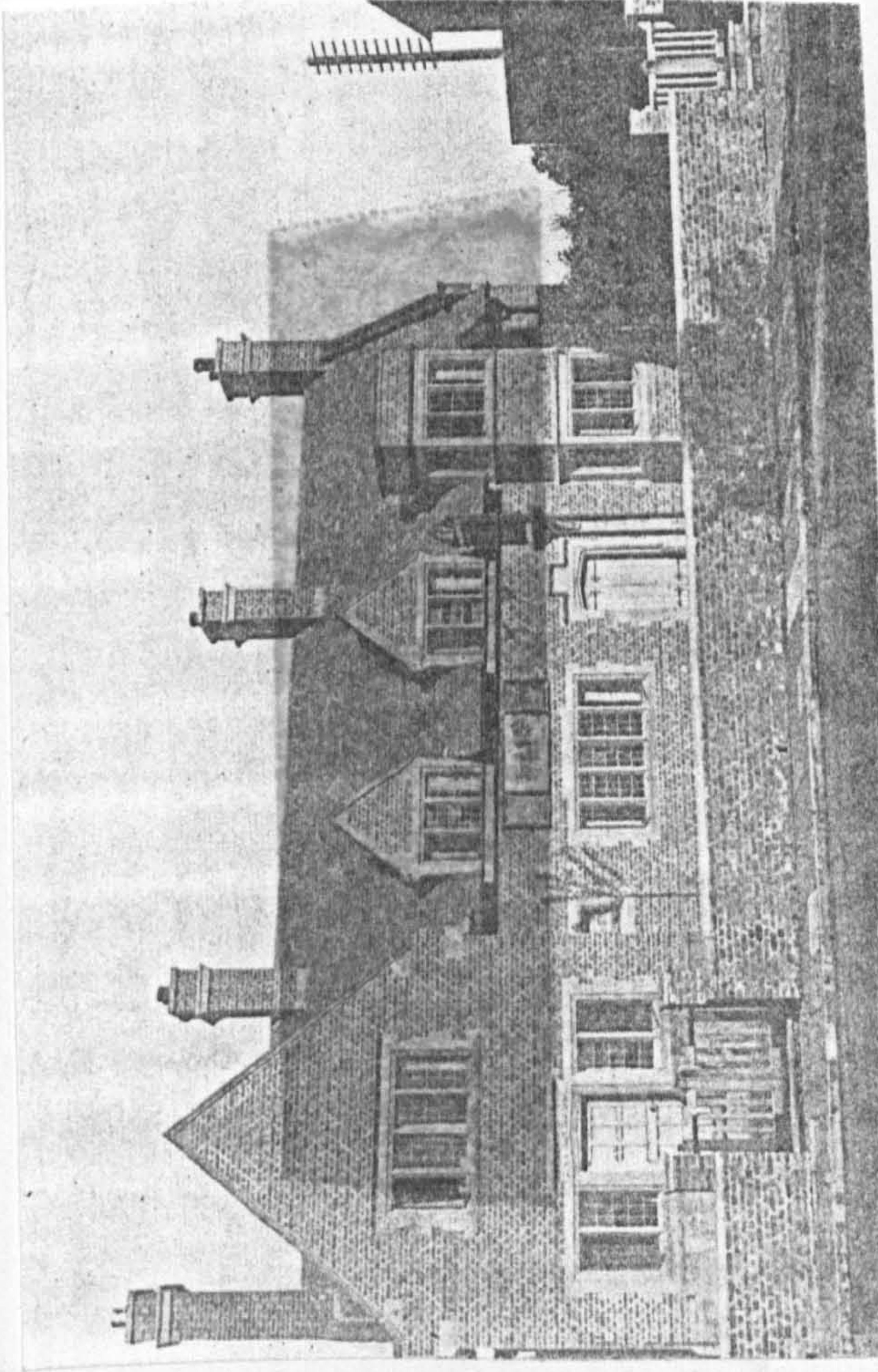
c. 1900

Drove Inn Stanwix c.1900 before its closure by the SMS

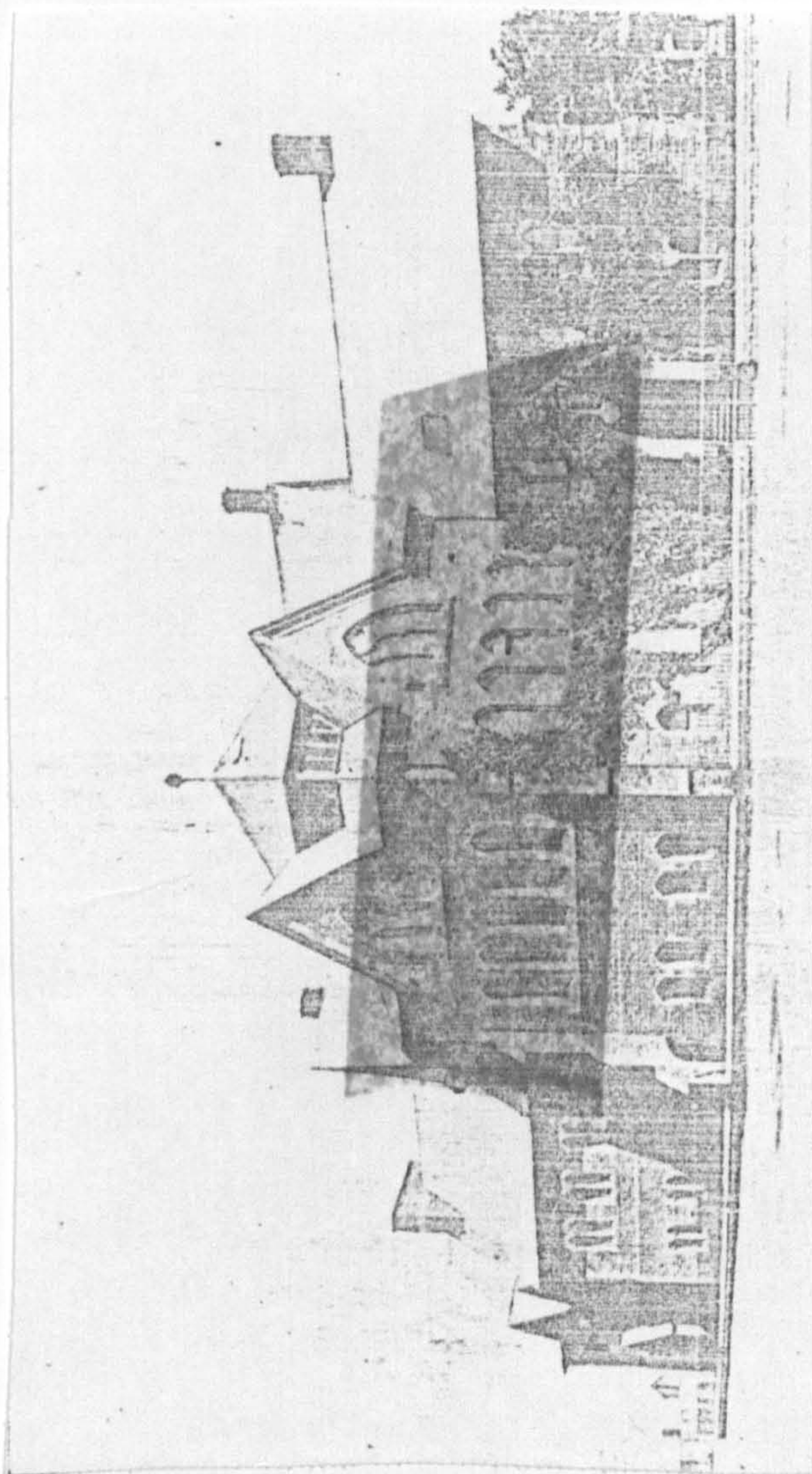




The Coach and Horses, Kingsdown, Carlisle built by Henry
 The Magpie, Botcherby, Carlisle c.1920.
 of rooms of the premises.



The Coach and Horses, Kingstown, Carlisle built by Harry Redfern, architect to the SMS 1916 onwards and redesigner of scores of SMS premises.



Charlotte Street Congregational church built 1860 and attended by the Hepworths, Bucks, Redmaynes, Creightons and other prominent teetotal families.

1891. Described as an ardent friend of temperance but he did not support the Lawson bill and was not teetotal.

Edward Chance had come to Carlisle after his marriage to the daughter of Joseph Ferguson, owner of Ferguson Brothers at the Holme Head works³⁸. He was a liberal and an evangelical Anglican like his father in law, and St. James' church was provided for their employees to worship in side by side with their bosses. In the context of the business world to Edward's sons

Frederic

Carlisle

referred

Joseph

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parliament for

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second wife

second baronet,

in common

name as Frederick

Helen Wybergh

Josephine Lawson's

for Adelaide,

business families, and

gave solid

have been

son of Brayton.

38. Ferguson Brothers Holme Head Works Carlisle centenary (Carlisle, 1924); the Chance family came from Malvern. I am grateful

Harvey Goodwin, bishop of Carlisle 1869-

1891. Described as an ardent friend to

to Miss Mary Chance of Balston for putting her five scrap

temperance but he did not support the

books of Chance family cuttings at my disposal, covering

Lawson bill and was not teetotal.

the years 1851-1941.

39. Carlisle Journal 20 July 1909, 13 November 1909 for the Chance

family view on teetotalism.

40. See family tree p.445; J.S. Chance was known as Selby.

Edward Chance had come to Carlisle after his marriage to the daughter of Joseph Ferguson, owner of Ferguson Brothers at the Holme Head works ³⁸. He was a liberal and an evangelical Anglican like his father in law, and St. James' church was provided for their employees to worship in side by side with their bosses. In time control of the business passed to Edward's sons Frederick and Selby, the former being member of parliament for Carlisle from 1905 until he resigned in 1909 for personal reasons ³⁹. Frederick Chance married as his second wife Josephine Lawson, daughter of Sir Wilfrid, the second baronet, and thus linked the two families who had so much in common: liberals, evangelicals, teetotal. At the same time as Frederick was marrying into the Lawsons, Selby had married Helen Wybergh of Borrans, cousin to Josephine Lawson ⁴⁰. Josephine Lawson's brother Mordaunt had married Helen Wybergh's sister Adelaide, linking the three families even more. All of these families, and the owners of Bucks, Redmaynes and Cowan Sheldons, gave solid backing to the SMS, an enterprise which would have been acceptable to both the first Sir Wilfrid and his son of Brayton.

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38. Ferguson Brothers Holme Head Works Carlisle centenary (Carlisle 1924); the Chance family came from Malvern. I am grateful to Miss Mary Chance of Dalston for putting her five scrap books of Chance family cuttings at my disposal, covering the years 1851-1941.
39. Carlisle Journal 20 July 1909, 13 November 1909 for the Chance family view on teetotalism.
40. See family tree p.445; J.S. Chance was known as Selby.

Chance of Morton, Carlisle

Edward of Malvern 1824-1881
m. 1850 Maria daught of
Joseph Ferguson MP of Morton,
Carlisle

Sir Frederick William
1852-1932 m. 1880
1. Mary Seton-Kerr
m.2. Josephine 1908
daught of Sir W Lawson
of Brayton 2nd bart.

Edward
d.1922 m. 1887
Eliza daught of
Col. Archibald
Wybergh of Borrans
Hill

Joseph Selby
m. 1887 Helen
daught of Col.
Archibald Wybergh
of Borrans Hill

4daughters

Edward Seton
killed in action
1918

Andrew Ferguson
killed in action
1918

Sir Robert
1883-1960
of Morton

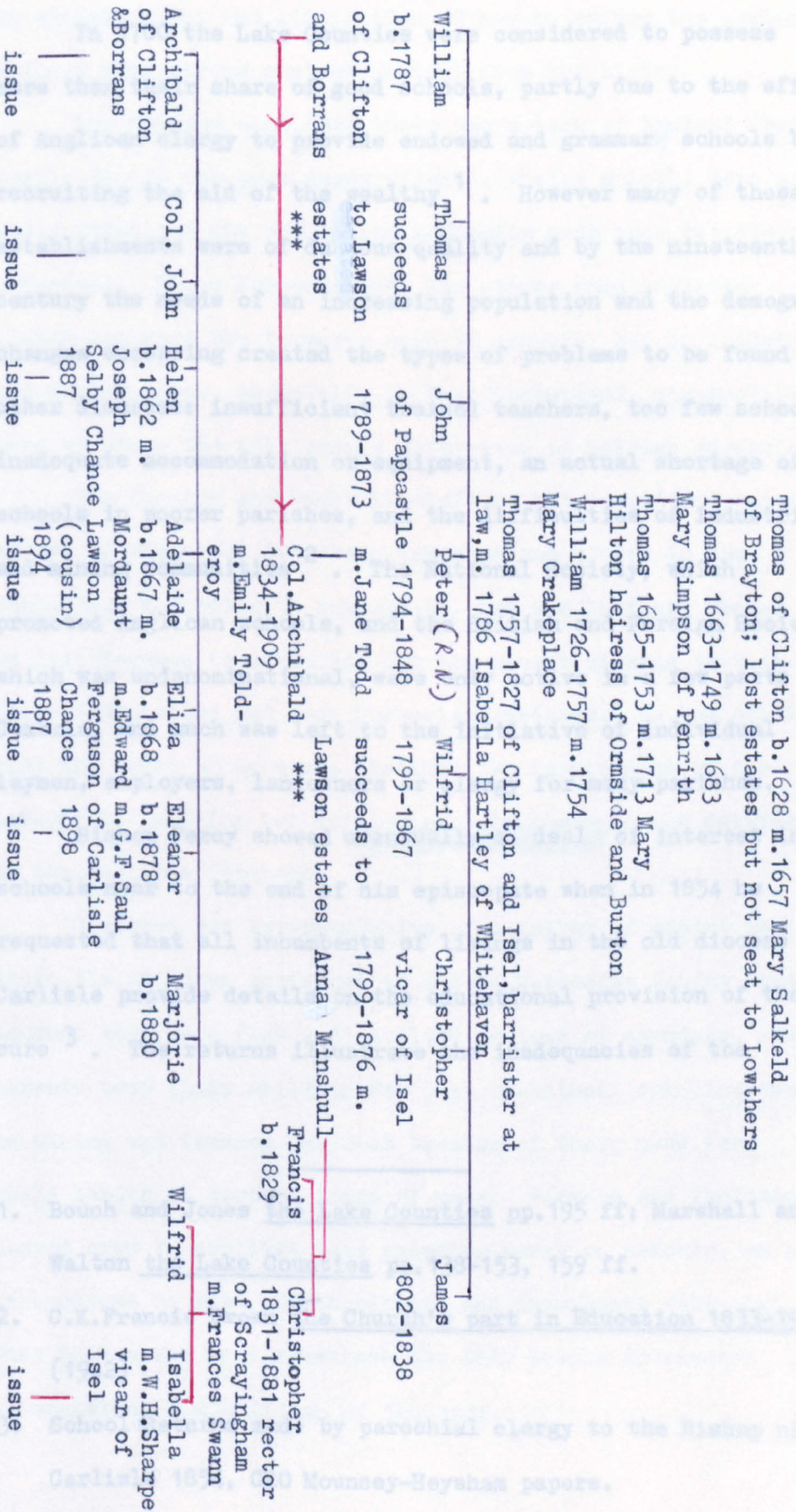
Frederick Selby
1886-1946
m.1923 Isabel
daught of Alan
de Lancy Curwen
& Mabel Lawson
of Brayton

Kenneth m.
Rachel Shaw
of Rampsbeck
Penrith
Eleanor
m. Edmund
Calthrop

It was always hoped by the Carlisle employers that the SMS would be extended to other parts of the country, and for a time the scheme was highly profitable and possessed widespread support in the city. SMS ownership of drink premises stretched into West Cumberland since the board acquired the city's four breweries with their tied houses and closed all but one brewery. Large profits were made, but the SMS was finally ended in 1972 when the tory government sold off the entire SMS to private enterprise. So ended a unique British experiment in the control of drink, an experiment that had shown how a small band of employers could exert great influence over the affairs of an entire community. It showed too how liberal politics and evangelical Christianity could control events in the twentieth century ⁴¹. The SMS of course was mainly in use in an urban environment, and how it would have fared in rural areas from the outset in 1916 is a moot point. The effect of religion within a large but sparsely populated parish in Westmorland might be quite different to its effects in an urban setting. The following chapters examine religion in these contrasting settings.

41. Ferguson Brothers pp.37ff.

Wybergh of Clifton and Borrans



*** see Lawson of Isel and Brayton

Education and Religion

In 1700 the Lake Counties were considered to possess more than their share of good schools, partly due to the efforts of Anglican clergy to provide endowed and grammar schools by recruiting the aid of the wealthy ¹. However many of these establishments were of dubious quality and by the nineteenth century the needs of an increasing population and the demographic changes occurring created the types of problems to be found in other dioceses: insufficient trained teachers, too few schools, inadequate accommodation or equipment, an actual shortage of schools in poorer parishes, and the difficulties of industrial and mining communities ². The National Society, which promoted Anglican schools, and the British and Foreign Society, which was undenominational, were only active in a few parts of Cumbria, and much was left to the initiative of individual laymen, employers, landowners or clergy for many parishes.

Bishop Percy showed eventually a deal of interest in schools near to the end of his episcopate when in 1854 he requested that all incumbents of livings in the old diocese of Carlisle provide details on the educational provision of their cure ³. The returns illustrate the inadequacies of the

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1. Bouch and Jones The Lake Counties pp.195 ff; Marshall and Walton the Lake Counties pp.138-153, 159 ff.
 2. C.K.Francis Brown The Church's part in Education 1833-1941 (1942)
 3. School Returns made by parochial clergy to the Bishop of Carlisle 1854, CRO Mounsey-Heysham papers.

educational provision in the diocese and the general awareness that it was inadequate. The clergy were eager to be involved in education but had little idea of how to reform the system without some strong central control from the bishop.

The returns show that there was a lack of trained teachers partly due to the poor wages offered, whilst schools were often badly sited and the population movements made some buildings redundant. Where Nonconformity was strong some Anglican clergy resented the former's hold on schools, but in industrial and mining areas, especially in West Cumberland, non-Anglicans were at times the only people interested in helping education.

The Howards and Sackville-Tufts had provided a reasonable amount of education for their tenantry and miners in east Cumberland according to incumbents, but the Lowthers showed an indifference to education for the poorer classes in both their Westmorland and West Cumberland estates. On the other hand the vicar of Aspatria disliked the involvement of the Lawsons in building two British schools there to the detriment of the Anglican interest.

Camerton was representative of a number of mining parishes where the children preferred to attend Methodist Sunday schools because they were free and involved no loss of earnings. Many parents sent their children for just occasional school attendance in mining and farming parishes because of their need for child labour at certain times of year. Farmers and landowners proved hard to mobilise into spending money on schools, as at Kirkandrews on Eden and Stapleton, and incumbents felt that they themselves were sometimes the only people interested in educating the children of the poor.

Non-Anglican teachers were regularly the only ones available to work for poor wages, and the presence of such strong-minded Nonconformists at Allonby and Crosby Garrett upset incumbents. On the other hand Anglican trustees might stoutly resolve to keep out clerical interests, as happened at Crosthwaite, Keswick, grammar school where recent tithe decisions and rate charges had upset the parish. The large number of schools in parishes with scattered settlements posed special difficulties for concerned incumbents, so that Abbey Town, Holm Cultram, had fourteen schools and Sebergham eight. The lack of planning and inefficiency upset the active incumbents.

There were occasional places where education was progressing, though not always with Anglican approval. At Penrith the incumbent praised the excellent Wesleyan day school and compared it favorably with the town grammar. Carlisle provided the main centre of the diocese and its mills and factories depended on child labour. The returning incumbents were not in favour of efforts by Dixon's mill to educate their youthful employees at the factory school away from all Anglican influence, nor were they sympathetic to efforts by other industrialists to copy this example. The schools of the time were presented by incumbents of the diocese as ranging from excellent to terrible at least in part due to the amount of Anglican influence or enterprise ⁴ .

4. See table 36 p. 455

The running of private schools remained widespread into the twentieth century and Anglican clergy in particular were likely to employ the spare bedrooms of their large parsonages with a supply of boarders seeking tuition and schooling. Fletcher of Dalston, Paley and Fawcett of Carlisle, and Ellwood of Torver were typical of these teaching clerics who though accused of thus neglecting parish schools tended to be more involved in parochial education than some clergy who had no private pupils ⁵. Nonconformists too provided a good many schools in Cumbria wherever there was a demand or a likely opening for such a business.

The Roman Catholics normally attached schools to their places of worship and made the education of their members' children a priority ⁶. It was fairly testing for English priests to teach classes packed with the children of Irish migrants, many of whom could not speak English. The Quakers ran a coeducational boarding and day school at Brookfield, Wigton, from 1815, and had two other schools established by Quaker benefactors in Whitehaven and Kendal. These were as usual open to all Christians ⁷. British Society schools were founded at Wigton, Carlisle, Barrow, Workington, Maryport, Appleby and in other towns where Nonconformists were either numerous or militant in their designs to avoid Anglicanism.

5. See above pp. 177ff.

Fletcher tutored Sir J.R.G.Graham.

6. See table 35 p. 452

7. D.W.Reed The Friends School Wigton 1815-1953(1954)

Table 35Schools in Cumbria c.1850 and c.1890

	<u>c.1850</u>	<u>c.1890</u>
Total schools	550	790
National Society	21	
Endowed and Grammar	110	
Clerical	39	
Other Anglican	97	
All Anglican	255	336
British Society	6	-
Roman Catholic	12	16
Wesleyan	1	3
Congregational	2	5
Quaker	4	5
Board	-	129
All others	256	298

Note: Largest schools in 1850, Dixon's Factory school of 350, in 1890 Barrow Wesleyan of 700. Board schools often more than 1 department. Private tutoring not included in the above.

Source: directories of the day.

The Wesleyan Association members in Appleby were led by Michael and Joseph Craig to establish a British Society school, financed by the Dents and Crosbys, all of them rebel Wesleyans ⁸ .

How far Sir James Graham was influenced by his own knowledge of Cumbrian education in his Factory Education bill of 1843 is uncertain. The bill sought to establish factory schools to be attended for several hours daily by young workers, the schools being government-supported but favouring the Church of England ⁹ . Graham was a sound Anglican but a moderate man, and Nonconformity was protected within the overall scheme. Nonetheless there was strong opposition from Nonconformists and Anglicans who feared that their religious rivals might exploit the situation.

Graham, the home secretary in 1843, was aware of the problems of mill children from his own school days in Dalston where his teacher, Walter Fletcher, had resigned from the magistrates' bench over the employment of pauper children in the local textile mills ¹⁰ . The main Nonconformist element in north Cumberland was that of the Wesleyans, traditionally lukewarm in politics and rarely siding with other non-Anglicans. This fact may have lulled Graham into thinking

8. Wes Assoc Mag 1853 p.592, 1856 p.83.

9. Ward Sir James Graham pp.195-197; Machin Politics and the Churches pp.151-160.

10. Ward Sir James Graham p.15. Fletcher knew that the business was illegal and that children had to be educated.

that little opposition from the Wesleyans would accrue, but if so he was mistaken. So annoyed were the Penrith Wesleyans that they established a highly successful day school in the town in that same year.

Three years after the returns requested by Percy the new bishop of Carlisle, Villiers, commissioned his newly appointed diocesan inspector of schools, the Rev. W.L. Hodgson, vicar of Wetheral, to report on the schools. Villiers was a determined organiser and reformer and believed that his schools should both be firmly controlled and efficiently run by the Anglicans ¹¹. During the hot summer of 1857 Hodgson investigated seventy five schools nominally under Anglican direction in forty eight parishes, and was unable to see to the remaining one hundred and ten village schools in the old diocese of Carlisle or to the large number acquired from the three deaneries transferred from Chester the previous year.

Hodgson found that few of the schools did not smell and he had to be helped from one to recover in the fresh air on a tombstone ¹². Most schools were lacking in even the basics of equipment such as clocks, bells, boards and books, whilst the lack of proper toilets and fresh water amounted to a scandal in the vicar's eyes.

Most teachers were working well but were largely untrained and unfit for their posts, whilst their poor wages were inadequate even for their humble level of instruction. The better schools had their Anglican incumbents involved in their

11. J.L.Hodgson The Village Schools of Cumberland (Carlisle 1857)

12. See table 36 p. 455

Table 36Survey of village schools receiving diocesan aid in Cumberland 1857

Schools surveyed	75
Number with blackboards	24
Number with clock and bell	13
Number with toilets or fresh water	39
Number with 2 toilets or more	13
Number with qualified teacher	10
Number with endowments	60
Number aided by parish incumbent	20
Average number of pupils attending	50
Average teacher's stipend	£40 pa.
Range of teachers' stipends	£6 to 80 pa.
Average school pence	£23 pa.
Average endowment	£9 pa.
Average clerical gift to schools	£6 pa.
Satisfactory schools	0

Major Defects:

Unqualified teachers
 Inadequate equipment and toilets
 Poor buildings
 Poor or absent religious instruction
 Low stipends and income
 Lack of Sunday schools
 Uninterested clergy and landowners

Source: Survey of 1857 carried out by the Rev. W.C.Hodgson
 for bishop Villiers.

activities, but the majority failed to teach religious education. Hodgson believed that a Sunday school was an essential addition to a day school but reported that few parishes ran one and left the field to Nonconformists. Irregular accounts and income, poor attendance by teachers and pupils, uninterested parents and prominent inhabitants, and complete lack of organisation characterised the village schools.

Hodgson recommended a concerted programme of school and schoolhouse building by the diocese, the recruitment of properly trained teachers, a rapid improvement of stipends in order to attract teachers from other dioceses, regular inspections, a properly developed curriculum with plenty of equipment, graded school pence, adequate administration of endowments, and concentration on the proper teaching of religious education.

To an extent Hodgson was critical because the new reformed Church of England required a reformed educational system with which to counter interference from the government and the Nonconformists. Education could scarcely be left out of the general scheme to revitalise the establishment but it took some years to bring about improvements in the diocese and the commission of 1869 presented a dismal picture ¹³.

13. Schools Inquiry Commission (northern division) vol.19 (1869) Cumberland pp.159-294, Westmorland 295-466; it dwells on inadequacies and glories in statistical tables.

The commission relied on information gathered between 1819 and 1837 which had been updated in 1864 and again in 1868, whilst sections covered curriculum, endowments, property, staff, trustees and other aspects of the reputed grammars and endowed schools of Cumberland and Westmorland . It was concluded by the commission that where National Society schools existed then these had ended the usefulness of rival establishments and that all but a handful of both categories, grammar and endowed, were merely elementary schools.

Permanent problems over financial mismanagement hampered most schools investigated and there were interminable petty disputes over endowments and their application. Farmers were reluctant to send the children of their labourers to any school, and themselves despatched their own children to town establishments. The individual difficulties or shortcomings of parochial schools were listed almost with relish.

Addingham school building was 'a disgraceful hovel', Drigg, Thursby and Dean schools were in a confused state over their endowments, and both Bootleand Blencowe schools had longstanding disputes between lay trustees and parish incumbents which paralysed education there. The demands for child labour on farms during harvest, haymaking and other busy times denuded schools at Wetheral, Aikton and a score of other parishes, whilst the hostility of the earl of Lonsdale to St. Bees school restricted the trustees in their work and had placed serious obstacles in the way of increasing income.

Table 37Schools inquiry commission 1869

	<u>reputed</u> <u>grammar</u>	<u>reputed</u> <u>endowed</u>	<u>satisfactory</u> <u>schools</u>
Cumberland	28	39	11
Westmorland	38	21	8

	<u>best school</u>	<u>patron of living</u>	<u>main landowner</u>
Cumberland	Penrith	bishop of Carlisle	Howards
Westmorland	Burneside	trustees	Wakefields

	<u>worst school</u>	<u>patron of living</u>	<u>main landowner</u>
Cumberland	St. Bees	earl of Lonsdale	earl of Lonsdale
Westmorland	Shap	earl of Lonsdale	earl of Lonsdale

However in Cumberland it was not all gloom for a new and zealous master and vicar at Penrith had worked together to make the decayed grammar a centre of excellence, and the schools at Whicham, Dacre and Bridekirk were doing well largely thanks to the efforts of the local incumbents.

The Westmorland schools were usually considerably smaller than those of Cumberland and six had only a dozen or so pupils. At Appleby the vicar had turned the school into one for boarders amongst whom there was only one local boy, so that most people sent their children to the good British Society establishment. A 'dispute childish and pitiable in the extreme' led to chaos at the two Bampton schools, whilst those around the Lowther estates were generally considered poor. Bolton, Shap, Ravenstonedale, Hutton and Selside had the lowest imaginable standards of educational attainment.

There were bright spots in the educational chart, usually, it was noted, where the Anglican incumbent and local landowners were interested and involved. Burneside benefited from the great generosity of the Wakefield family who owned the major source of employment in the parish, the paper mills. Things were promising at Ambleside, Casterton, Heversham, Ings, Morland, and Bowness, whilst Troutbeck possessed one of the best masters and concerned parents. Nonetheless for every good school there were two which were inadequate and one which was described as positively bad ¹⁴.

14. See table 37 p. 458

The dramatic expansion of population which affected some dioceses was confined in Cumbria to a few centres including Barrow, Millom and Carlisle. Nonetheless the educational provision in most of the industrial and mining districts of the region was increasingly inadequate by the 1860s and forced many opponents of state-aided and-controlled education into reluctant support for state schools ¹⁵ .

Voluntarists found it an impossible task to raise sufficient money to provide schools, and in 1870 an education act was passed. This was the first attempt to remedy defects in the system by the state on a blanket scale since 1843, and it gave six months' notice that school boards would be set up in areas where the voluntary educational agencies were unable to meet the demand for schools. Members of the boards were to be elected by ratepayers and the schools provided with money from both the government and a special rate.

Many Anglican clergy were opposed to state involvement on grounds of cost, religious needs, and the opportunities afforded non-Anglicans and atheists. Some clergy such as Whitehead of Brampton, Rawnsley of Crosthwaite and Harford Battersby of Keswick were greatly in favour of a properly run and organised state system. Bishop Goodwin reacted to it by energetically promoting Anglican schools in his diocese so that the one hundred and eighty eight diocesan schools of 1869 had increased to three hundred and thirty eight by 1890 ¹⁶ .

15. Marsh Victorian Church in Decline pp.66-93.

16. Bouch Prelates and People pp. 442-443.

Table 38School Boards in Cumbria by region

	<u>date of formation of board</u>			<u>total schools</u>	<u>Clergy on Board</u>		<u>non-Anglican</u>	<u>parishes with no</u>
	<u>1871-1879</u>	<u>1880-90</u>	<u>1891-1900</u>	<u>in 1901</u>	<u>Anglican</u>	<u>Other</u>	<u>in board area</u>	<u>board (non-Anglican</u>
					<u>(1901)</u>			<u>congregations)</u>
Cumberland	38	8	2	92	31	9	193	117 (86)
Westmorland	15	-	3	21	2	-	52	56 (42)
Lancashire north of the Sands	5	-	-	18	7	3	31	28 (25)

Sources: directories .

However the initiative lay with the new board schools especially in Cumberland.

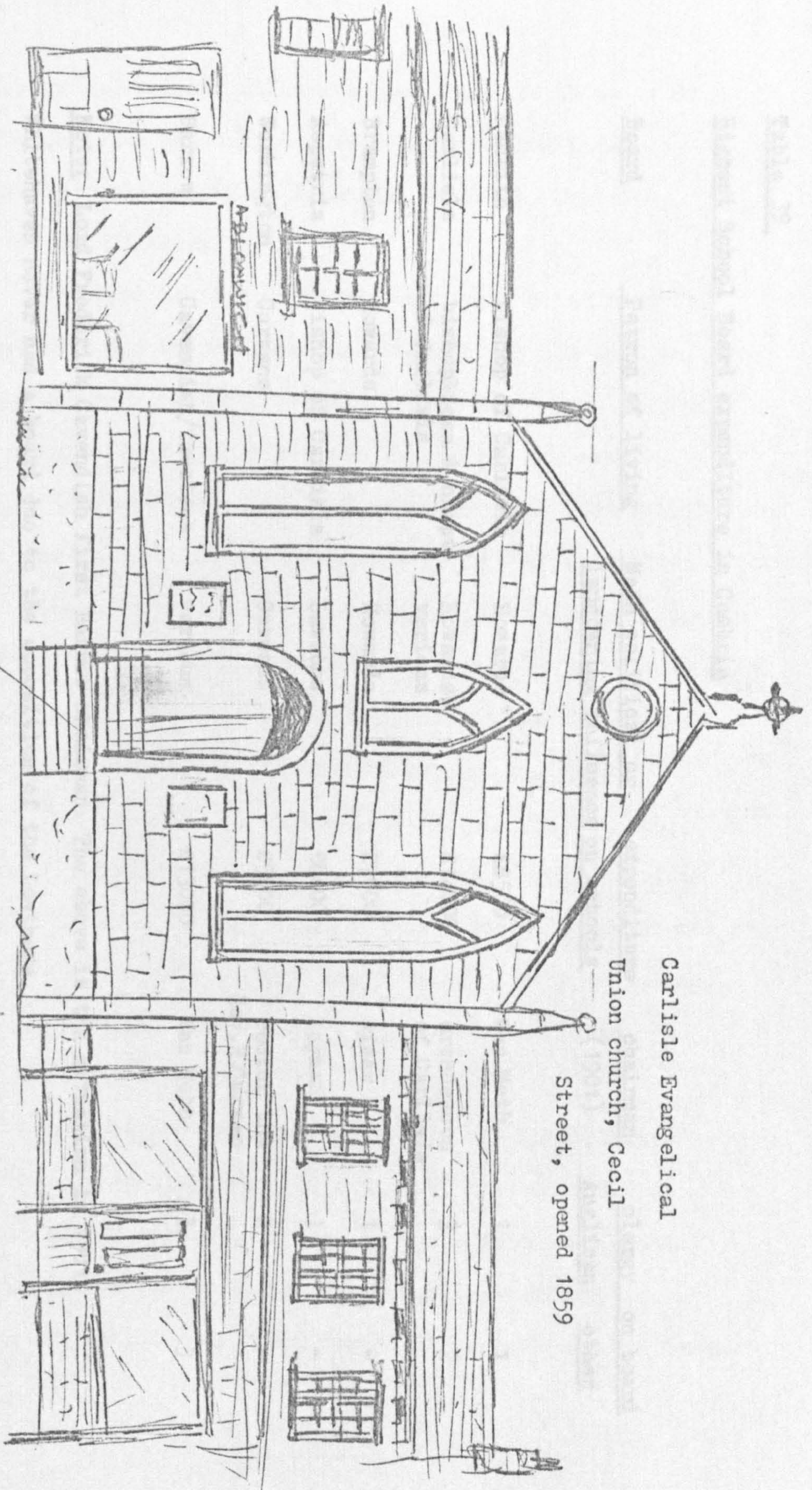
The boards were usually composed of five or seven members who met monthly, although town boards often met fortnightly and had more members ¹⁷. Cumberland came to possess a greater percentage of boards than Westmorland or north Lancashire which partly showed the defects of the mining and urban parishes ¹⁸. Where non-Anglicanism was strong then boards were usually formed, although Whitehaven, Maryport and Wigton were notable for their not having a board due to the Lowthers' opposition in the former and lack of support in the other two. Most rural parishes had just one school under their board whilst the towns might have a number and these divided into departments. Carlisle had fourteen board schools, Arthuret, which included Longtown and several neighbouring parishes, five, Workington six and Millom and Barrow four each.

The amount spent by each board varied considerably dependent on needs and size of the school population ¹⁹. The boards which spent most were in Cumberland with the exception of Barrow but it was common practice ^{to} simply take over old premises under the new boards and thus obviate further expense. The schools taken over by boards included a variety

17. Carlisle board numbered 12 members.

18. See table 38 p. 461

19. See table 39 p. 46A



Carlisle Evangelical

Union church, Cecil

Street, opened 1859

As with many Nonconformist chapels the Sunday school was built under it.

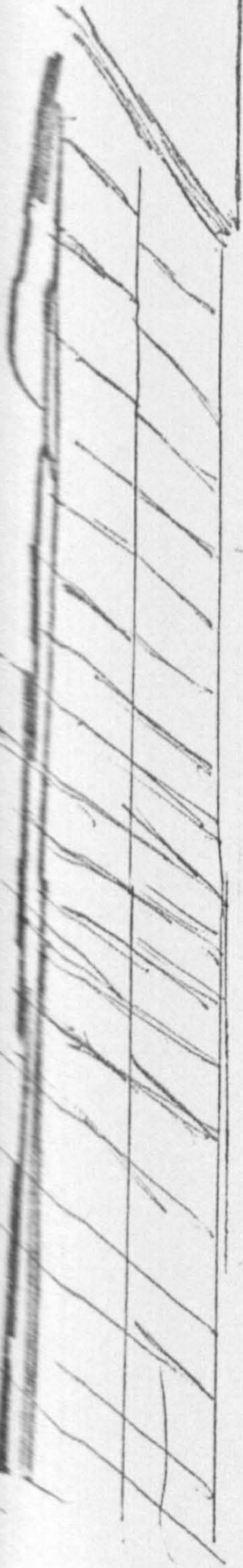


Table 39Highest School Board expenditure in Cumbria

<u>Board</u>	<u>Patron of living</u>	<u>Main political or landowning influence on schools</u>	<u>expenditure</u>	<u>chairman (1901)</u>	<u>clergy on board</u>	<u>Anglican</u>	<u>other</u>
Penrith	bishop of Carlisle	Howards	£8500	Wes Meth	1		1
Carlisle	bishop&dean & chapt of Carlisle	Howards& various	£14000	archdeacon of Carlisle	3		2
Brampton	Howards	Howards	£7000	vicar	1		-
Aspatria	bishop of Carlisle	Lawsons	£6400	layman	1		-
Workington	Curwens	Curwens	£5000	rector the Rev.H.Curwen	2		-
Barrow	Cavendish/trustees	various	£13000	Wes Meth	3		3

Note: Lord Frederick Cavendish first Barrow chairman. The above is the situation in 1901.

Whitehaven never had a board due to the opposition of the Lowthers.

Source: the directories

of former endowed and village schools such as those at Orton, Silloth, Cliburn and Dalston, as well as ailing National Society establishments at Aspatria, Wetheral, Brampton, Ormside and Caldbeck.

The board members in rural areas were often farmers whilst in towns shopkeepers and professional men such as physicians were well represented. The number of clergy of all denominations who joined the boards was impressive, notably in Cumberland. By 1900 there were few boards that had never had local incumbents as members at some time, whilst nonconformist ministers and Roman Catholic priests too looked after their denominational interests²⁰. At that date the archdeacon of Carlisle was chairman of the city's board, as were the incumbents of their respective boards at Farlam, Mallerstang, Bassenthwaite, Thursby, Distington, Egremont, Harrington, Millom, and Dearham. Other clerical members included both Workington incumbents, the archdeacon of Barrow, two Carlisle vicars, and Anglican clergy at Dalston, Stanwix, Penrith, Frizington, Bolton, Dean, Lamplugh, Dalton and Beckermeth.

Non-Anglicans were represented by the Presbyterian ministers James Gillfinnan of Arthuret, Alexander Gay of Penrith and W. Ferguson of Barrow; the Primitive Methodist C.C. Goodall at Cockermouth; the Congregationalist A.E. Killon of Carlisle and James Hughes of Barrow; and the Roman

20. See table 38 p. 461 and table 39 p.464

Catholic priests Bamford of Frizington, Firth of Harrington, Perrin of Millom, Caffrey of Barrow and Buckley of Carlisle ²¹.

It is not easy to discover the amount of activity by non-Anglican lay members of the boards but in some parishes this was considerable, as in boards along the Eden valley where Wesleyan Methodist farmers were commonly represented ²².

Boards were formed where there was a need for them, but many places with a need never had it satisfied and there is a clear pattern. Where Anglican incumbents were vigorous in their role in the community, where there were concerned parish patrons or landowners, where there was a distinct Nonconformist element, then boards were set up. The result was that Mallerstang had a board but Ravenstonedale did not, Workington was supplied with board schools but Whitehaven was not, and Bolton had a board but Shap did not. With these it was not a question of need but of caring; the Curwens at Workington, the Hothfields at Mallerstang, the small landowners at Bolton provided for the parish children; the other three parishes or towns had in common their traditional Lowther pre-eminence which inhibited change and reform. It was too a matter of who appointed the incumbents, so that where bishops of Carlisle, the dean and chapter of that city, or the Howards were patrons then boards were set up; where the earl of Lonsdale presented men, they were not.

21. These men were members during the years 1892-1894; there were others before and after on the boards from the ranks of the Nonconformist ministry.

22. Judging by a correlation of membership lists of boards with circuit names.

Table 40School Boards and Anglican patronage

<u>Patron of Living</u>	<u>Number of School Boards 1870-1880</u> <u>in parishes where incumbent is a member</u> <u>of the Board</u>
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Bishop of Carlisle	8
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Dean and Chapter of Carlisle	5
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Earl of Lonsdale	0
------------------	---

Others	13
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Note: the above excludes Carlisle city incumbencies.

Bishop Goodwin's successor Bardsley was not a zealous supporter of schools under Anglican care whilst bishop Diggle irritated his clergy by being completely in favour of state education and against Anglican schools²³. The increasingly high standards of board establishments forced Anglican schools to attempt to follow suit but it was an impossible task and during the 1890s the number of diocesan schools in Cumbria declined. Board schools took them over and although the local vicar was assured a role the control of education had passed out of Anglican hands and into those of the state. By 1900 there were over four thousand Carlisle children in board schools, nearly two thousand in Millom, seven hundred in Penrith and over six hundred in Cockermouth, whilst the diocesan schools were catering for a minority of children in many parishes.

The religious difficulty in state involvement in education was to an extent solved in 1870 when the education act provided non-denominational Christian instruction and allowed minorities to withdraw from religious instruction. Judging by comments made on the standards of the day then religious minorities had little to fear about indoctrination:

23. Bouch Prelates and People pp.447 ff. Diggle was the despair of his chancellor and archdeacon of Carlisle, Prescott, who had tried to organise an expansion of the Anglican role in Cumbrian education.

With regard to Religious Knowledge, it grieves me to say that most of the schools display a painful deficiency in that particular.²⁴

This was Hodgson's judgement in 1857 and he added that the Methodists seemed to be the major influence in Sunday school work in the parishes. Sunday schools were part of the answer to the accepted lack of religion amongst the labouring poor in the late eighteenth century and were regarded as a potent force for control of the poor and their morality²⁵. The first Cumbrian Sunday schools dated from 1785 at Kendal and 1786 at Whitehaven, the former an effort between Unitarians and Anglicans, the latter a union of the activities of Anglicans, Wesleyans and Congregationalists²⁶.

The Wesleyans, Anglicans and Congregationalists were for a time working together at Carlisle and in Penrith in the 1790s, providing two to three hours¹ religious instruction together before the children were marched off to attend in their own place of worship. For a time

24. Hodgson Village Schools p.12.

25. T.W. La queur Religion and Respectability: Sunday Schools and Working Class Culture 1780-1850 (1976)

26. C.Cobbe Advice to Parents on the Subject of Sunday Schools (Whitehaven 1797); Thoughts on the Present State of Sunday Schools in Kendal (Kendal 1787)

elementary arithmetic and writing were taught but by the 1820s there was a general increase in the amount of devotional and religious element and writing was largely dropped because of its secular nature whereas children had to be able to read in order to understand the bible ²⁷ . The increase in day school provision gradually made such needs minimal and the Sunday schools became completely devoted to religious requirements.

The alarms of the 1790s and 1800s and the threat of revolution, and the political difficulties of the early nineteenth century, united to stop cooperation between denominations ²⁸ . After twenty seven years of inter-denominational schools in Maryport there was division into the respective denominations during 1820, whilst the Penrith churches went their own way in 1818 ²⁹ . The great success of Wesleyan Sunday schools in Cumbrian towns illustrated the resources which that denomination put into them, whereas the Church of England poured money into day schools ³⁰ . The result was that whilst the Anglicans ran Cumbria's day education, Sunday education was in Wesleyan hands.

27. Ward Religion and Society pp.40-44, 94ff,164ff, 256 ff.

La queur Religion and Respectability chapters 3 and 5.

28. Ward Religion and Society pp.21-69.

29. Bazaar Handbook(Penrith 1898) for the Wesleyan circuit gives a history of the Sunday schools; J.B.Bailey History of Sunday Schools at Maryport 1793-1820(Maryport 1911) in fact goes with day schools as well to 1874.

30. See table 41 p. 471

Table 41Roll numbers of Wesleyan Methodist Sunday schools 1876

<u>Circuit</u>	<u>schools</u>	<u>scholars</u>
Carlisle	10	760
Brampton	7	430
Whitehaven	10	1099
Workington	7	803
Cockermouth	13	778
Appleby	16	828
Penrith	16	959
Kirkoswald	13	636
Wigton	12	854
Kendal	11	1098
Sedbergh	7	292
Ulverston	13	1288
Barrow in Furness	4	873
Dumfries	2	87
total	141	10785

Source: District Education Schedule 1876.

The Wesleyans came to regard Sunday schools as the vital training ground for future members of society because recruitment of members from beyond society largely declined after 1850. Sunday school classes were the essential life blood of the future membership and seepage of pupils out of membership was increasingly regretted. From being the agents for controlling and civilising the poor the schools became the recruitment ground for adult members who were already the children of society members. By the 1880s the Sunday schools were healthy and growing, and there remained an element of mission to the outside world, but a majority of teachers and their pupils were firmly linked to Methodism through their parents.

During 1902 a controversial new education act was passed which provided for the maintenance of all schools from the rates and also created new local education committees to control schools. School managers were to include people nominated by the authorities but the support of denominational schools and in particular of Anglican establishments upset many Nonconformists and led to a passive resistance campaign when there was widespread non-payment of that part of the rate going to the support of the schools³¹. In Cumbria the passive resistance campaign met a mixed response both amongst Nonconformists and liberals.

31. Bebbington Nonconformist Conscience pp.141-151; E.R.Norman Church and Society in England pp.261-263; J.E. Munson

¹ A Study of Nonconformity in Edwardian England as revealed by the Passive Resistance Movement against the 1902 Education Act¹ Oxford D.Phil 1973.

The passing of the act attracted little attention in Cumbria and the press contained simply the occasional statement. During January 1903 the town clerk of Carlisle reported on the proposed scheme under the new act for the city which prompted H.D. Rawnsley of Crosthwaite to write a letter in which he stressed that educational charities should be applied to their originally agreed purposes and not merged in county finances ³². The creation of education committees went ahead in the counties and boroughs and the prominent politicians including Henry Howard of Greystoke and J.W. Lowther gave the plans their blessing ³³. Initial problems in February 1903 included a demand from A.E. Killon, minister of Lowther Street Congregational church, that the Free Churches have one third of the seats on the education committee, whilst there were disagreements between the Congregational ministers and the Roman Catholics about such representation ³⁴. A continuing crisis over the proposed Geltsdale reservoir project for Carlisle overshadowed educational concerns until July 1903 when one of the Charlotte Street Congregational deacons, W.B. Redmayne, publicised the passive resistance movement formed at Bradford in April and asked for a public meeting of county sympathisers ³⁵.

Redmayne had been a dedicated school board member and was one of the education committee, but he refused to pay his educational rate and was the first Cumbrian to be taken to court. Right away a string of distrains of goods took place as the half yearly collection of rates took place.

32. Carlisle Journal 6 January and 13 January 1903.

33. Carlisle Journal 3 February 1903.

34. Carlisle Journal 6, 13 and 20 February 1903.

35. Carlisle Journal 10 July 1903.

Several of the Buck family, the Redmaynes and the Atkinsons of Carlisle, members of Charlotte Street, lost goods, though the books on the sufferings of the ejected of 1662 were rejected by the officers when offered by Miss Buck ³⁶. Travers, the city Unitarian minister, was likewise prosecuted and lost goods, as did the Charlotte Street minister, Newnam and the Baptist minister F.C. Haggart. All of these people were on the platform when a Citizens' League for Carlisle was formed in July 1903 ³⁷. Strongly worded letters were exchanged for some months between James Christie, the minister at Fisher Street Presbyterian church, Carlisle and Millard, the vicar of Aspatria, and J.C. Butterworth, vicar of Christ church Carlisle, whilst the Rev. J. Fielding, a city Wesleyan minister, and W.A. Todd, a Primitive minister, spoke out against the act and on behalf of the resistance ³⁸. Redmayne, Christie and Killon took the most important lead in the movement and out of the officials and executive committee for the Carlisle league it has been possible to identify four Presbyterians, two Primitives, one Baptist, one Unitarian and eighteen Congregationalists ³⁹.

Other leagues sprang up in the face of court proceedings. Wrigley led Silloth with his Congregationalist members, Primitive and Congregational clergy at Kirkby Stephen headed their protesters and Kendal proceedings were taken against James Tyson, a county magistrate ⁴⁰. In Westmorland it was stated that Quakers, Wesleyans, Primitives and Congregationalists were united in the league.

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36. Carlisle Journal 31 July 1903
 37. Carlisle Journal 31 July 1903
 38. Carlisle Journal 24 July 1903
 39. Carlisle Journal 31 July 1903
 40. Carlisle Journal 31 July 1903

The only threatened arrest was of the Primitive minister Auty at Kirkby Stephen but some anonymous person had paid the debt and excited crowds went home disappointed when police met Auty at the railway station ⁴¹ . There were wild attacks on the Church of England and on the Tories by the Crosby Garrett Baptist minister J.O. Ogilvy and others during late 1903 but the education act did little to activate liberal hearts and both Geltsdale and the Russo-Japanese war attracted most attention ⁴² . Distraint cases during 1904 received decreasing entries in the press as the year wore on and the Tory newspapers largely ignored the matter. Rutherford, the Primitive minister in the new Brampton circuit, his Alston colleague G.J. Lane, W. Taylor Herd, the Keswick Congregational minister, and the Presbyterian Hugh Mungle and Primitive Frederick Richardson of the Workington churches, led bands of their own and other church members in court; however justices often forbade court speeches and thus lessened press interest ⁴³ .

In Penrith the Congregational and Presbyterian ministers headed the summons list, respectively C.W. Butler and A.D. Gray, just as they did at Whitehaven in the person of Matthew Young and A.O. Lochore ⁴⁴ . When the editor of the Carlisle Journal gave a full-page summary of 1904 there was not a single mention of the education act or of the resisters ⁴⁵ .

41. Carlisle Journal 6 November 1903

42. Carlisle Journal 4 December 1903

43. Carlisle Journal 18 and 29 March 1903

44. Carlisle Journal 23 September and 30 September 1903

45. Carlisle Journal 30 December 1904

The attitude of the Cumbrian liberal leaders determined the fate of the passive resistance movement. Sir Wilfrid Lawson took little if any part in the issue of the education act and at party rallies and meetings he and his fellow speakers like Geoffrey Howard and Edward Chance concentrated on industry, trade, the empire and foreign policy ⁴⁶. Many liberals felt that the education act was necessary and effective in Cumbria and in Carlisle the party agreed that the act had led to major educational advances in the diocese ⁴⁷. The majority of liberals were Anglicans and the Cumbrian Nonconformists had little hope of persuading their fellow liberals to break the law at a time when the possibilities of a liberal victory at future elections required united ranks.

The opinion of Leifchild Jones, secretary to the countess of Carlisle in 1903, is interesting because during 1903 he took his place on the platform of passive resistance meetings ⁴⁸. However his candidature for the North Westmorland seat and his victory in March 1905 brought him out of the attack on the act probably because of his dependence upon Anglican voters in that constituency .

In Carlisle in 1905

Gully retired and ^{Edward}Chance won the seat but made not a single pronouncement against the 1902 act, to the dissatisfaction of the passive resistance people ⁴⁹. In the interests of maintaining liberal unity for the 1906 general election the passive resisters were forced to restrict their activities and to avoid compromising the rest of their party. Cumbrian Anglicans were simply not involved in a county campaign doomed to an inglorious end.

46. Carlisle Journal 18 October 1904, 27 January 1905.

47. Carlisle Journal 30 December 1904.

48. Carlisle Journal throughout February and 7 March 1905, 13 October 1903

49. Carlisle Journal 9, 16, 23, 30 June 1905.

The Religion of a Town: Barrow in Furness

Barrow in Furness was an exceptional Cumbrian town because it was a creation of Victorian industry based on the natural resources of the region combined with the strenuous efforts of off-comers and natives. Nowhere else in Cumbria possessed the dynamism of Barrow's industrialists, the slums of the town, startling urban expansion or such religious diversity. Its religious history was a product of off-comer efforts just as much as was its industry.

Barrow had been a small Furness village in the 1840s until the arrival of the Furness railway development and the discovery of extensive iron ore deposits in the vicinity brought about a rapid expansion of population as workers were imported¹. The result was that from about five hundred residents in 1851 population had grown to over three thousand by 1861 and to forty seven thousand in 1881. The railway, the iron mining and its iron and steel making industry, the development of extensive dockyards and shipbuilding interests, the jute and flax industry, all contributed to the rise of the town between 1850 and 1880. In all of this a small select group of men were the central figures.

1. See table 42 p.478 ; J.D. Marshall Furness and the Industrial Revolution (1958) is the main history.

Table 42Population of Barrow

1801	40
1851	510
1861	3100
1871	17000
1872	28000
1874	35000
1881	47000
1891	52000
1901	57000
1911	64000
1921	74000
1931	66000

There were two major landowners in the Furness district and each became involved in the growth of Barrow. Walter Francis Scott, fifth duke of Buccleuch and seventh duke of Queensberry, was the lesser involved of the two partly because of his extensive interests in the Scottish border counties where his estates amounted to hundreds of thousands of acres ². William Cavendish, earl of Burlington and later seventh duke of Devonshire, likewise possessed large estates and commercial interests, in Ireland, the south of England and Derbyshire in particular, but the Cavendish family had a major estate at Holker which gave a convenient residence for regular visits to the district ³. The seventh duke of Devonshire played a far more important role in Barrow's subsequent history than did Buccleuch partly because of the Cavendish possession of more ready capital for investment purposes.

The Cavendish land and political agent, John Fell, a member of an old established Furness family, was an astute business man who became another prominent name in the history of Barrow ⁴. Whilst the duke lived only a part of

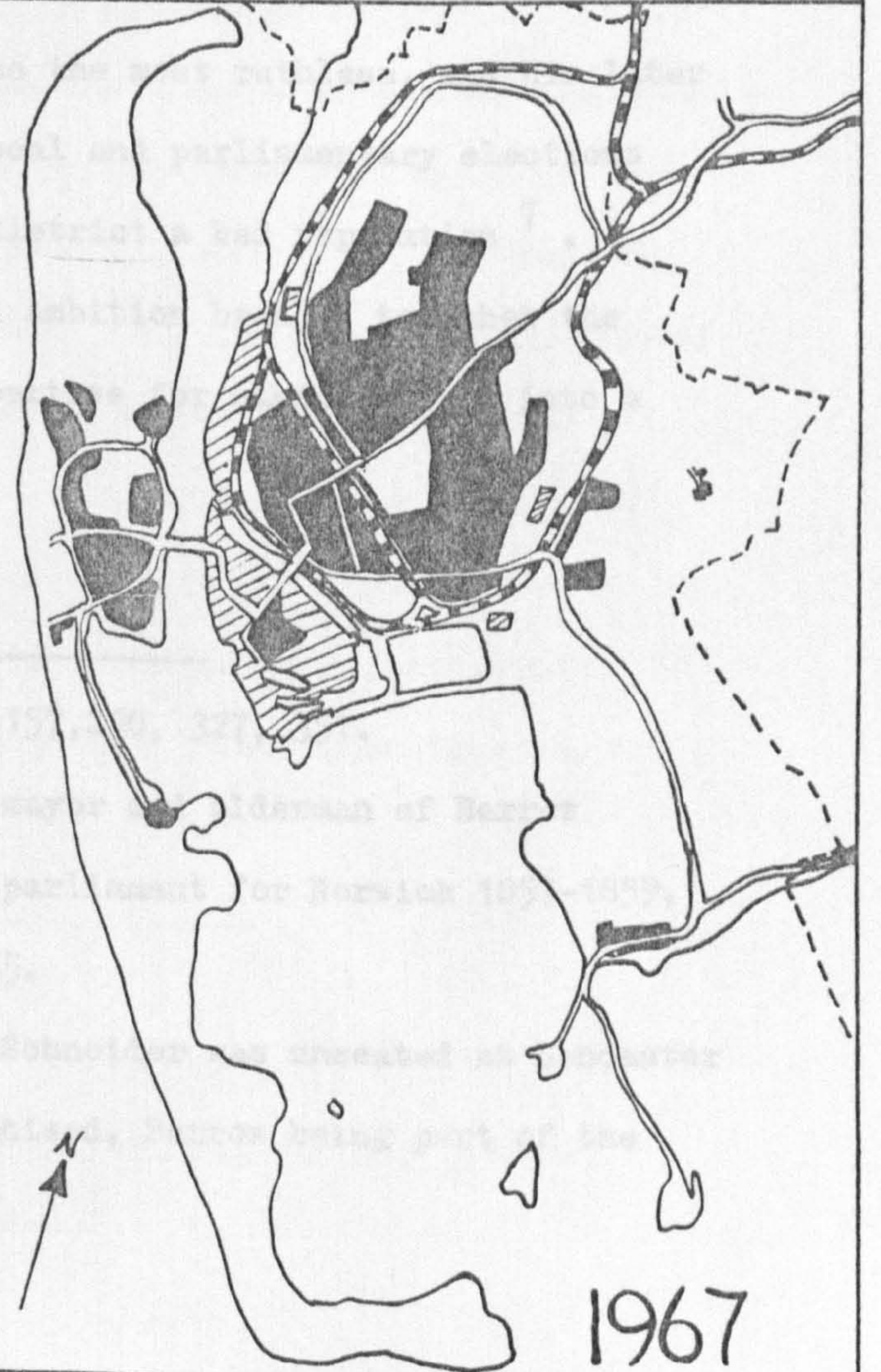
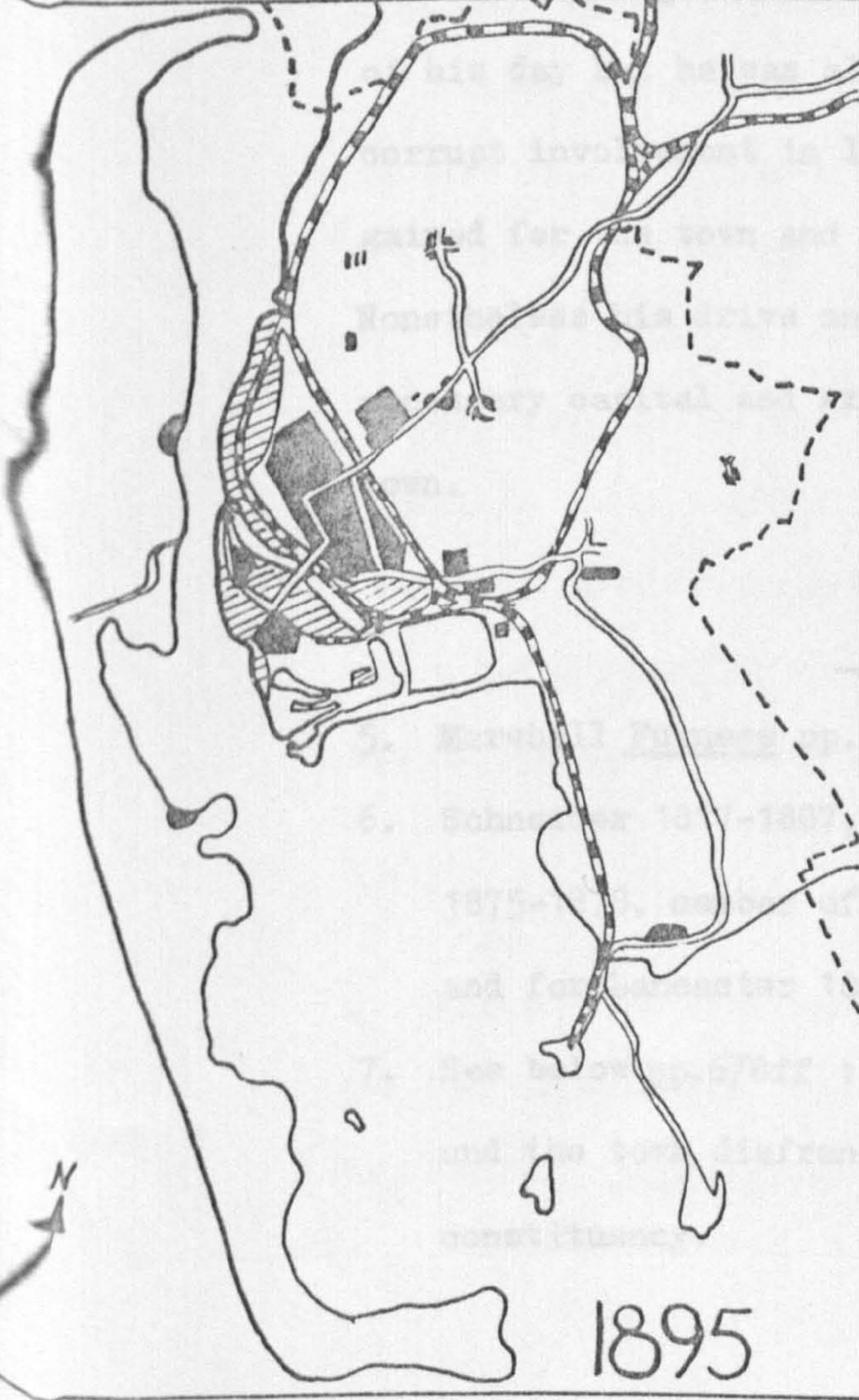
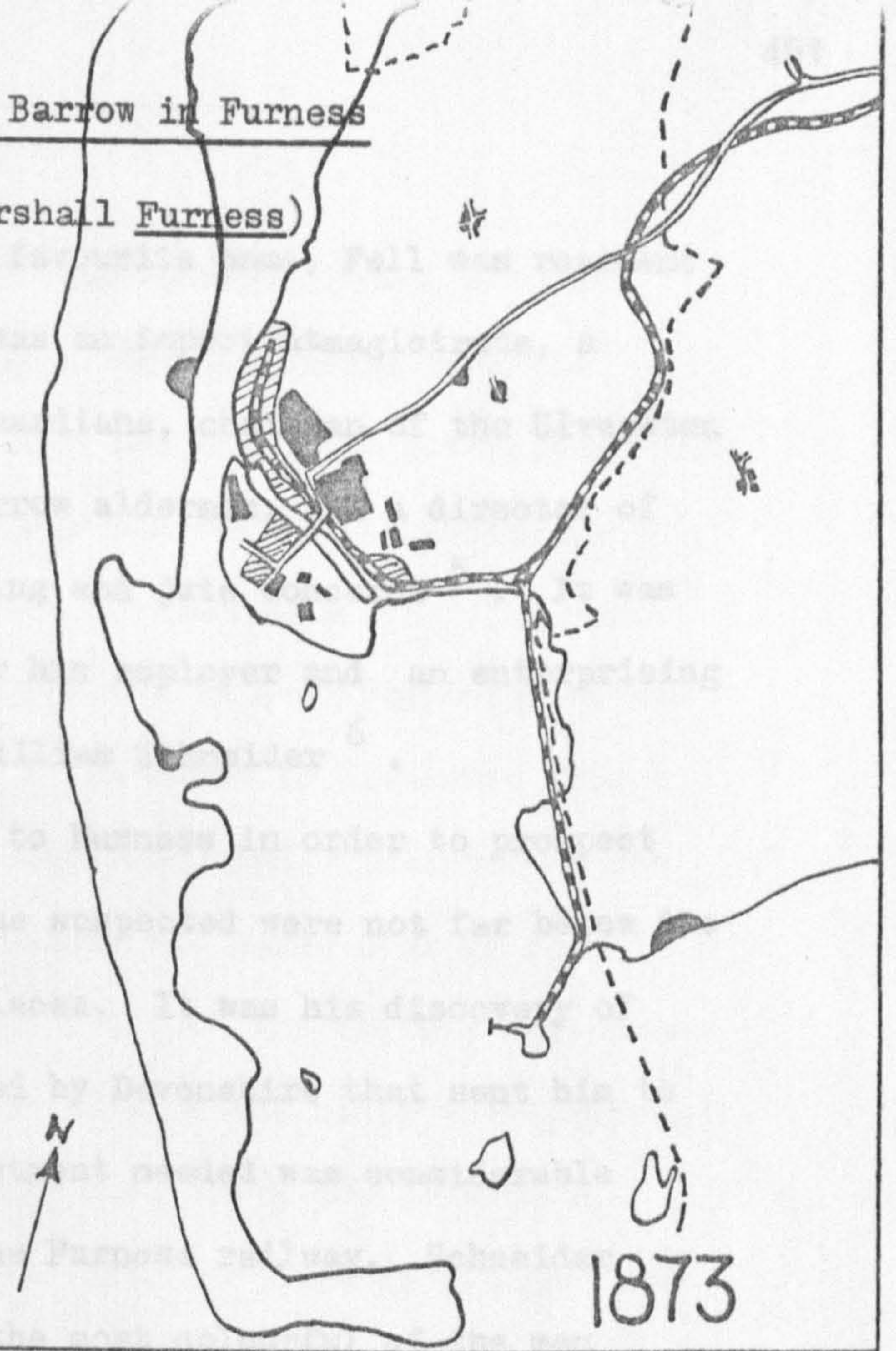
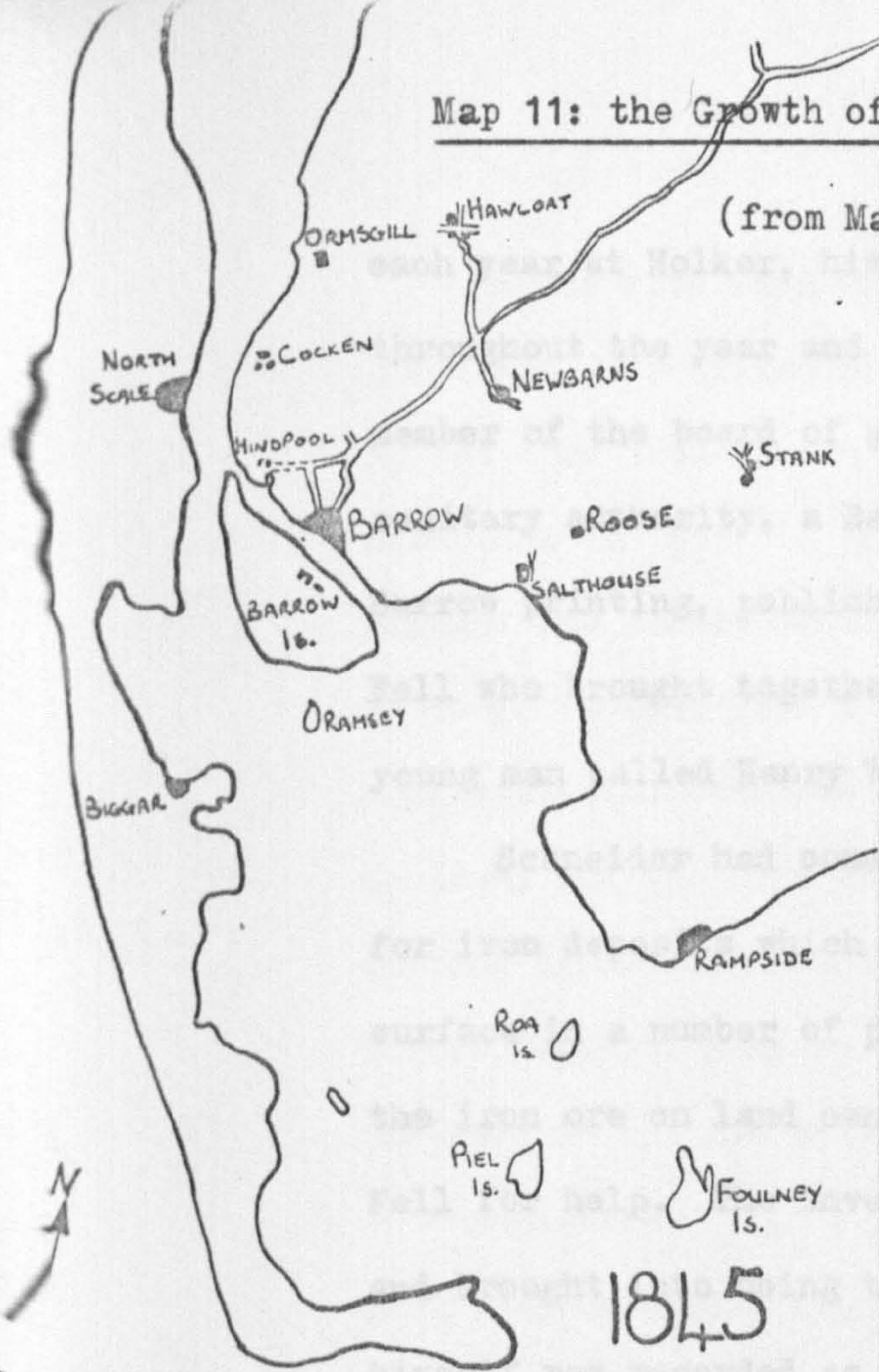
2. Buccleuch 1806-1885.

3. Devonshire 1809-1891, duke in 1858; see H. Leach The Duke of Devonshire: a personal and political biography (1904) see below p. 635.

4. Fell 1826-1910.

Map 11: the Growth of Barrow in Furness

(from Marshall Furness)



The growth of Barrow.

each year at Holker, his favourite home, Fell was resident throughout the year and was an important magistrate, a member of the board of guardians, chairman of the Ulverston sanitary authority, a Barrow alderman, and a director of Barrow printing, publishing and jute concerns ⁵. It was Fell who brought together his employer and an enterprising young man called Henry William Schneider ⁶.

Schneider had come to Furness in order to prospect for iron deposits which he suspected were not far below the surface in a number of places. It was his discovery of the iron ore on land owned by Devonshire that sent him to Fell for help. The investment needed was considerable and brought into being the Furness railway. Schneider himself was regarded as the most colourful of the men of his day but he was also the most ruthless, and his later corrupt involvement in local and parliamentary elections gained for the town and district a bad reputation ⁷. Nonetheless his drive and ambition brought together the necessary capital and expertise for making Barrow into a town.

5. Marshall Furness pp. 157, 290, 327, 351.

6. Schneider 1817-1887, mayor and alderman of Barrow 1875-1878, member of parliament for Norwich 1857-1859, and for Lancaster 1865.

7. See below pp. 678ff ; Schneider was unseated at Lancaster and the town disfranchised, Barrow being part of the constituency.

Along with Schneider came Robert Hannay, a landed gentleman from Kirkcudbright, who had become involved in the iron trade during 1846 and came into partnership with Schneider in 1853⁸. Hannay was the only non-Anglican amongst the Barrow notables of that date, and he seems to have been a supporter of both Presbyterian and Congregational churches⁹. He moved to Ulverston from Scotland and the iron company prospered. During 1866 the company of Schneider and Hannay was taken over by the Barrow Hematite company for £500,000 and the two men became partners in the new enterprise with the other entrepreneurs of the district¹⁰. Hannay then put £150,000 into the ambitious Blochairn iron and steel project in Glasgow and kept only £83,000 invested in the Barrow company.

Hannay's undoing when the Glasgow works went bankrupt in 1874 cast him into a depressed state from which he did not recover and he died later that same year. He was with all of the others, Schneider, Fell and Devonshire, a liberal in politics, and he had been a member of the board of guardians and a magistrate. Hannay had stood as liberal candidate at Kirkcudbright in 1868 but had failed because he was a quiet retiring man who disliked noise, excitement and the manipulation needed in public life. Schneider was his

8. Hannay died 1874 aged 65.

9. See below p.492.

10. Marshall Furness pp.217ff, 220-222,299ff,330,409ff.

Table 43Barrow Church building

Church of England:	Walney 1852, 1908
	Newbarns and Hawcoat 1871
	St. George 1861
	St. James 1869
	St. Matthew 1878
	St. Mark 1878
	St. Luke 1878
	St. John 1878
Roman Catholic:	1867, 1885, 1916
Baptist:	1873
Congregational:	1857 enlarged 1863, 1874
Presbyterian:	1875
Methodist:	
Wesleyan	1862, 1874, 1876, 1876, 1900
Primitive	1866, 1874, 1875, 1878
New Connexion	1874
Bible Christian	1876
Welsh Calvin.	1863

opposite, but between the two extremes was James Ramsden, the supervisor of the Furness railway's first work in the district ¹¹ .

Ramsden was the son of a Liverpool engineer and had been working on the London to Birmingham line based at Wolverton. He worked for the rest of his life to make the district an important economic one and from his large house, Abbots Wood, which overlooked Furness abbey ruins, oversaw and planned the development of the town. Ramsden was the principal planner of the town with all its features: roads, railway stations, churches, shops, schools, hospital, factories, docks and housing, and the work brought him a knighthood and the central place of honour in the history of the borough ¹² . It was Ramsden who led the way to making the town a chartered borough, a parliamentary constituency, and independent of Ulverston in religious and social concerns, and who sought to reduce the growth of the slums which marked Barrow out from most of Cumbria.

Barrow then was shaped by a small group of men in both its birth and subsequent development. In religious matters their influence was predominantly for the Church of England.

11. Ramsden 1822-1896, mayor of Barrow 1867, high sheriff of Lancashire 1873.

12. Marshall Furness pp.182ff, 224ff,324ff, 402 ff and throughout the book. F. Barnes Barrow and District (Barrow 1968) is a less academic history of the town.

Abbotswood, home of Sir James Ramsden

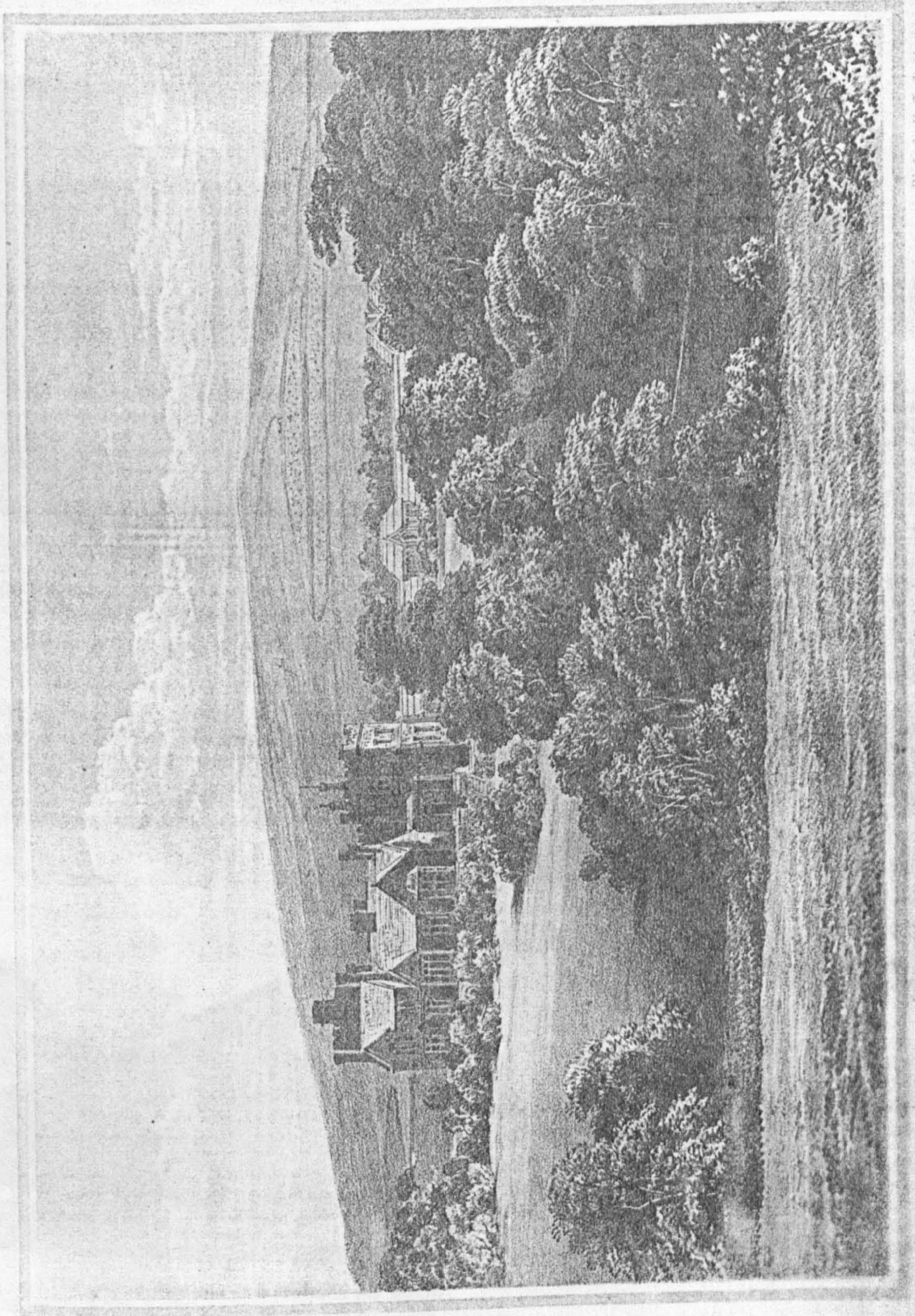
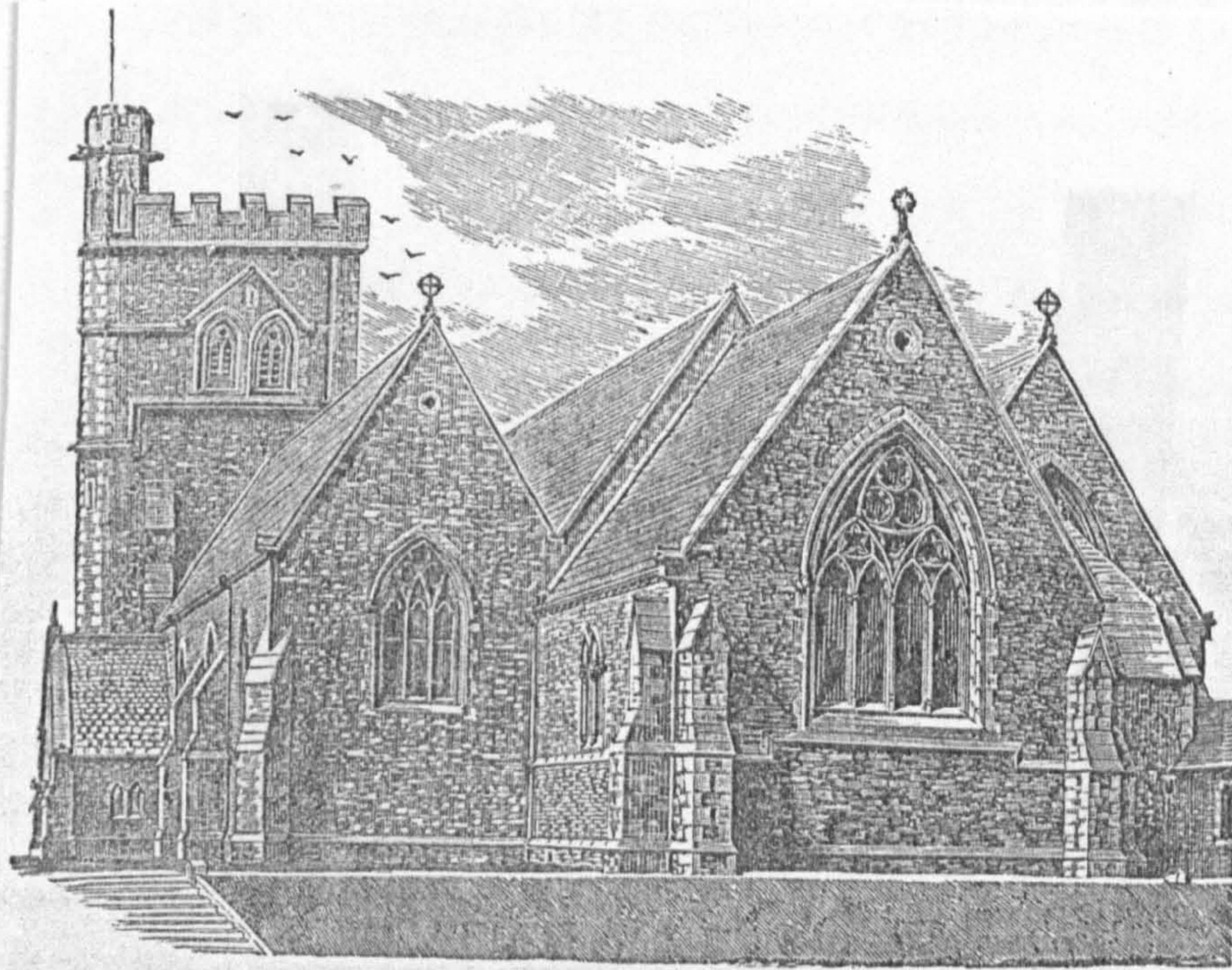


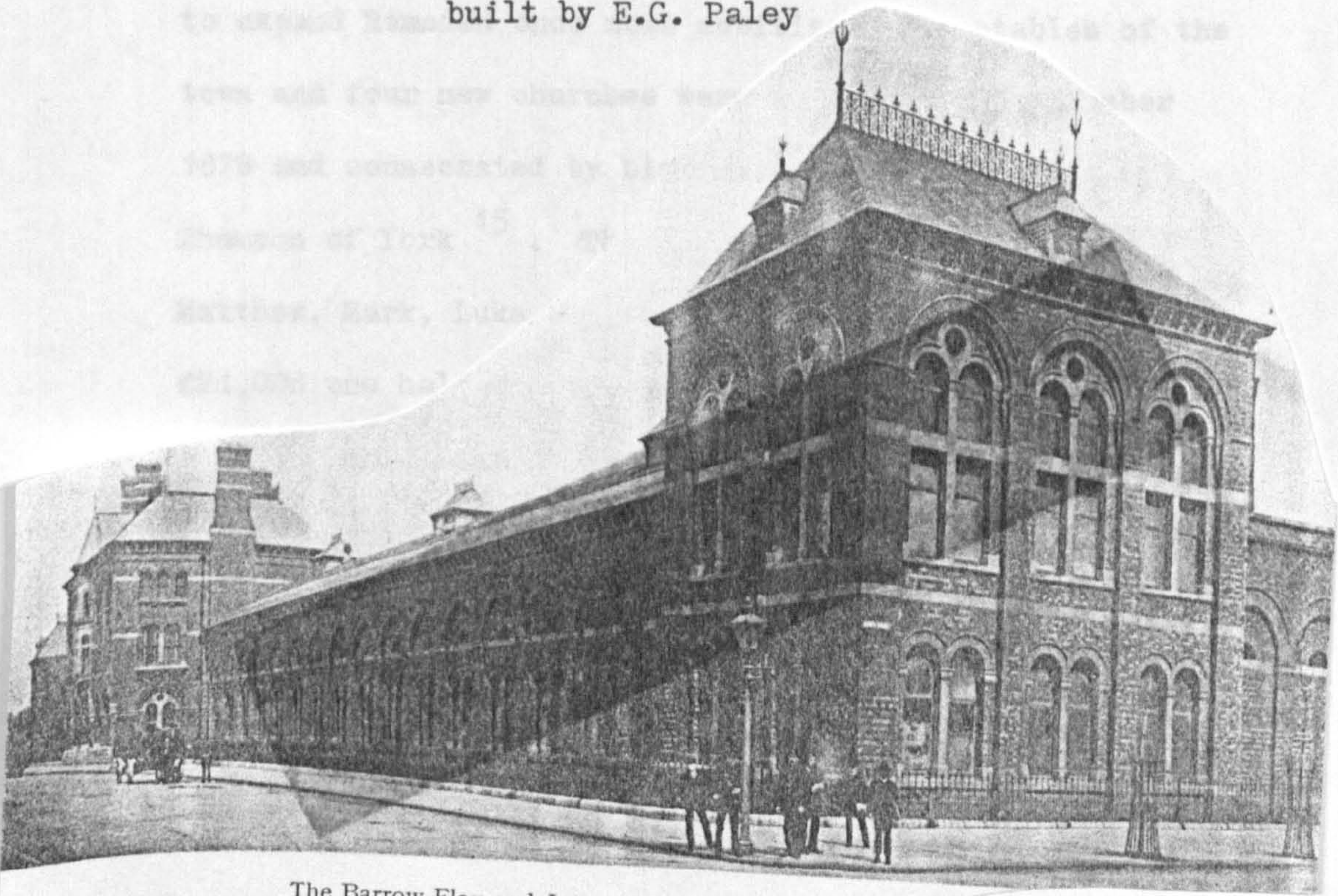
Photo. by G. F. L. & Co.

Barrow had been originally under the parish of Dalton in



ST. GEORGE'S PARISH CHURCH.

Barrow opened 1861
built by E.G. Paley



The Barrow Flax and Jute Works in the 'eighties.

One of the staple employers of the Scots.

Barrow had been originally under the parish of Dalton in Furness with chapels at Walney and Rampside and in 1844 Anglican services were held in a schoolroom in Barrow village ¹³ . The first major step was in 1861 when the church of St. George was opened due to Ramsden's influence and the architect used was Paley of Lancaster ¹⁴ . St. George, Barrow, was constituted a new parish in 1872 and all the expenses involved were defrayed by the two dukes, Schneider and Hannay.

At Schneider's expense the Anglican schools of St. James were built and services begun there in the 1860s in order to cater for the burgeoning terraced houses of the off-comers, and a new church was designed by Austin and Paley and opened in 1869. As the population continued to expand Ramsden once more mobilised the notables of the town and four new churches were opened on 26 September 1878 and consecrated by bishop Goodwin and archbishop Thomson of York ¹⁵ . The churches were dedicated to Matthew, Mark, Luke and John, and of the total cost of £24,000 one half was provided by Devonshire, the rest equally by Buccleuch, Ramsden, Schneider and the Cavendish family.

13. Barnes Barrow pp.67-71 , 119-122.

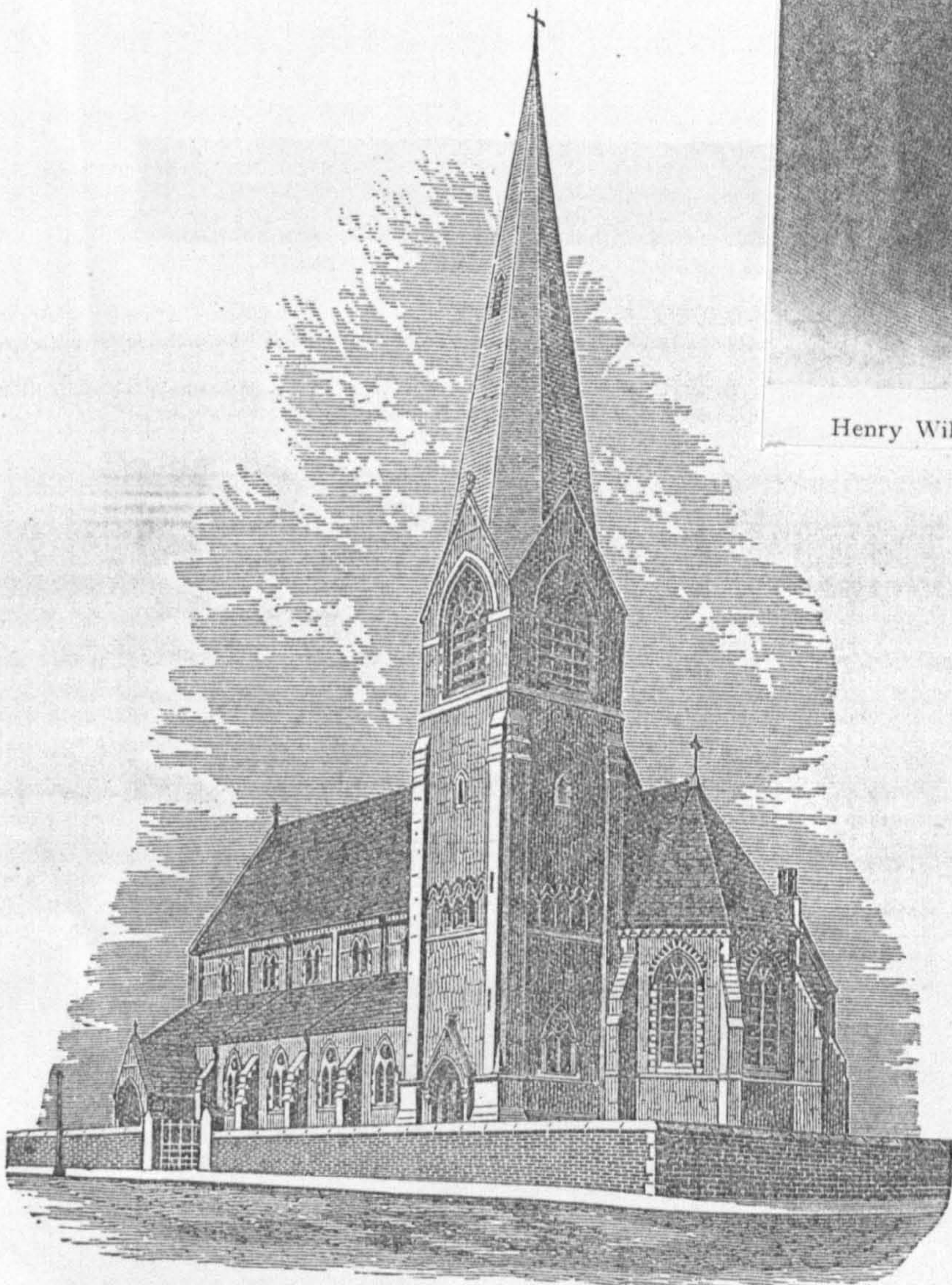
14. See below pp. 578.

15. See above pp. 57-60.

With a number of Anglican schools, and many of the
of England possessed an advantage over others
which included the generous gifts of Ragsdale
and the other leaders of the town. The
was dedicated to the Cornish saint

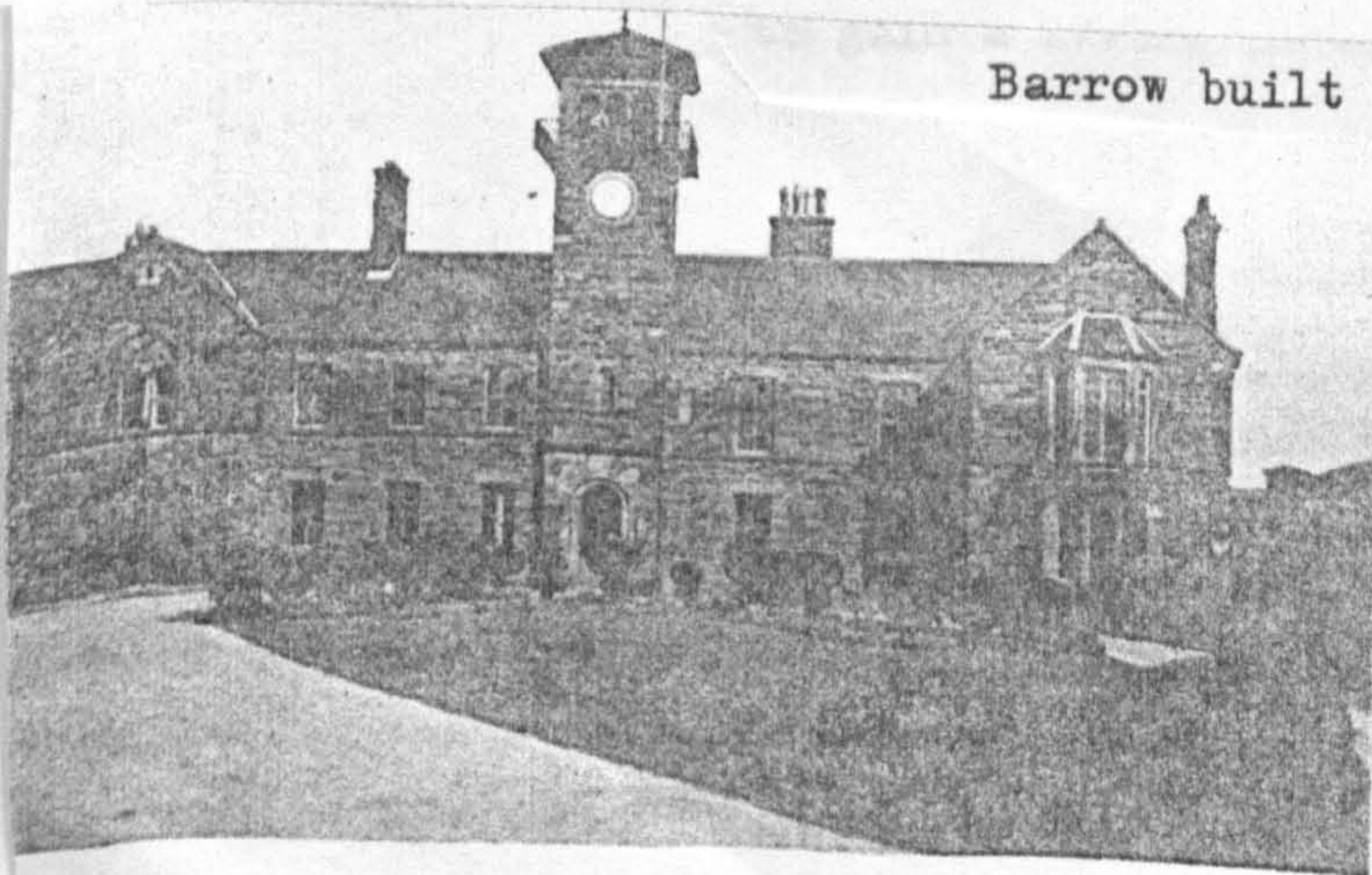


Henry William Schneider.



ST. JAMES' CHURCH.

Barrow built 1869 by E.G. Paley



The seat of power—the Furness Railway Company offices at Barrow.

With a number of Anglican schools and churches the Church of England possessed an advantage over other denominations which included the generous gifts of Ramsden, Schneider and the other leaders of the town. The new church at Roose was dedicated to the Cornish saint Perran in order to attract the large number of Cornish settlers who had settled there in the 1860s and 1870s, but most of the Anglican churches were strictly catering for the limited number of off-comers who were Anglican: a majority of migrants attached to a particular denomination were either Protestant Nonconformists or Roman Catholic. One successful mission for the Anglicans was however established in the centre of Barrow .

Schneider once boasted that he and his partner Hannay had given away over £80,000 between 1857 and 1872 to deserving causes in Barrow, though the bulk went to church building schemes ¹⁶ . Some of it was employed by the Rev. T.S. Barrett, incumbent of St. George's, to help the several thousand poor parishioners amongst whom he lived with two curates ¹⁷ . In Victorian times it was seldom that church patronage changed hands so the pattern of ecclesiastical appointment rarely altered. This in turn meant that those clergy who sympathised with ritualistic innovation had little opportunity to gain a living unless a new living

16. Marshall Furness p.330.

17. For Barrett see above pp.117-119, 134-136.

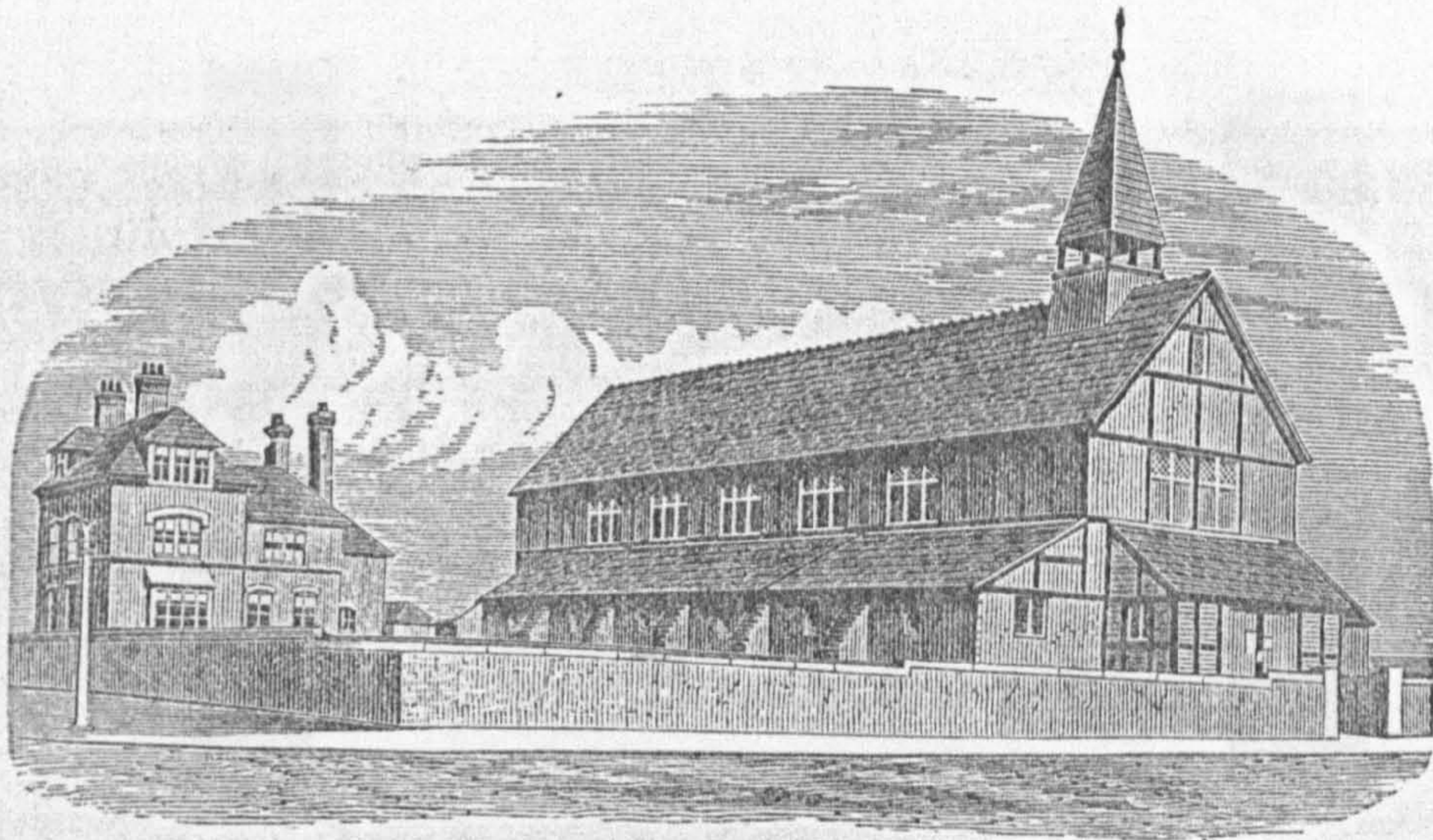
were created. The Barrow opening brought into prominence Barrett whose ritualistic innovations, with those of his curates, brought about several crises in the diocese for bishops Waldegrave and Goodwin. It was all the more awkward for the bishops when Schneider and others complained since Barrett was popular, his parishioners loved him, his church was full, and he was the centre of all charitable, educational, unemployment and hospital efforts for the poorest of the migrants. Barrett was eventually prosecuted under the act of 1874 and pressured to resign¹⁸; the work of the Anglicans may have suffered in consequence.

Barrow had been under the diocese of Chester until 1856 when it was put under Carlisle, and by 1881 the fact of its being the second centre of the diocese and as far from Carlisle as anywhere could be in Cumbria suggested that change was needed. Goodwin and some friends were able to obtain from the two dukes the requisite amounts needed for financing a new archdeaconry of Furness in 1884, and five years later Henry Ware was promoted to be bishop suffragan of Barrow¹⁹. It was hailed in the town as a great and just conclusion in religious affairs.

18. See above pp. 134-136.

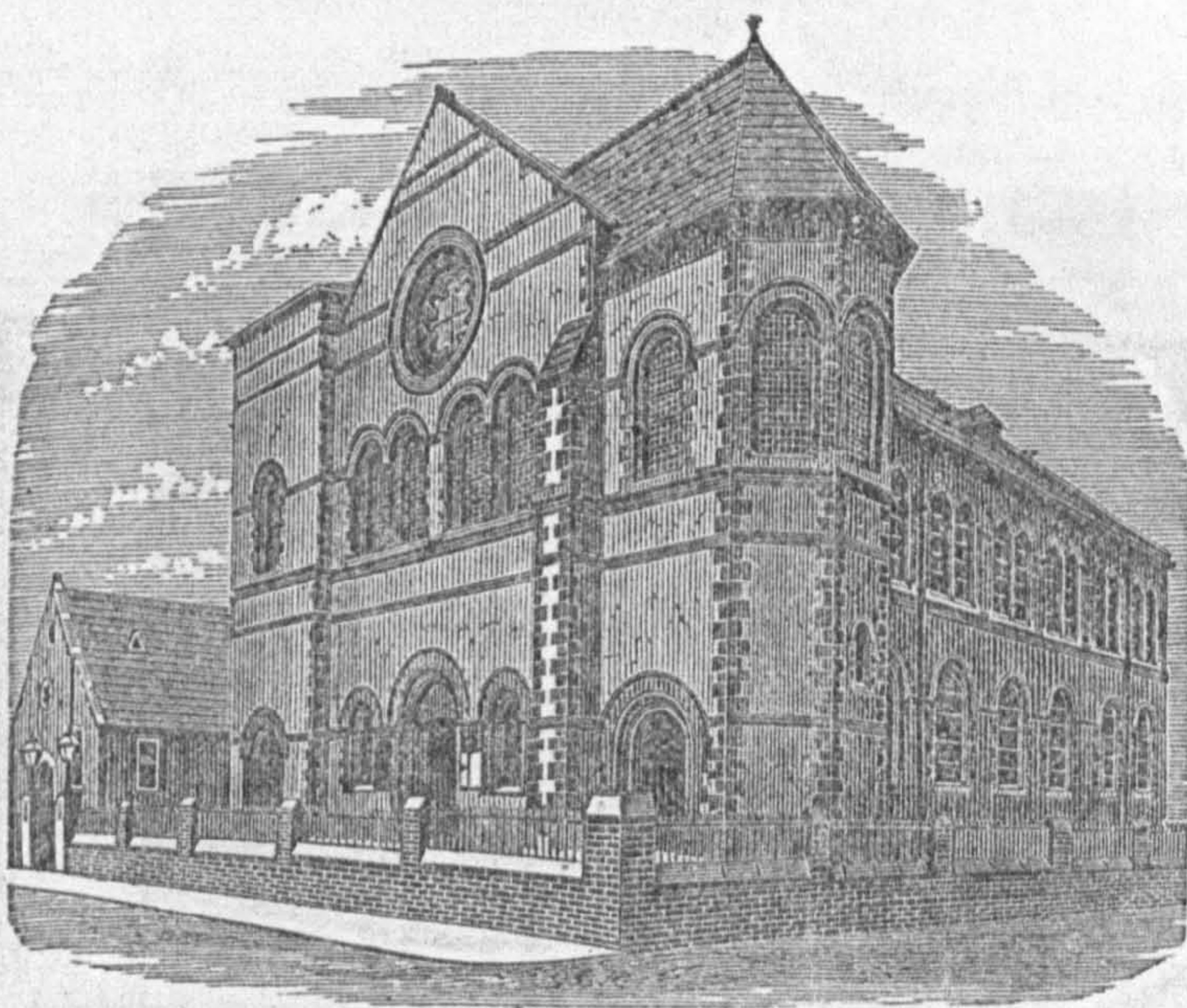
19. Ware 1830-1909, see above pp. 119ff, 50.

Ware had married Goodwin's daughter; both were moderate high churchmen.



ST. LUKE'S CHURCH.

Barrow, built 1878 by Paley and Austin
 were early on the religious scene, but as too were the
 Bible Christians, the Methodist New Connexion and the
 Welsh Calvinistic Methodists. The Roman Catholics were
 notably active amongst the thousands of migrant Irish,



TRINITY PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH, SCHOOL-STREET.

Barrow, 1875 built by Paley and Austin

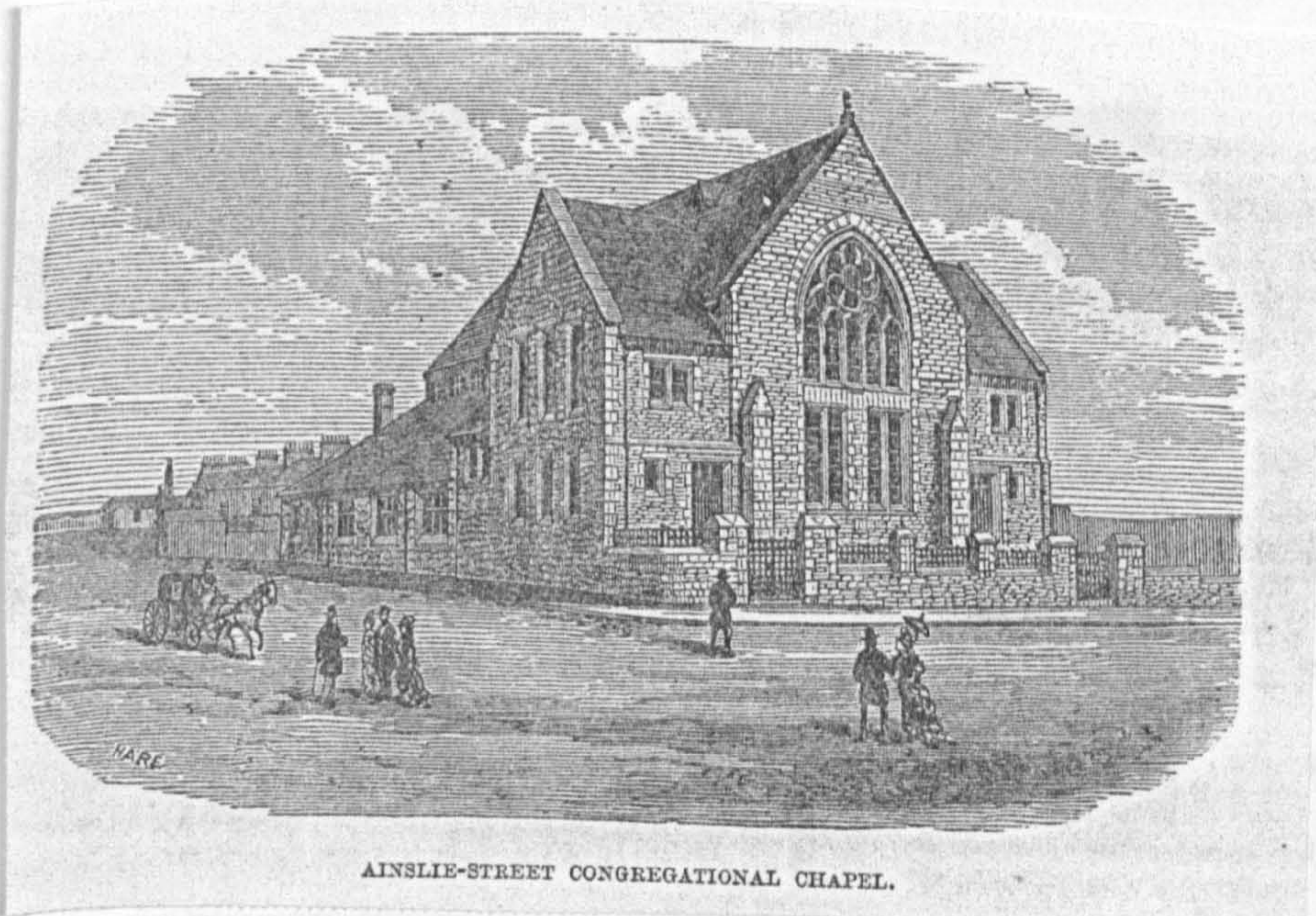
located at Springfield, Silverston.

The rise of Barrow's Anglican status to a position where the town was not only centre of an archdeaconry but also possessed its own bishop illustrated the importance of the town in Cumbrian affairs. The non-Anglican denominations discovered it to be a place where there was a great deal of missioning to be done amongst thousands of migrants uprooted from their native district and transplanted in the new and unfamiliar environment.

There was a niche for many denominations in Barrow simply because of the migrant diversity. As was to be expected the Wesleyan, Primitive and United Methodists were early on the religious scene, but so too were the Bible Christians, the Methodist New Connexion and the Welsh Calvinistic Methodists. The Roman Catholics were notably active amongst the thousands of migrant Irish, whilst there were Presbyterian and Congregational churches and, for Cumbria, an unusually strong Baptist presence.

Robert Hannay played a significant role for the churches in general and for the Presbyterians and Congregationalists in particular ²⁰. Though Hannay was claimed as a member of the Ulverston Congregational church, where his funeral was held in September 1874, he maintained an interest in the Barrow Presbyterians in part because of his involvement in securing hundreds of Scottish workers in 1871 and 1872 for the jute and flax concerns. The result was that he was

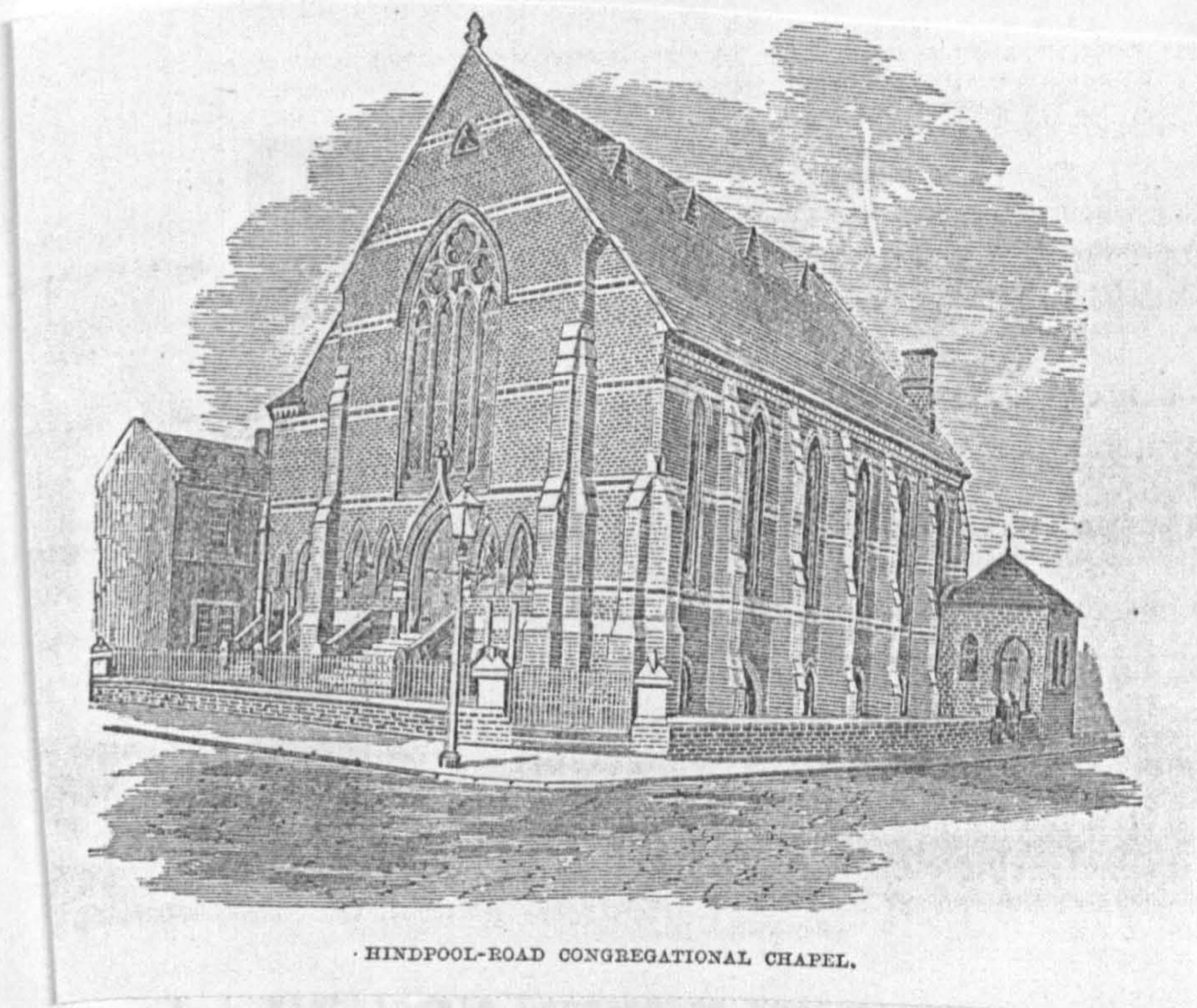
20. R. Casson A Few Furness Worthies (1899) pp.74-76; he lived at Springfield, Ulverston.



AINSLIE-STREET CONGREGATIONAL CHAPEL.

Barrow, opened 1875

century it was the assaying central Hindpool church which
 was forced to close and the members joined Abbey Road,
 although in the 1830s and 1850s the latter church had
 suffered the setbacks 23. Interestingly the impetus
 for the formation of the Abbey Road church had come about
 due to the arrival of the hundreds of Scot^{ish} members in



HINDPOOL-ROAD CONGREGATIONAL CHAPEL.

Barrow built 1863

23. Hindpool Congregational Church Barrow
 24. The Wesleyan Methodist Church Barrow
 1830-1835/8

a sort of patron of both Presbyterian and Congregational causes, that emigrant Scots might attend either denomination's services in Barrow and Ulverston, and that a series of Scottish ministers served with the two ²¹ .

The old Hindpool Congregational chapel of 1857 was speedily replaced by a new one costing nearly £2,000 in 1863; expansion of membership was rapid and the church divided amicably during 1874 when the Rev. W.H. Fothergill formed a new Abbey Road congregation ²² . In the twentieth century it was the decaying central Hindpool church which was forced to close and the members joined Abbey Road, although in the 1880s and 1890s the latter church had suffered the setbacks ²³ . Interestingly the impetus for the formation of the Abbey Road church had come about due to the arrival of the hundreds of Scot^{tish} members in the early 1870s.

The Barrow Presbyterians had been formed into a church by Joseph Burns of Whitehaven and D.G. McLeod of Workington in 1865 ²⁴ . Cumbrian, Lancastrian and Scot^{tish}

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21. William Thornbeck of Glasgow 1867, William Paterson of Glasgow 1874(later an EU man), John McMillan 1880 and Edwin Storr 1879 were Scots serving the Congregational churches.
22. The First Hundred Years:a History of Congregationalism in Barrow in Furness (Barrow 1958)
23. Nightingale Lancashire Nonconformity pp.270-275.
24. MS History of Trinity Presbyterian church Barrow BRO BDFC/P/B.

preachers cared for the early church until Duncan of Edinburgh was appointed in 1866 to the new United Presbyterian church. The first church was opened during 1868 for £1350 and seated three hundred, but the influx of Scots in 1871 and 1872 brought about profound changes in the fortunes of the church. Accordingly the management committee approached several architects before deciding on Paley and Austin of Lancaster to design a new and commanding church which was built for £5,000 and opened in 1875²⁵.

Ramsden had given a site free to the church just as he had done with other denominations, but the personal interest of Hannay seems to account for the prominent site acquired, the choice of fashionable architects, and the importance of the church in the town during the early 1870s. Built of red freestone dressings with Stainton limestone the new church was visible from all main roads into the town²⁶. The church members included several physicians and a number of shopkeepers but the jute and flax mills provided the numbers, and five hundred communicants in the 1900s paid their minister one of the best stipends in Cumbria²⁷.

25. MS History provides the details; see below p. 578.

26. J. Richardson Barrow in Furness (1881) pp. 114-116. There is a history of most of the town's congregations given in this book together with pictures of the buildings.

27. See above p. 229 ; Dr. Stark was one leading member.

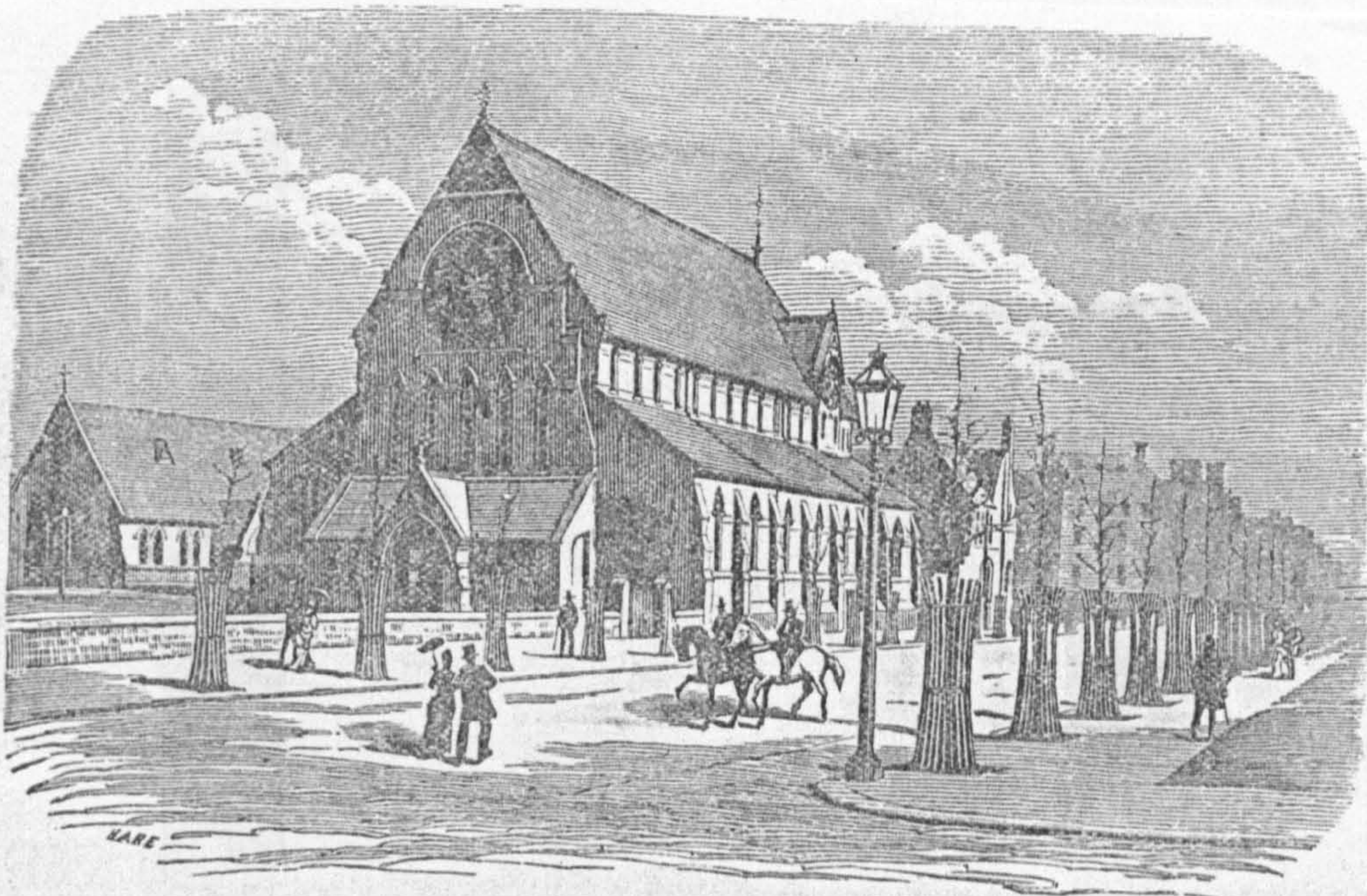
Trinity Presbyterians did not lose their sense of mission and sent workers to Walney Island during the 1900s to help amongst the new developments there, whilst there were also two preaching places maintained and a variety of charitable efforts in the district. With the permanent challenge of the thousands of migrants there was enough work for every denomination ²⁸ .

There were several thousand Irish Roman Catholics in Barrow at any one time and many arrived and departed and then came back in fairly quick succession in search of work ²⁹ . From the days of Thomas West there had been priests resident in north Lancashire and centred on Ulverston, so that it was simple enough to extend the work to Barrow ³⁰ . The first permanent church was opened in 1867 after the congregation had used a variety of places but the sheer organisational problems of one or two priests ministering to an Irish population of over three thousand in 1865 but over seven thousand in 1880 forced further church building . Catholic churches were the most used buildings belonging to the denominations and recorded

28. Richardson Barrow pp.101-119; see table 42 p. 478.

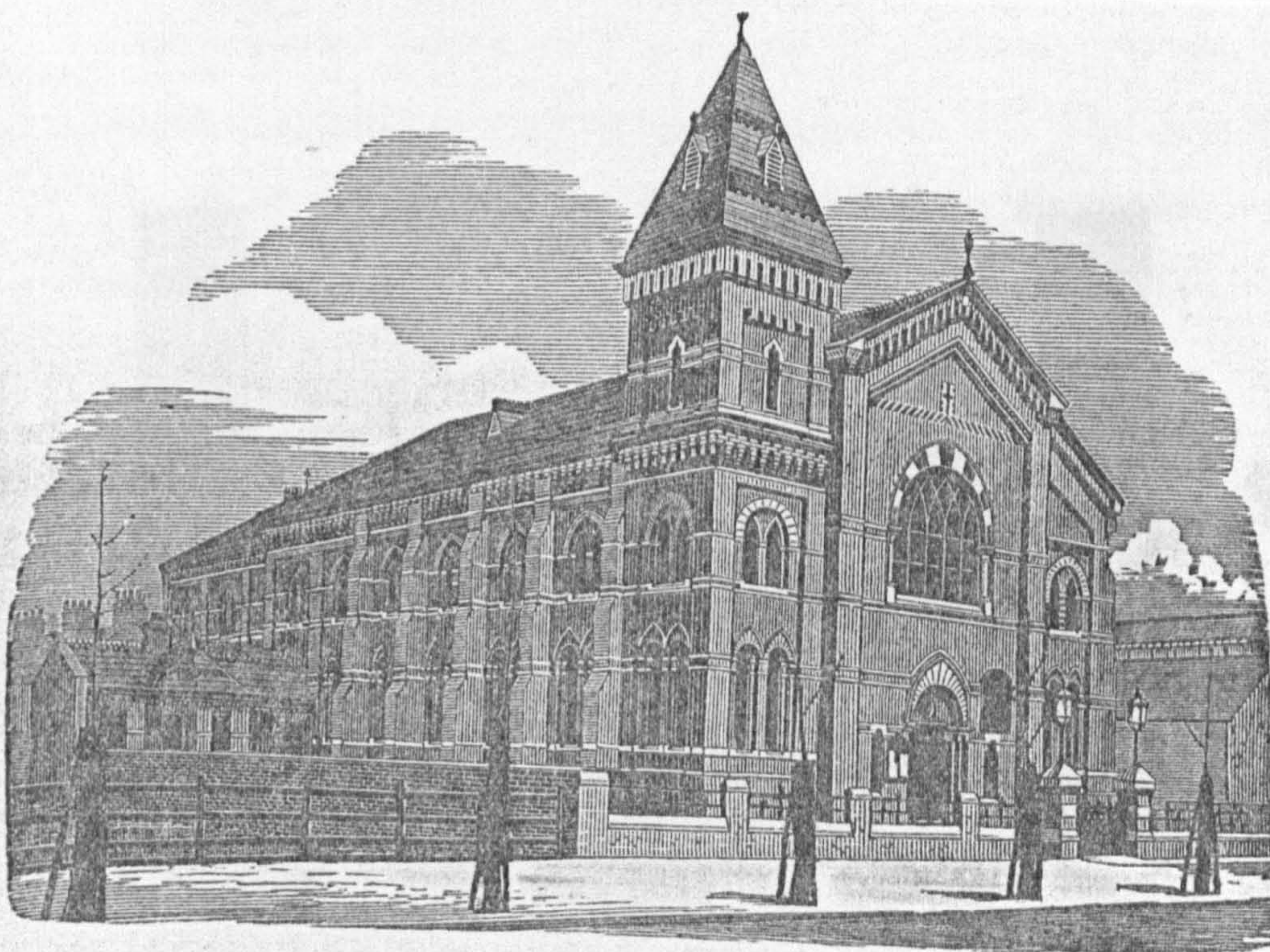
29. Richardson Barrow pp.109-111.

30. West was the much respected guide book and antiquarian author in charge of the Furness work 1767-1779, a Jesuit. Most of the priests were despatched from Dodding Green, Kendal.



ST. MARY'S CATHOLIC CHURCH.

Barrow built 1867
by E.W. Pugin



BAPTIST CHAPEL, ABBEY-ROAD.

Barrow opened 1873

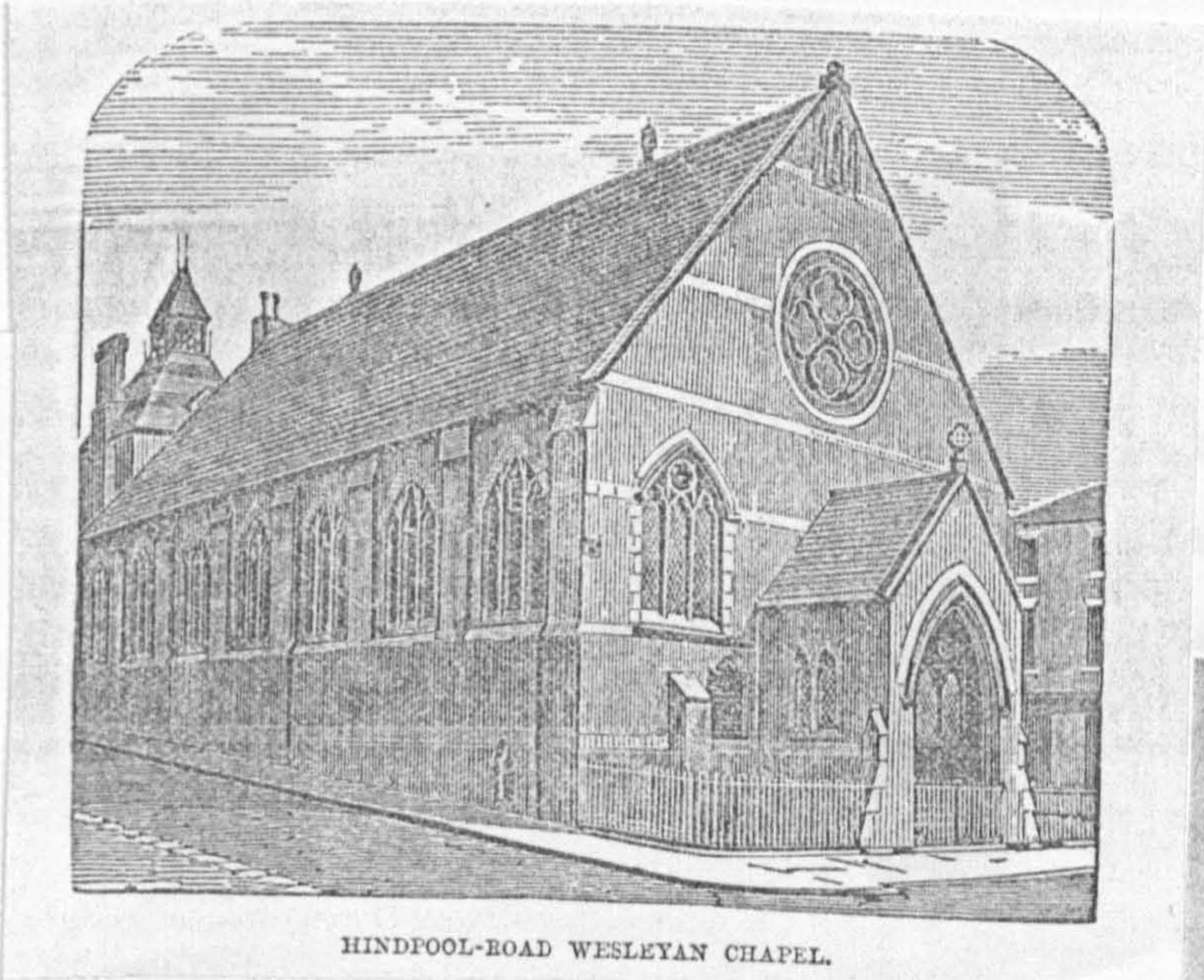
full houses each Sunday. Whilst English priests like John Bilsborrow and James Parkinson were in charge there was relatively little controversy about the Irish and the Catholic community, but the appointment of Irish priests brought into play the public role of men such as Edward Caffery and William Doyle who seem to have been involved in political activity including school boards and elections for councillors and the constituency ³¹ .

Of the other non-Anglican congregations in Barrow the Methodists played the greatest part by virtue of their numbers of members, hearers and buildings ³² . The Wesleyans counted amongst their members the wealthy Brogdens, Alexander and his three sons, who were directors of the Ulverston and Lancaster railways; the Crossfields, timber merchants and builders who made a fortune in the building of the town; and the Liddles and Toothills whose shops expanded during each boom year ³³ . These were not men of the standing of Ramsden or Schneider but they provided a class of independent-minded businessmen who found Barrow to their liking.

31. See below pp. 678ff.

32. The Methodist records are in the BRO BDFC/1 and 2; these include Ulverston circuit for the Wesleyans which ran the mission until 1866.

33. Marshall Furness pp.204-205,216ff. W.Pilkington Life Sketch of the Rev Walter Briscombe (Preston 1891) gives the history of Wesleyanism in Barrow.



HINDPOOL-ROAD WESLEYAN CHAPEL.

opened 1862



Sir James Ramsden.



Cavendo Tutus — the 7th Duke of Devonshire.



METHODIST NEW CONNEXION CHAPEL, ABBEY-ROAD.

Barrow built 1874

The Wesleyan churches at Hindpool, Hartington Street and Greengate were added to in later years by Abbey Road and Vickerstown to give a good coverage and to cater for each type of area. Vickerstown was for the new shanty town of the 1900s growing up near dock and ship building development, Hartington Street for the artisans of the respectable working class area, Abbey Road for the affluent tradesmen and entrepreneurs moving out from Barrow and perhaps like the Crossfields and Brogdens seeking more rural and cleaner environments near Ulverston. In the 1890s the Wesleyan circuit was hampered by a considerable dispute between the societies as to which should have a new church: the wealthy Abbey Road members carried the day and had over £9,000 spent on their new building, thus depriving the Wesleyan day school and the other chapels of much needed resources for ten years ³⁴ .

Successive Wesleyan ministers were shocked at the poverty and slums of Barrow and one of their number, William Taylor, urged all young ministers to spend a year in Barrow before embarking on foreign missions ³⁵ . It was in some ways comparable to the wild west of the USA. Walter Briscoe, formerly minister at Ambleside and Ulverston was appalled at the effects of the depression of 1876 , 1877 and 1878

34. BRO BDFC/2 Barrow quarterly meeting minutes 1892-1896 tell the story of the disagreements.

35. Wes Meth Mag 1875 p.947.

when all of the denominations suffered financially unless like the Anglicans they possessed rich patrons ³⁶. Briscoe held the circuit together and maintained morale amidst the crises which beset the Nonconformist congregations.

The Methodist New Connexion congregation acted as though it were a Congregational church and evinced little of the connexional life which characterised the Wesleyans ³⁷. The Storey Square chapel was opened in 1874 by members who had arrived from parts of Lancashire where the New Connexion were notably strong, and the chapel membership counted among it many families who had made a good living out of the expansion of the town. None of the members were of the status of the Brogdens or Crossfields, but John Cleator was perhaps a typical representative ³⁸. Cleator had come from south Lancashire and set up as a builder in the 1860s. He prospered and helped create Millom, the other new town across the Duddon sands, and he and his family had found the New Connexion and its supply of Lancastrian preachers to their liking: it attracted none of the rowdy or excitable element who attended Wesleyan and Primitive services.

The Primitives were enthusiastic workers in Barrow but their lack of financial experience and skill led to

36. Pilkington Briscombe pp. 51-59. Briscoe then had to have six months' holiday recuperating.

37. New Connexion brochure for Storey Square and Abbey Road.

38. Un Meth Mag 1917 p.352

a series of disasters, a membership turnover of over thirty percent in the 1860s, the rash opening of three chapels in the 1870s which made the payment of ministers impossible, and an investigation by the connexional and district authorities in the 1880s to consider the advisability of closing the circuit's work in Barrow ³⁹ . The circuit was later in straits over Haverigg society and endured privations to keep the Coniston society in existence for twenty years. Unlike the Wesleyans, the Primitives had a grim struggle for survival into the twentieth century and lacked any members of even modest social standing ⁴⁰ . Ministers disliked being posted to many Cumbrian circuits, but Barrow was at the bottom of the league of desirable postings; one minister, Robert Robinson, found it all too much for him and resigned from the ministry, later surfacing in Carlisle as a member of a Congregational church and himself training for the ministry ⁴¹ . Robinson's tutor, J.B. Paton, ran the Nottingham college and specialised in the training of older candidates for the Congregational ministry.

39. J.Burgess 'Primitive Methodism in Barrow in Furness'

Journal WHS Cumbria vol.5 pp.16-24 1979, vol.6 pp.

10-17 1979; quarterly meeting minutes tell the painful story.

40. Circuit letter book 1880-1900 is an interesting survival.

41. See above pp. 282-286.

Given the importance of off-comers to the denominations of Barrow it is not surprising to find the Bible Christians and Welsh Calvinistic Methodists in the Victorian town, each with their own chapel and reliant upon the workmen brought in from Cornwall and Wales respectively ⁴² . The Welsh had first used the Presbyterians' premises before building their chapel in 1863 in Paradise Street, but the Bible Christians had to wait until 1876 for their chapel in Salthouse Road. Both churches relied on their off-comer minorities and their distance from Wales and Cornwall isolated their work ⁴³ .

The Baptists of Barrow relied heavily on one individual, Nathaniel Caine of Broughton and Liverpool, the Baptist mine owner and partner in the Millom enterprise ⁴⁴ . As with the other churches the Baptists obtained a good site of one of the landowners, the duke of Devonshire, but only opened a permanent church in 1873 after Caine had given £500. By 1880 there were over two hundred members of the church and reportedly over three hundred hearers as well.

42. See above pp. 373ff ; Richardson Barrow p.118.

43. H.F.Birkett 'Ironopolis:the story of Methodism in Barrow in Furness' Methodist Times 5 January 1911;
'Barrow in Furness: Youngest Child of England's Greatness'
Methodist Recorder 4 October 1906.

44. See above pp. 341ff ; Richardson Barrow pp.117-118.

The Barrow Baptists illustrated the importance of short-distance migration for a number of their members were taken from existing Baptist churches in Furness. Had there not been such a Baptist presence already in the district then the off-coming Baptists would have drifted into other denominations or not joined a church. The patronage of the Caines was precisely the sort of help that the weaker denominations in Cumbria required and which was lacking in so many parishes and towns, and the Caines too were off-comers bringing their denominational allegiance with them.

Barrow then was a melting pot of denominations as the migrants poured in and as easily left if the work ceased. Barrow was the off-comer's community, unsettled, enthusiastic, dynamic, subject to extremes of poverty and opulence and unlike the rest of Cumbria. It was also unlike Cumbria in looking towards Liverpool and the rest of Lancashire and was effectively cut off in many ways from the rest of Cumbria: industry, migrants, communications, Nonconformity, all looked towards the south and not to the north. In nineteenth century Cumbria there could have been no more startling contrast between Barrow in Furness and the quiet Westmorland parish of Ravenstonedale.

Ravenstonedale: the religious history of a parish

Ravenstonedale is a parish of over sixteen thousand acres in the East Ward of Westmorland, bordered by Mallerstang and Kirkby Stephen in the east, Crosby Garrett and Waitby in the north, Orton in the west, and Sedbergh in the south. The manor and parish of Ravenstonedale was divided into four angles: town, Bowderdale, Fell End and Newbiggin. Town included Ravenstonedale village occupying the north east of the parish and the major settlement with school, shops, parish church, two public houses, various services, and Wesleyan and Congregational churches. Crossbank, Lockholm and Stennerskeugh hamlets were also within town angle. Bowderdale angle was the south of the parish consisting mainly of Weasdale hamlet and scattered farms. Fell End angle occupied the south east of the parish and covered farms together with the hamlets of Beckeside, Wandale, Murthwaite and Dovengill. Newbiggin angle was the north west of the parish and contained within it the second centre of the parish, Newbiggin village, together with Coldbeck and Greenside. The dominant occupation was agriculture and the small mixed owner-occupier and tenant farms were the main manmade feature in an otherwise bleak moor and poor pasture setting ¹.

1. See map 12 p. 506

Map 12

Ravenstonedale parish

station

700' 10 +

Newbiggin

+ 11

to Browber

Railway

to Kirby Stephen

750'

800'

600' 2

12

+ 5

700'

Ravenstonedale town

Greenside

850'

800'

6

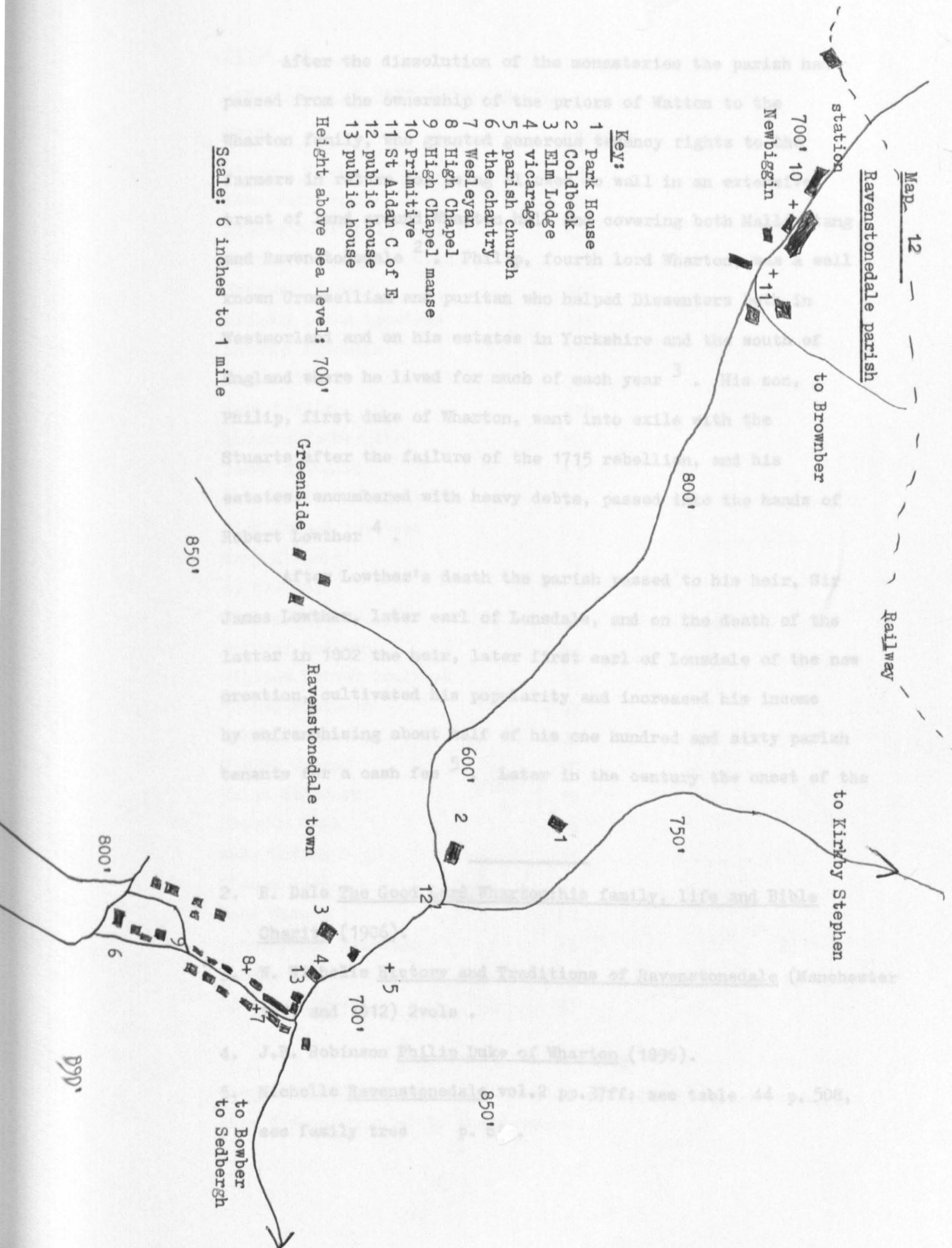
to Bowber
to Sedbergh

Key:

- 1 Park House
- 2 Coldbeck
- 3 Elm Lodge
- 4 vicarage
- 5 parish church
- 6 the chantry
- 7 Wesleyan
- 8 High Chapel
- 9 High Chapel manse
- 10 Primitive
- 11 St Aidan C of E
- 12 public house
- 13 public house

Height above sea level: 700'

Scale: 6 inches to 1 mile



B90'

After the dissolution of the monasteries the parish had passed from the ownership of the priors of Watton to the Wharton family, who granted generous tenancy rights to the farmers in return for being allowed to wall in an extensive tract of land around Wharton hall and covering both Mallerstang and Ravenstonedale ². Philip, fourth lord Wharton, was a well known Cromwellian and puritan who helped Dissenters both in Westmorland and on his estates in Yorkshire and the south of England where he lived for much of each year ³. His son, Philip, first duke of Wharton, went into exile with the Stuarts after the failure of the 1715 rebellion, and his estates, encumbered with heavy debts, passed into the hands of Robert Lowther ⁴.

After Lowther's death the parish passed to his heir, Sir James Lowther, later earl of Lonsdale, and on the death of the latter in 1802 the heir, later first earl of Lonsdale of the new creation, cultivated his popularity and increased his income by enfranchising about half of his one hundred and sixty parish tenants for a cash fee ⁵. Later in the century the onset of the

-
2. B. Dale The Good Lord Wharton: his family, life and Bible Charity (1906).
 3. W. Nicholls History and Traditions of Ravenstonedale (Manchester 1877 and 1912) 2vols .
 4. J.R. Robinson Philip Duke of Wharton (1896).
 5. Nicholls Ravenstonedale vol.2 pp.37ff; see table 44 p. 508, see family tree p. 631.

Table 44Landholding in Ravenstonedale 1873

<u>Owner</u>	<u>acreage</u>
Richard Gibson	630
John Fothergill	401
Thomas Fothergill senior	412
Thomas Fothergill junior	212
Hewetson family	248
Richard Dixon trustees	375
Anthony Metcalfe	173
James Cleasby	320
Beck family	120
Richard Fothergill	80
James Metcalfe	63
Rev. William Nicholls	80
High Chapel trustees	9
Mary Cleasby	37
A. Fawcett	78
Thomas Handley	75
Anthony Hodgson	63
William Potter trustees	39
Thomas Robinson	19
School trustees	42
Robert Sharpe	50
Ralph Sedgwick	25
Eleanor Shaw	45
Mary Tatham	15
Thomas Todd	7
John Wilson	68
John Wilson trustees	16
Robert Udale	81
Robert Thompson	47

Note: in 1900 there were 78 holdings of under 50 acres of which only 8 were occupied by their owners.

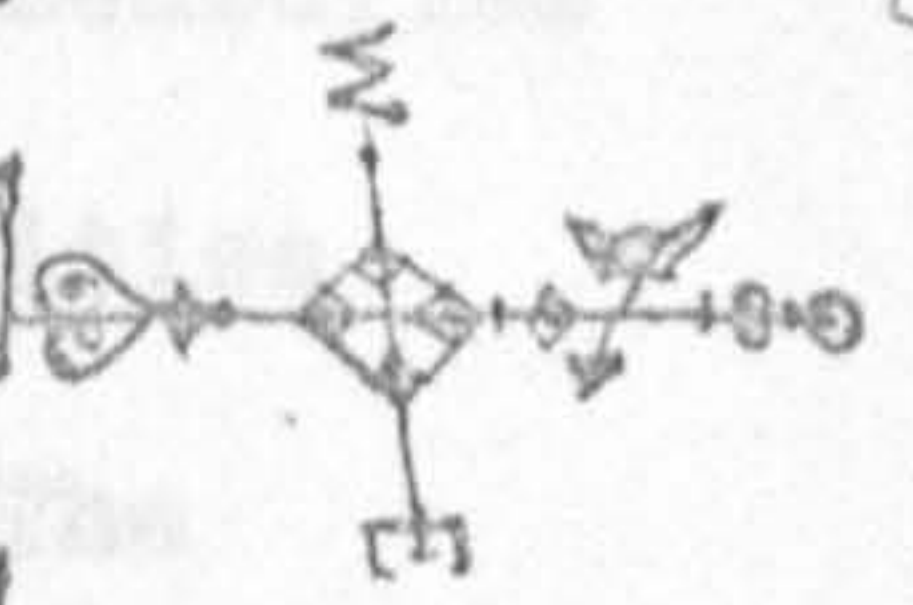
rural depression and depopulation led to the sale of a number of farms to the rising landlords, the Metcalfe-Gibsons⁶. In political life the parish was solidly pro-Lowther for most of the nineteenth century, with seventy two polling for the two Lowthers in 1818 and only three for Brougham. Two years later ninety two polled for the Lowthers and only eight for Brougham⁷. There were only two more elections before 1880 in Westmorland, in 1826 and 1831, when the polling was a copy of earlier elections, but between 1831 and 1880 a fundamental shift in the parish had started to take place, and many voted against the tories thereafter⁸.

The ancient parish church of St. Oswald's had been rebuilt in 1744 and stood on the edge of town angle, whilst the living was worth a modest £110 in 1837 and still only £180 in 1892 when the new chapelry of St. Aidan's was created at Newbiggin. This brought the vicar an extra £75 per year and he was at times able to afford a curate.

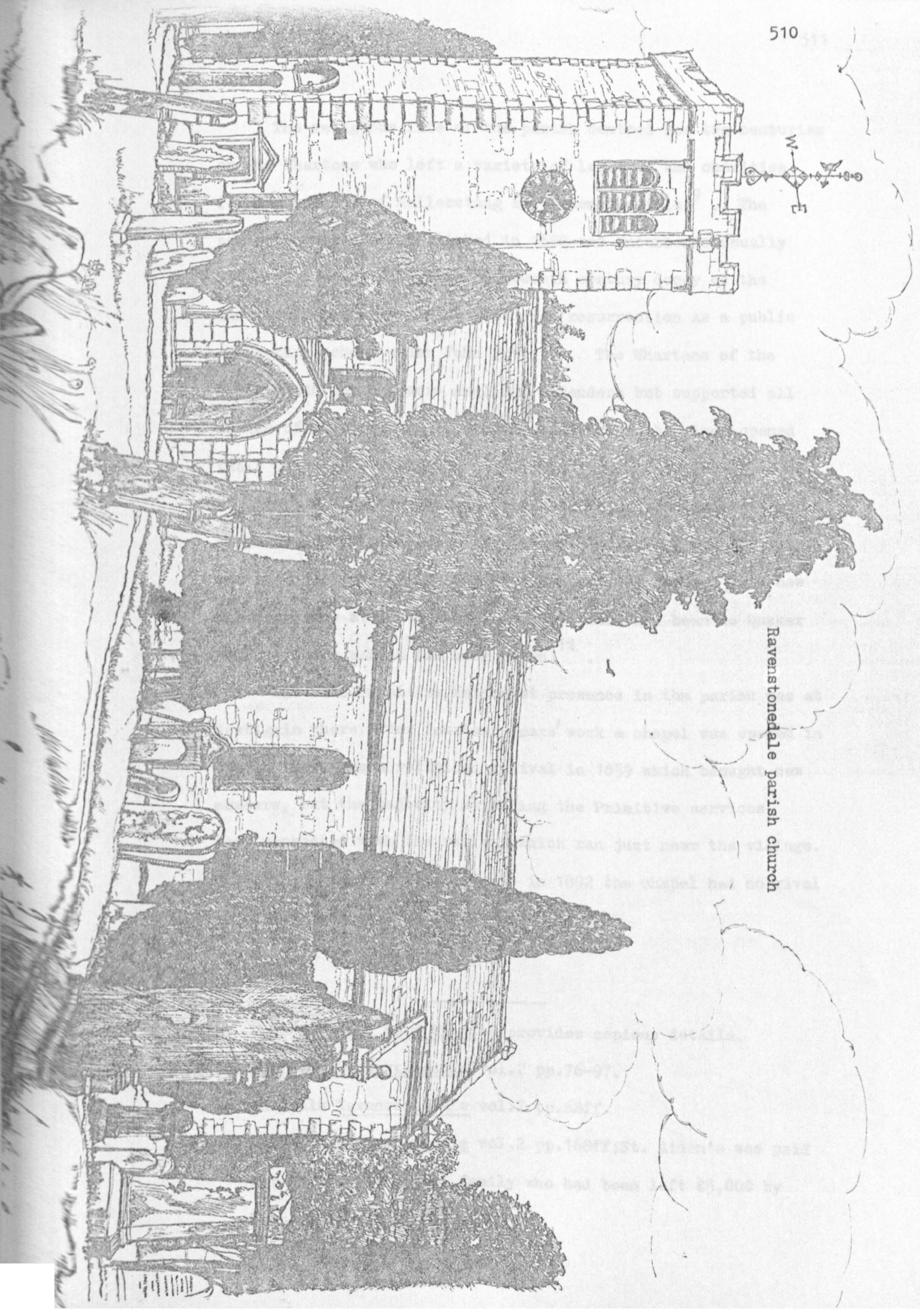
6. I am grateful to Mrs U. Duff, formerly Mrs R. Metcalfe-Gibson, and her son Mr. R. Metcalfe-Gibson of Ravenstonedale for their advice and aid. The family remain important landowners.

7. See below p. 534 ;Poll Books 1818 and 1820; a number of Anglican clergy polled for the Lowthers: in 1818, E. Parkin of Cheshire and G. Parkin of Croston, Lancashire. In 1820 T. Dent of Yorkshire, J. Hunter of the parish, G. Morland of Lancaster, J. Morland of Aughton, and Parkin of Croston.

8. See below pp. 534ff.



Ravenstonedale parish church



The religious life of the parish centred for two centuries on the Whartons who left a variety of legacies and charities for the benefit of Mallerstang and Ravenstonedale⁹. The parish school was established in 1688 and incumbents usually acted as masters until the nineteenth century decay of the institution and its later Victorian resurrection as a public elementary school under John Butt¹⁰. The Whartons of the seventeenth century were Anglican attenders but supported all shades of Dissent, and protected the Quakers when they opened their place of worship at Fell End in 1705.

For a time the Quakers continued to prosper under the sympathetic eye of Wharton and Hewetson families, but the meeting dwindled and in the 1800s the Quakers removed to a new meeting place at NARTHWAITE. By 1907 there had been no Quaker family in the parish for many years¹¹.

The sole Primitive Methodist presence in the parish was at Newbiggin where after fourteen years' work a chapel was opened in 1837. There was a religious revival in 1859 which brought new members, but the majority attending the Primitive services were connected with the railway which ran just near the village. Until the opening of St. Aidan's in 1892 the chapel had no rival and did rather well¹².

9. Dale The Good Lord Wharton provides copious details.

10. Nicholls Ravenstonedale vol.2 pp.76-97.

11. Nicholls Ravenstonedale vol.2 pp.68ff.

12. Nicholls Ravenstonedale vol.2 pp.168ff; St. Aidan's was paid for by the Fothergill family who had been left £5,000 by Richard Gibson in 1880.

The first Wesleyan society was established as a result of a secession by the Congregational minister at the High Chapel.

Quaker Meeting House:

The minister was John Hessel, formerly a Wesleyan. He took all

members of the High Chapel members and ministers in 1740

The new Wesleyan chapel was a hundred and

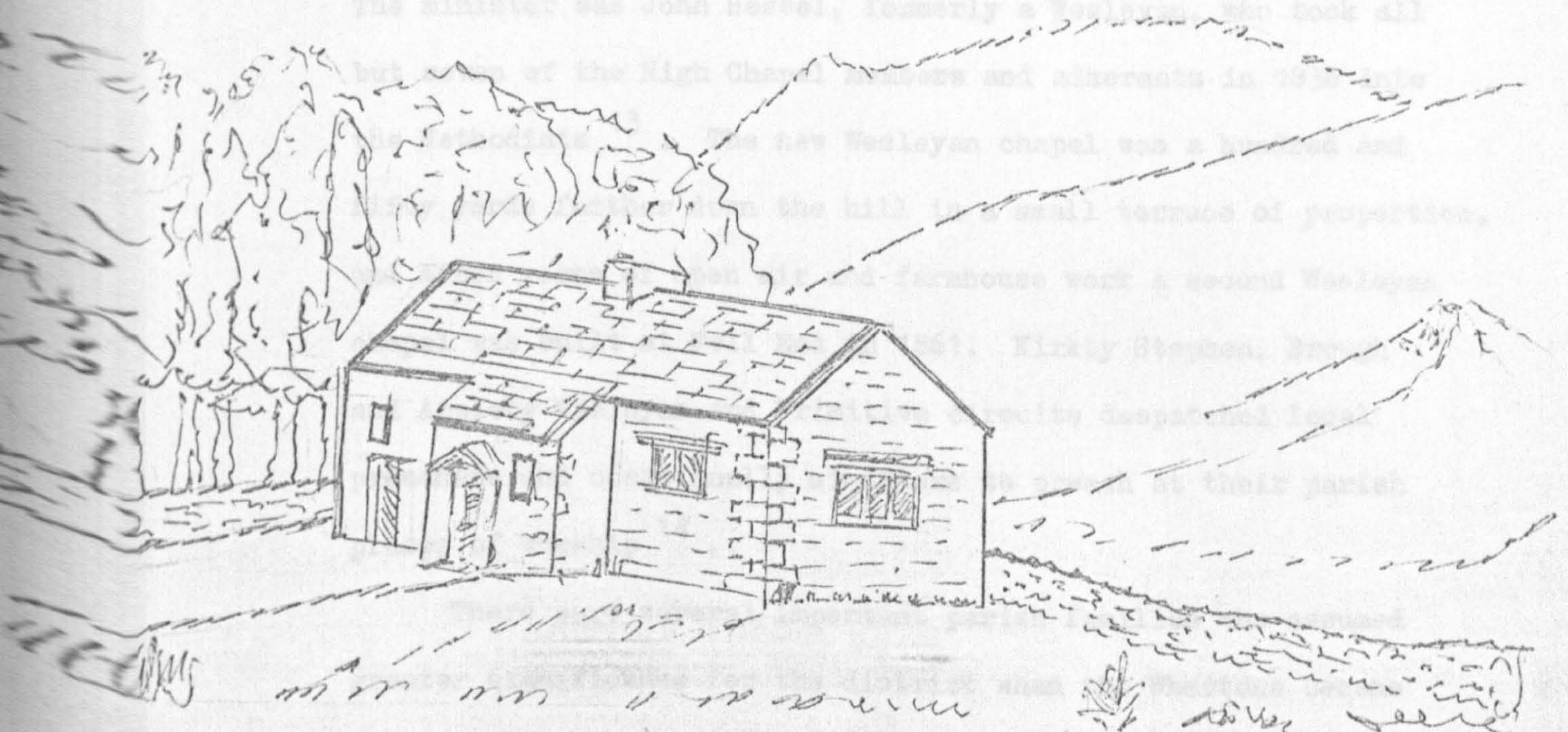
the hill in small terrace of properties.

farmhouse with a second Wesleyan

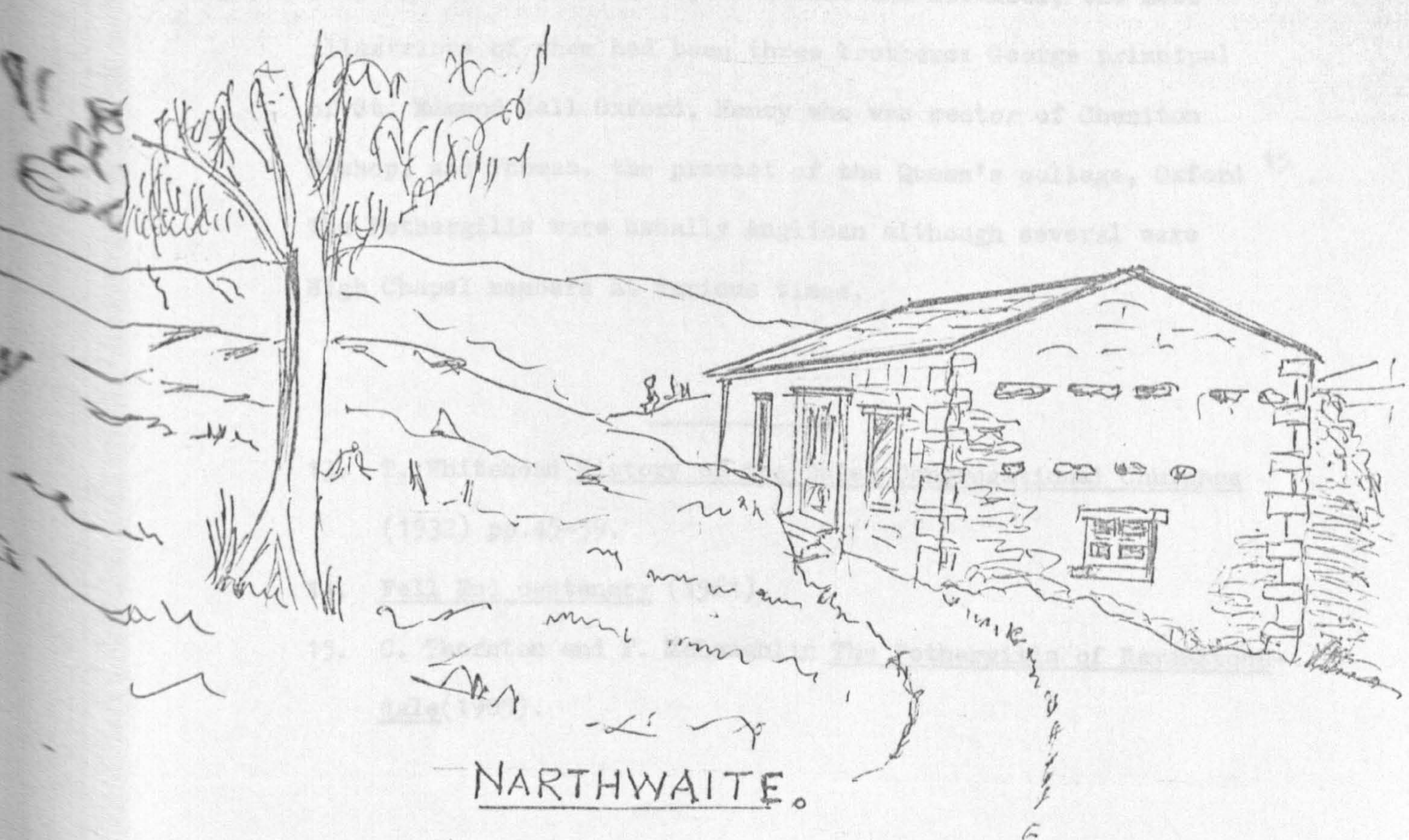
St. Elmy Street, 1740

Wesleyan chapel was built in 1740

of their parish



RAVENSTONE DALE.



NARTHWAITE.

The first Wesleyan society was established as a result of a secession by the Congregational minister at the High Chapel. The minister was John Hessel, formerly a Wesleyan, who took all but seven of the High Chapel members and adherents in 1838 into the Methodists ¹³. The new Wesleyan chapel was a hundred and fifty yards further down the hill in a small terrace of properties, and after years of open air and farmhouse work a second Wesleyan chapel was built at Fell End in 1861. Kirkby Stephen, Brough and Appleby Wesleyan and Primitive circuits despatched local preachers and occasionally ministers to preach at their parish places of worship ¹⁴.

There were several important parish families who assumed greater significance for the district when the Whartons became non-resident and the Lowthers concentrated their attentions on London, Whitehaven and Lowther. One family was that of the Fothergills of Tarn House, Lockholme and Brownber, the most illustrious of whom had been three brothers: George principal of St. Edmund Hall Oxford, Henry who was rector of Cheriton Bishop, and Thomas, the provost of the Queen's college, Oxford ¹⁵. The Fothergills were usually Anglican although several were High Chapel members at various times.

13. T. Whitehead History of the Dales Congregational Churches (1932) pp.45-59.

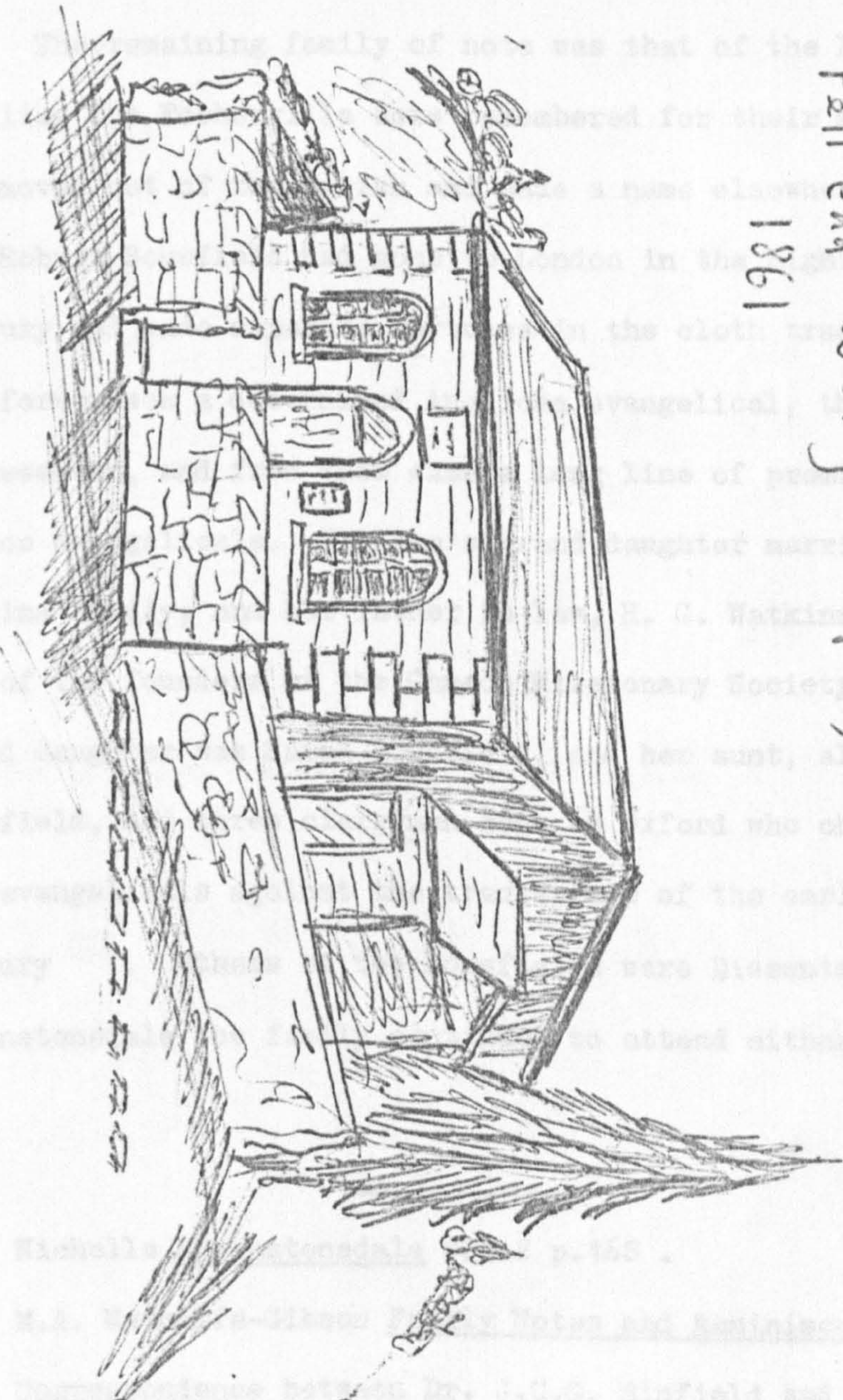
14. Fell End centenary (1961).

15. C. Thornton and F. McLaughlin The Fothergills of Ravenstone-dale(1905).

Secondly there were the Chamberlains of Greenside, usually members or adherents of the High Chapel for several generations 16

The third notable family was that of Herveyson, in earlier years Quaker supporters but who in the nineteenth century also attended the High Chapel, and lived at Ellergill. The fourth family was the most important in the nineteenth century history of the parish, the Metcalfe-Gibsons of Park House and Coldbeck, and whose nineteenth century fortunes were improving 17

The remaining family of note was that of the Howells, who were considered for their part as the most important family in the parish in the nineteenth century. The family was a Quaker one, and in the nineteenth century the family was divided into two branches, the Howells of Park House and the Howells of Coldbeck. The Howells of Park House were the more prominent of the two, and in the nineteenth century they were the most important family in the parish. The Howells of Coldbeck were also important, and in the nineteenth century they were the most important family in the parish.



Fall End Wesleyan Chapel, Ravensthorpe
1861

16. Nicholls, *Annals of the Diocese of York*, p. 165.
 17. M.A. [Name], *Annals of the Diocese of York*, p. 166.
 18. [Name], *Annals of the Diocese of York*, p. 167.

Secondly there were the Chamberlains of Greenside, usually members or adherents of the High Chapel for several generations ¹⁶ . The third notable family was that of Hewetson, in earlier years Quaker supporters but who in the nineteenth century also attended the High Chapel, and farmed at Ellergill. The fourth family was the most important in the nineteenth century history of the parish, the Metcalfe-Gibsons of Park House and Coldbeck, and whose nineteenth century fortunes were improving ¹⁷ .

The remaining family of note was that of the Bousfields, who like the Fothergills were remembered for their members who had moved out of the parish and made a name elsewhere. William and Robert Bousfield had gone to London in the eighteenth century and made separate fortunes in the cloth trade ¹⁸ . The former was a determined Anglican evangelical, the latter a Dissenter, and from them came a long line of prominent London evangelicals. William's grand daughter married into the Watkins family, and her father in law, H. G. Watkins, had been one of the founders of the Church Missionary Society ¹⁹ . This grand daughter was Sarah Bousfield, and her aunt, also Sarah Bousfield, had three clergymen sons at Oxford who championed the evangelicals against the tractarians of the early nineteenth century . Others of the Bousfields were Dissenters, and in Ravenstonedale the family continued to attend either or both

16. Nicholls Ravenstonedale vol.2 p.168 .

17. M.A. Metcalfe-Gibson Family Notes and Reminiscences(Kendal 1899)

18. Correspondence between Dr. J.C.G. Binfield and G.A.H. Bousfield of Ontario.

19. Bousfield to Binfield 14 February 1973 and 29 August 1973.

Table 45Population of Ravenstonedale

<u>Date</u>	<u>houses occupied</u>	<u>houses unoccupied</u>	<u>males</u>	<u>females</u>	<u>total</u>
1801	-	-	498	640	1138
1811	-	-	489	602	1091
1821	-	-	500	559	1059
1831	-	-	498	538	1036
1841	225	17	486	487	973
1851	222	13	464	475	939
1861	247	8	740	524	1264*
1871	229	5	520	478	998
1881	209	16	453	436	889
1891	205	16	409	437	846
1901	193	-	-	-	838
1911	208	-	411	433	844

*excess of males due to railway construction.

the parish church and High Chapel.

The Gibson family of Crosby Ravensworth entered Ravenstonedale history when John Gibson married Ruth Bousfield and had by her six sons and three daughters²⁰. Of the sons Michael and George were partners in a Kendal wool mill, John was a fellow of the Queen's college, Oxford and vicar of Newbold Pacey in Warwickshire, Andrew was also a fellow and vicar of Chedworth in the Cotswolds, and Thomas farmed at Oddendale in Ravenstonedale. The last of these six sons died in 1880 aged eighty eight, after inheriting all of their wealth and himself being forty five years in Liverpool where he was a corn merchant: Richard Gibson retired to Coldbeck in the parish, and on his death left most of the accumulated wealth to Anthony Metcalfe²¹.

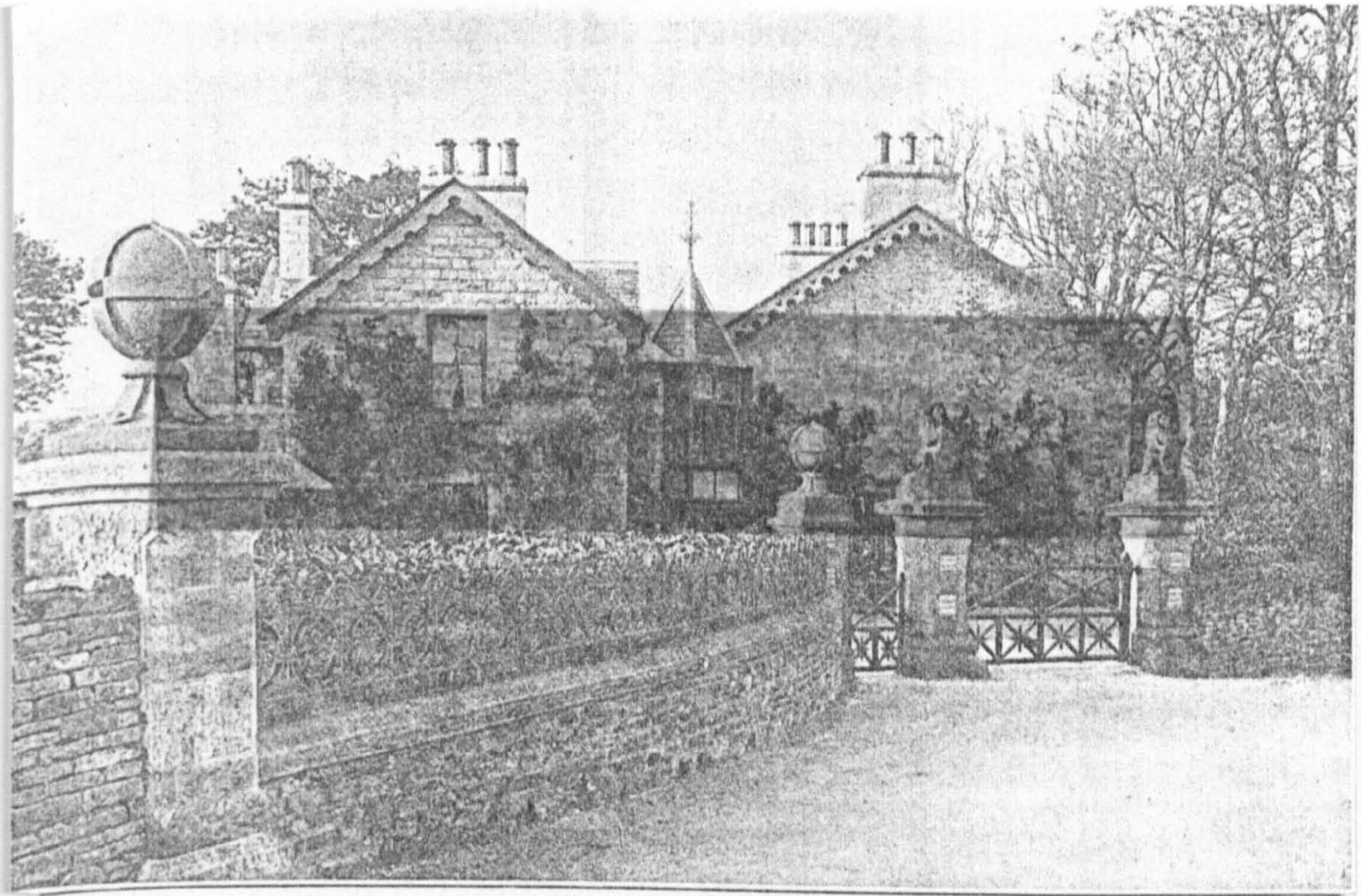
Metcalfe changed his name to Metcalfe-Gibson. He inherited by virtue of his mother Frances Gibson being Richard Gibson's cousin. When Metcalfe-Gibson died in 1885 his son, also Anthony, inherited the property and investments²².

20. Metcalfe-Gibson Family Notes p.84.

21. Metcalfe-Gibson Family Notes pp.93ff.

22. J. Butt Memoirs of the late Anthony Metcalfe-Gibson(Kendal 1903); Mrs U. Duff kindly lent me the MS Family Notes compiled in 1920 by Raymond Winder Smith, one of the Metcalfe Gibsons through his mother, sister to Anthony junior. Anthony junior left copious diaries in Mrs Duff's possession.

The parish facilities were as important as it was



COLDBECK, RAVENSTONEDALE.

and other facilities for the and their families²⁵. Metcalfe-Gibson was a strong, regular business with the Zetland pack, and member of county society. He married Mary Raine, a landed heiress, and on his father's death in 1885 returned to take up his position in Ravenstonedale society until his own death in 1902.

23. R.W. Metcalfe Ravenstonedale Parish Registers (Kendal 1894)

24. Miss Metcalfe-Gibson chapter 1. Mrs Duff has a number of old share certificates with large amounts and formerly belonging to the brothers; she also has a number of letters written in 1859 and 1860 by the various family members.

25. Miss Metcalfe-Gibson chapters 1 and 2.

The parish families were so intermarried that it was hard to disentangle from the parish registers, but the Metcalfes had come to Ravenstonedale as farmers in the 1800s from Wensleydale after several of the family had married into the Fothergills, Bousfields and Gibsons ²³. Anthony Metcalfe-Gibson junior and his younger brother Thomas Atkinson were at first educated locally before being sent to Bolton and then Hawkshead. Anthony became a mining engineer at Wigan and took charge of Woodland colliery in Durham during 1872, whilst Atkinson dabbled in investments ²⁴.

The new Woodland manager ran a paternalistic regime and became a popular managing director, stimulating production and increasing the workforce from thirty to nearly seven hundred whilst providing games room, social club, brass band, library, and other facilities for miners and their families ²⁵. Metcalfe-Gibson was a strong tory, regular huntsman with the Zetland pack, and member of county society. He married Mary Raine, a landed heiress, and on his father's death in 1885 returned to take up his position in Ravenstonedale society until his own death in 1902.

23. R.W. Metcalfe Ravenstonedale Parish Registers (Kendal 1894)

24. Butt Metcalfe-Gibson chapter 1. Mrs Duff has a number of old share certificates worth large amounts and formerly belonging to the brothers; she also has a number of letters written in 1859 and 1860 by the various family members.

25. Butt Metcalfe-Gibson chapters 1 and 2.

Thomas Atkinson-Gibson took up residence at Elm Lodge, not far from his elder brother's Cold Beck. The family owned about nine hundred acres in the district and came to acquire about one thousand acres more when farmers could not remain solvent in the years between 1890 and 1920. They also had some thousands of pounds in stocks and shares either inherited or acquired through Atkinson on his London trips ²⁶. The Metcalfe-Gibsons were solidly Anglican until the arrival of a new incumbent, Robert Weston Metcalfe, and no relation, in 1888.

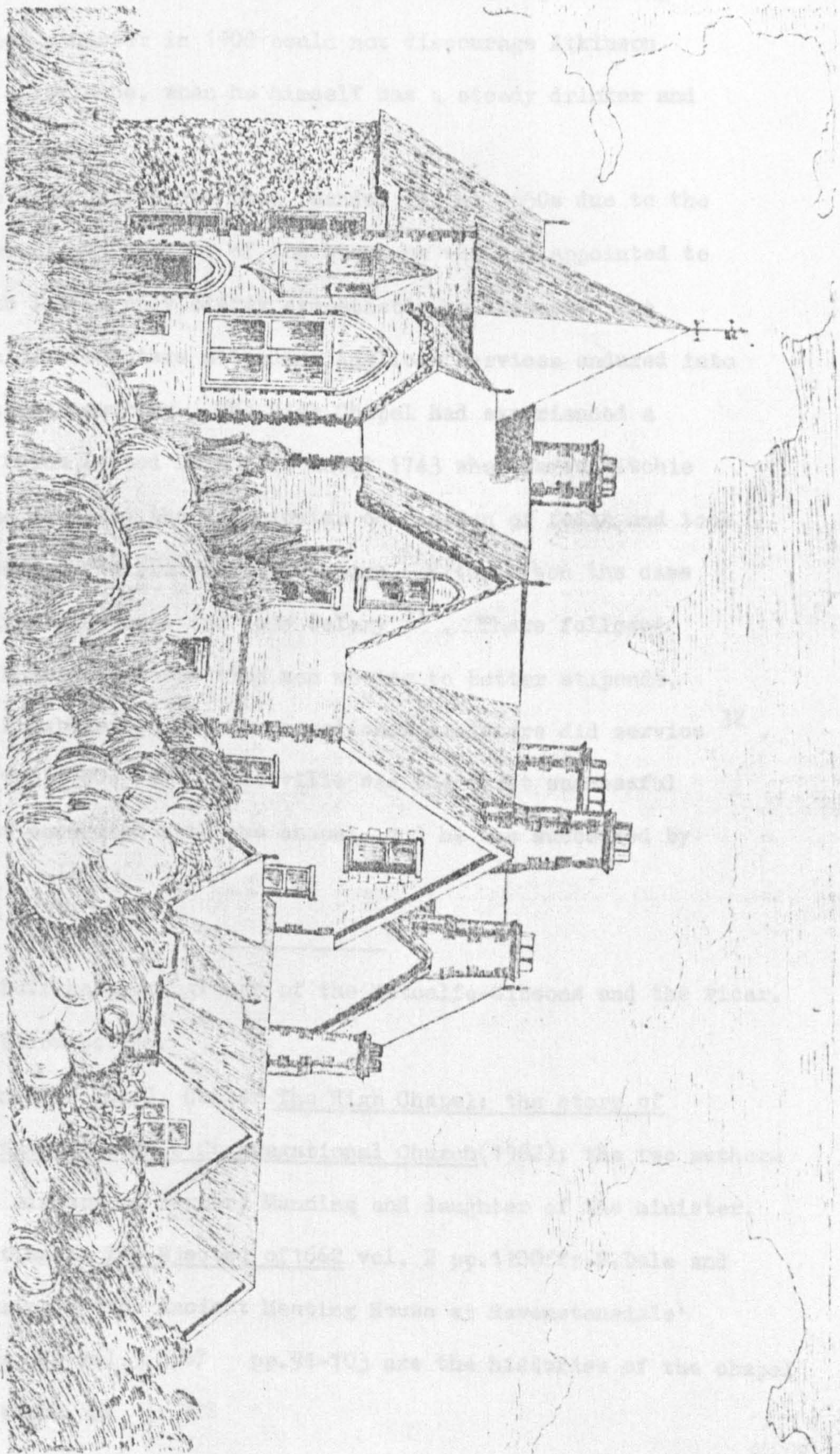
What happened to disturb the religious affiliations of the parish was never written down, but it seems to have concerned a disputed boundary between Atkinson's Elm Lodge and the new vicarage. There was a public row and Atkinson Metcalfe-Gibson left the parish church permanently. He went straight to the High Chapel, put his three sons Richard, Rupert and Arthur into the Sunday school, and was as generous to the members as his brother was to the parish church ²⁷.

The Atkinson Metcalfe-Gibsons provided Christmas toys and treats, special teas, prizes, and cash gifts for the High Chapel, and Atkinson paid a generous £825 to the chapel trustees for a parcel of their land ²⁸. Anthony and Atkinson remained on the best of terms, but nothing could induce the latter to return to

26. He also bought for a large number of friends and relations.

27. Information courtesy of Mrs Duff and Mr. R. Hayton of Ravenstonedale.

28. Sunday school accounts and registers, offerings ledger, and church meeting minutes record the gifts and amounts. The land was purchased in 1904.



ELM LODGE,
RAVENSTONEDALE. ☉.

Jan. 1915.

the Anglican fold where the 'old tractarian Metcalfe' held sway ²⁹ .
 Even the arrival of the teetotal and liberal George Manning as
 High Chapel minister in 1908 could not discourage Atkinson
 from his allegiance, when he himself was a steady drinker and
 tory ³⁰ .

The High Chapel had been founded in the 1650s due to the
 encouragement and support of the Whartons who had appointed to
 the parish living only clergy sympathetic to Dissent. The
 tradition of Dissenters attending Anglican services endured into
 the nineteenth century. The High Chapel had experienced a
 division which lasted from 1714 until 1743 when James Ritchie
 refused to agree to the Westminster confession of faith and took
 the trustees who excluded him to court. Ritchie won the case
 and regained his costs and some salary ³¹ . There followed
 several short pastorates with men moving to better stipends,
 and both Presbyterian and Congregational ministers did service ³² .

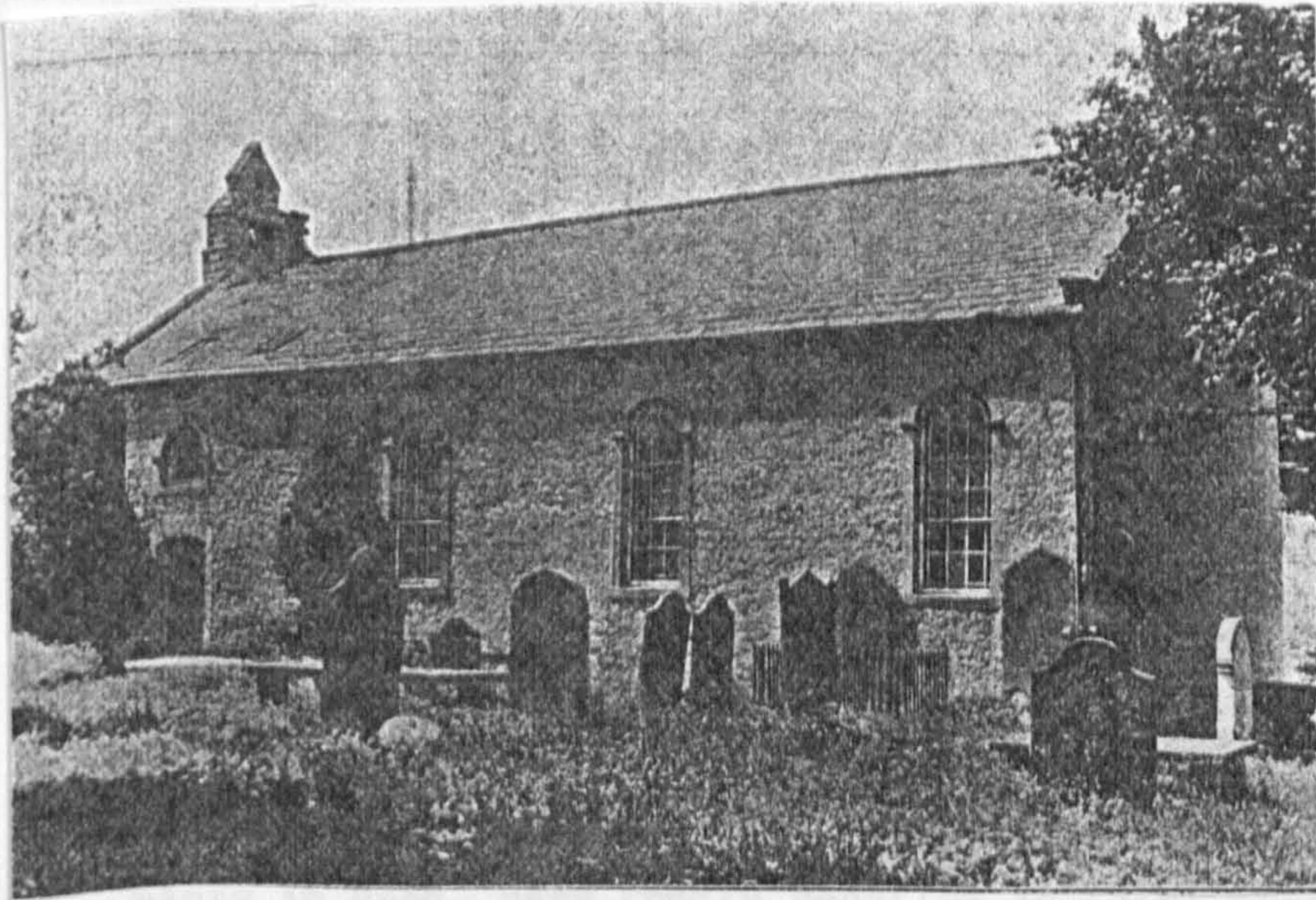
In the 1780s James Somerville was the first successful
 evangelist connected with the chapel, and he was succeeded by

29. Mrs Duff has photographs of the Metcalfe-Gibsons and the vicar.

30. See below p. 536.

31. P. Woodger and J. Hunter The High Chapel: the story of
 the Ravenstonedale Congregational Church(1962); the two authors
 were sisters of Bernard Manning and daughter of the minister.
 Nightingale The Ejected of 1662 vol. 2 pp.110ff; B.Dale and
 T. Crippen 'The Ancient Meeting House at Ravenstonedale'
Trans CHS vol.3 1907 pp.91-103 are the histories of the chapel

32. See table 46 p. 528



Ravenstonedale Congregational chapel



Anthony Metcalfe-Gibson junior

... will
 ... the
 ... the ...
 ... at
 ... 1772.
 ...
 ... and
 ...
 ... as a
 ... affairs ...
 ... by Robert Hamilton
 ... members, Jones
 ... leave. This
 ... this occasion to
 ... wished to have
 ... mer had to live
 ...
 ... pastor in Haslington
 ...
 ...
 ...
 ...
 ... chapel records.

30. ... the case of Hunter in the
 ... Insolvent ... 24 November 1834; letter
 ... from Hunter to ... 21 September 1827.

John Hill, a fellow Scot, and formerly at Carlisle ³³ . Hill was minister from 1790 until his death in 1809 and found the work less restrictive in the open air as he missioned the farms and settlements of the parish. Hill founded the first church at Dent and established the first parish Sunday school in 1793, and was a friend of the Anglican incumbent and schoolmaster John Robinson ³⁴ . Their long evening discussions, pipes and pints in hand, were fondly recalled in later years ³⁵ .

James Muscutt succeeded Hill and only accepted on condition that the members and trustees constituted the church as a Congregational one in which members controlled affairs ³⁶ . Muscutt left after four years and was replaced by Robert Hamilton Bonner ³⁷ . Bonner arrived to find one of the members, James Fothergill, occupying the manse and refusing to leave. This housing problem was nothing new but it led on this occasion to an argument between the trustees, none of whom wished to have the task of taking Fothergill to court ³⁸ . Bonner had to live

33. Hill, educated Mile End academy, London, pastor in Haslingden and Preston before Carlisle.

34. Evangelical Magazine 1797 p.384.

35. Nicholls Ravenstonedale vol.2 p.138.

36. Evangelical Magazine 1813 p.227; Congregational Magazine 1822 p.277.

37. Correspondence from and to Bonner is in the chapel records.

38. Verbatim MS report concerning the case of Bonner in the insolvent debtors' court at Appleby 24 November 1834; letter from Bonner to his attorney G.Hall 21 September 1827.

at Kirkby Stephen five miles away and at his ordination only eight members attended the communion because of the dispute ³⁹ . Such disagreement in a small community caused irreparable harm and Bonner fell foul of the whole community when he acquired debts all over the East Ward which led to his being found guilty in court. He had been guaranteed £52 per year by the trustees but in spite of the tenant of the chapel's farm, John Hewetson, being taken to court to pay his rent to Bonner, the minister never obtained more than £30. The disputes were only resolved in 1836 when Bonner finally resigned.

In that year a new trust deed was drawn up to regularise matters and to avoid future problems. However the new minister, John Hessel, was the son of Wesleyan parents and on his arrival wrote:

The prospect here is not encouraging. Prejudice and insensibility to spiritual things appear to be the most prominent moral feature of this place. The people with whom I lodge appear to be simple and pious. ⁴⁰

Hessel's delicate health and state of mind caused permanent anxiety, and though kindly treated he was not upto the work. In 1838 he finally decided to join the Wesleyans and left the chapel with just eight remaining members ⁴¹ .

39. Letter from trustees to Rev. Mr. Vint 5 August 1817 complaining to Vint about his former student Bonner.

40. J. Priestley Memorials of John Hessel(1861) p.55

41. The secession is recorded in the chapel histories and in the church meeting minutes.

An Airedale college student, William Broadbent, was called by six chapel members to reconstitute the congregation in that year but affairs remained in a poor condition and there was a succession of short pastorates by young and inexperienced men ⁴². The High Chapel seemed destined to remain in this low state even after the arrival of a new and enthusiastic young minister in 1868, Robert Pool, one of Sir Wilfrid Lawson's former county missionaries and fresh from six years at the Parton congregation ⁴³.

Pool found the new parish

... an out of the way, sleepy place, and an active minister would feel, if he were obliged to remain there all his days, quite buried alive. But the air of inactivity that prevailed was welcome to Mr. Pool just then. ⁴⁴

Pool stayed just one year in the parish and persuaded the congregation to allow him to see to a renovation of their ancient meeting house, a step much lamented thereafter even by Pool himself:

42. Covenant made by the six members dated 5 August 1838 is in the church safe.

43. See above p. 426; Pool Life Story of a Village Pastor(1897) pp. 145ff.

44. Pool Life Story p.145.

On after reflection, Mr. Pool was inclined to think that he showed more zeal than knowledge in the affair of the renovation of Ravenstonedale chapel. If an uncomfortable place before the alterations, it certainly had looked a trifle pictureseque, but afterwards it was a nondescript kind of a building, suggesting an idea of great age yet looking juvenile... The mistake was not in the decision to renovate, but in the character of the renovation. ⁴⁵

Pool removed to Sedbergh the following year because the Ravenstonedale stipend of £80 per year was too little and the manse had been let to a farmer which meant the Pool family had to live elsewhere. Pool's work may not have been as acceptable as his son and biographer suggested, for he was a teetotal liberal in a parish where at that date the chapel members were hearty drinkers and welcomed their new minister at an ale party ⁴⁶. Pool remained in Sedbergh for only one year because he forced through another rebuilding project that divided the members and left the chapel with large debts. In Ravenstonedale Pool's successor was William Nicholls, the minister who restored the High Chapel's fortunes.

45. Pool Life Story p.163.

46. See above p. 427 ; Pool refused drink, surprised the welcoming party, and asked for milk.

Table 46Ministers of the High Chapel Ravenstonedale

<u>Name</u>	<u>dates</u>	
Christopher Jackson	1662-1689	
Timothy Punshon	1690-1693 or later	
James Mitchell	1697-1712	b.Yorkshire d. Ravenstonedale
John Magee	1714-1733	Irish d.1743
James Ritchie	1733-1747	MD; Scottish
James Saunders	1753-1756	
Richard Simpson	1756-?	
Thomas Collier	?-1761	d. Ravenstonedale
William Scott	1762-1764	
James Tetley	1766-1774	
James Somerville	1775-1784	Scottish
James Smith	1784-1790	
John Hill	1790-1809	b.London d.Ravenstonedale; previously in Carlisle
James Muscutt	1811-1815	b.Hackney 1786 d.1819
Robert Bonner	1815-1837	b. Yorkshire
John Hessel	1837-1838	b. Yorkshire 1814
William Sedgwick	1838-1843	b. Sedbergh 1806
Joseph Bryan	1843-1846	b. Liverpool 1812
Walter Mathison	1846-1856	
John Moses	1856-1857	
Joseph Barton	1857-1859	
James Howard	1859-1862	
Joseph Barnfather	1863-1867	
Robert Pool	1868-1869	b. Scotland raised Aspatria; formerly at Parton, moved to Sedbergh .

Table 46 continued

<u>Name</u>	<u>dates</u>	
William Nicholls	1869-1883	b. Bristol 1835 d.Ravenstonedale 1925
William Fell	1884-1887	b. Scotland 1834
Charles Illingworth	1887-1897	b. Yorkshire 1821 d.Kirkby Stephen 1903
George Manning	1898-1909	b. Northants 1863 d.
	1927-1930	Ravenstonedale 1930
John Patrick	1909-1926	d. Ravenstonedale 1926

Note: a seceding body of Dissenters c.1715-1747 had the following ministers:

Caleb Rotheram	1715-1716	d. Kendal 1752
James Mallison	1716-1722	b. Yorkshire
John Hardy	1742-1744	
Samuel Lowthion	1744-1745	b. Penruddock
John Blackburn	1745-1747	d. 1762

Note also that Ravenstonedale was united with Kirkby Stephen church 1856-1862, and that the list of ministers and their dates are from Woodger and Hunter The High Chapel and dates especially are at variance with Cecil Woodger's MS notes on the chapel, in a few cases.

Nicholls had been trained at the Lancashire college before a seven-year pastorate at the Congregational chapel, Kendal and his invitation to Ravenstonedale in 1869. Shortly after arriving at the High Chapel he married into the Chamberlain family and bought himself a farm of eighty acres, and with his wife's property possessed sufficient income to remain quite comfortably provided for ⁴⁷. He was involved in temperance work but did drink and happily visited the local hostelries with friends and neighbours. He was too a liberal in politics, but as with his temperance common sense prevailed in his views and marriage into one of the important parish families brought him acceptance from the community. Nicholls was not only the High Chapel minister, an active preacher helping other Dales chapels and the Yorkshire churches, and a farmer, but he wrote several books which remain the standard histories of the area ⁴⁸.

Nicholls spent fourteen happy years in the parish before removing to Bury and then Prestwich pastorates in 1883 and 1889 respectively. In the 1890s he was back in residence in Ravenstonedale where he bought the Hollows, a farm of one hundred acres to add to his existing property ⁴⁹. Until his death in 1925 aged ninety he was an important parish figure.

47. Information from Mr. R. Hayton of the village; see table 44 p. 508 and table 45 p. 516.

48. See note 3 p. 507 above; History and Traditions of Mallerstang Forest and Pendragon Castle (Manchester 1883)

49. Nicholls' Kendal post had not been at Zion EU but at the other congregation.

Nicholls was one of the few off-comers to be accepted into the community through his wife, his farming, his ministry and his attitudes to rural life and tradition. He worked on the farm himself and employed local men, including Robert Murray and his son in law Frank Hayton in the building and repair of stone walls and farm buildings. Murray and Hayton were both High Chapel deacons, and Hayton's son Robert used to have the task of seeing the increasingly infirm Nicholls back home to Newbiggin after morning worship and lunch with the Hayton family ⁵⁰. The Nicholls children showed no desire to remain in the parish and after they had left the area and Mrs Nicholls had died the women of the High Chapel kept an eye on the elderly resident of the Hollows who for over fifty years was a much loved member of the community.

An off-comer like Nicholls might work and be highly successful as a minister amongst the natives, but what reinforced his position was the interest of the Carver family in the parish and High Chapel ⁵¹. The Carvers were wealthy businessmen from Manchester who had built the Priory at Windermere. Their interest in the High Chapel stemmed from Elizabeth Airey who had married William Carver after she and some of her brothers had migrated to Lancashire for work ⁵².

50. I am grateful to Mr. R. Hayton for his memories.

51. See above pp. 213ff.

52. The Aireys figure throughout the High Chapel records; J.B. Donald The Carver Family(Halifax 1971).



The Chantry, Ravenstonedale, built by the Carvers in 1896 overlooking the common and distant hills. 3 reception and 5 bedrooms, a modest garden of under an acre.

Elizabeth and William Carver's children settled in Windermere and Southport, but one of their sons, John, built a large house in Ravenstonedale in the early 1890s after having rented property in the parish for some years. John Carver's home, the Chantry, looked out over the moors and was separated from the High Chapel manse by two cottages and gardens. John bought up several houses in the village, demolished them, and rebuilt model homes for working people as well as the public house, the Black Swan, and laid out a small park alongside the Raven beck⁵³. John Carver gave twenty acres to the High Chapel trustees, gave regular cash gifts to cover roof, ceiling belfry repairs, paid for the demolition of a derelict cottage spoiling the front aspect of the chapel, and improved the building⁵⁴. His sister Mary left the trustees £500 in her will of 1906.

In their work the Carvers were rivalling the Metcalfe-Gibsons of the 1880s and 1890s who had embellished the parish church end of the town angle, channelled the beck, laid out gardens, improved the landscape with new trees and house improvements, and favoured the Anglican church with gifts⁵⁵. The Metcalfe-Gibsons even employed the only Anglican builder

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53. Information courtesy of the Black Swan publican and Mr. Hayton; Mrs Duff has many fine photographs of the changes.
54. High Chapel church minute books and accounts.
55. Butt Metcalfe-Gibson pp.25, 92

in the parish, Brunskill, whereas the Carvers used Murray and Hayton, though the defection of Atkinson Metcalfe-Gibson added strength to the High Chapel members and left the Wesleyans occupying the rather awkward middle ground between the Anglican and Nonconformist ends of the town angle.

In the years between 1880 and 1900 a fundamental change in parish life occurred as politics, temperance and religious belief hinged upon the allegiance to church or chapel. The arrival of a determined minister, the appointment of an awkward vicar, the defection of a prominent Anglican, all added to the polarisation which took place. The political changes involved the decline of the Lowthers and their replacement in local politics by the Metcalfe-Gibsons, the tory champions. There was too the run of liberal High Chapel ministers: Nicholls, Charles Illingworth, George Manning in particular. The merging of Kendal with the south Westmorland constituency encouraged the liberals of the county who had had no contests for fifty years, and the Howards and their liberal allies swept down to canvas Ravenstonedale ⁵⁶. Anthony Metcalfe-Gibson was determined to keep Ravenstonedale for the tories against the depredations of Sir James Whitehead, liberal candidate and landowner in Mallerstang ⁵⁷.

56. See below pp.622ff.

57. Whitehead 1834-1917, lord mayor of London 1888, of the Appbeby printing firm.

In the 1880s and 1890s

The honourable William Lowther found in him
 [Anthony Metcalfe-Gibson] one of his warmest
 and most active supporters, and whilst he was
 most determined in his opposition to Sir James
 Whitehead's candidature, personally he was on the
 best of terms with that gentleman.⁵⁸

Metcalfe-Gibson was asked to stand as member for south
 Westmorland in the 1890s but declined even though the liberals
 had agreed to have no contest. However circumstances changed
 and in the 1900s the liberals won memorable victories when
 Rosalind Howard, countess of Carlisle, swept down to the
 county with an entourage of canvassers:

She and I and Geoffrey drove to Kendal and thence
 to Kirkby Stephen where we put up at the Black
 Bull. After that I drove in landaus on three
 successive days up some really glorious dales,
 high up. I was astounded at their beauty and
 they excited me much. The dalesmen are independent,
 and more outspoken than our North Cumbrian
 Borderers. There is not very much temperance
 zeal in any class but a good deal of nonconformist
 spirit in the locality ... got to Kirkby Stephen

58. Butt Metcalfe-Gibson p.26.

at 6pm winding up at Appleby ... I went up
Ravenstonedale where Michael Banning has a
residence ... ⁵⁹

The liberals carried the day in 1900 and 1906. One
ardent liberal was Charles Illingworth, who retired after
eleven years at Ravenstonedale as minister and successor
to the well loved Nicholls and William Fell who only remained
three years ⁶⁰. Illingworth retired to Kirkby Stephen
and lived long enough to see the liberal victory of 1900.
He had met the countess of Carlisle in that year, and in
the contest of 1906 the countess once more visited the
parish:

I must confess that the few drives I had in motors
in the high latitudes of Ravenstonedale on the
borders of Yorkshire quite vitalised me ... ⁶¹

The liberals were victorious and delighted the minister
at the High Chapel, George Manning ⁶². Manning's frequent
appearances on the liberal platform strained relations within
the tight-knit parish community, but his outgoing personality
and kind and generous manner won many good opinions in the
1900s.

59. Roberts Radical Countess p.83

60. See table 46 p. 528

61. Roberts Radical Countess p.81

62. F. Brittain Bernard Lord Manning: a Memoir (1952)

The Metcalfe-Gibsons were hospitable people and their photograph albums are full of pictures of summer picnics and outings attended by the vicar, the High Chapel minister and parish worthies over the years. Prominent in many of the photographs are the Manning family, including Bernard, the future Cambridge historian who with his sisters kept close links with Ravenstonedale and the High Chapel for the rest of their lives ⁶³ .

John Patrick was Manning's successor, a man seeking a rest from busy urban pastorates ⁶⁴ . He recovered his health in the dale and enjoyed great esteem until his death in 1926. Patrick was a wealthy man, and left over £30,000 in his will of which £3,000 went to the High Chapel. His Sunday evening congregations had numbered over one hundred, his work with young people packed the chapel two nights a week, and he continued the tradition of making the High Chapel the social as well as the religious centre of the parish ⁶⁵ .

63. Photographs in the possession of Mrs Duff. Bernard Manning bought the cottage next door but one to the manse and planned to retire early to the dale in order to become the chapel minister.

64. Westmorland Herald 6 November 1926.

65. Robert Hayton was one of the young men; I am grateful to him for his memories of life in the parish over the past seventy five years, and for those of his parents and grandparents.

By Patrick's time the old rivalry between Nonconformity and Church of England had died down, though it still remained. The old rivalry between High Chapel and parish church of the 1880s and 1890s had been fuelled in the district not only by politics and the arrival of the off-coming Carvers, but also by revelations made by Bryan Dale, a Yorkshire Congregational minister, in 1894⁶⁶. The Wharton charities had been founded in the seventeenth century by the fourth lord Wharton in order to distribute bibles and religious literature throughout Cumbria, Yorkshire and Buckinghamshire. It had been administered equally by Dissenters and Anglicans but in the eighteenth century the Anglicans took control. The court of chancery was asked to decide on the legality of Anglican control of a charity founded by a Dissenter, and with assets of £52,000 in 1896.

The result in 1896 was that the income was to be equally divided between Anglican and non-Anglican churches, but there were to be five Anglican trustees, four Non-conformists⁶⁷. Such a dispute antagonised both sides, as did the court's verdict, and fuelled the religious divisions of the day.

66. Dale The Good Lord Wharton is devoted to the matter.

67. The four non-Anglicans were to be 1 Wesleyan, 1 Baptist, 1 Congregational and 1 Primitive Methodist. Mr.F.W.

Parrott of Kirkby Stephen tells me that the issue created great ill-will in the district .

John Patrick's death was a turning point in the fortunes of the High Chapel, for thereafter protracted rural decline and depopulation ruined the congregation ⁶⁸. Patrick was everything that a good parish incumbent should be: active, resident, manager and correspondent of the parish school, permanent president of the parish Band of Hope and temperance society, parish councillor, champion of parish rights against outside influences. He also had interests beyond the parish as governor of the United college, Yorkshire, county president of the nursing association, and member of the Congregational educational committee. He remains one of the few Nonconformist ministers in Cumbria to have a memorial tablet in his honour ⁶⁹. Patrick was the off-comer who dedicated himself to the parish, the man who brought so strong an influence to bear on the district that elderly people still remember him. The best aspects of the religious history of the parish were embodied in his work. It is ironic that today a resident minister in Ravenstonedale ministers to congregations of six, but that at funerals, baptisms and marriages the chapel overflows ⁷⁰.

68. See table 45 p.516 ; the holiday cottage syndrome has badly affected the town angle.

69. The Carvers have tablets in Windermere, the Carver chapel.

70. I am grateful to the Rev. Dr. A. Whitehouse for his information on the parish gathered over the past five years. Dr. Whitehouse retired from the parish to Stroud in 1982.

Popular Religion and the Cumbrian Population

Cumbrian popular culture was under erosion in the eighteenth century with the arrival of off-comers and tourists and of migrants in search of work. It was a process of dilution of the native stock which accelerated in the next century with implications for the organised Christian denominations which have been examined. Popular religion, or the residual Christian and pagan beliefs, remaining within Cumbrian society underwent transformation as a capitalist society developed in both urban and rural parishes, in agriculture as much as in industry¹. A society which coped with the vicissitudes of life through folklore, magic and superstition was pressured to change or to die by the successful organised denominations and a society which accepted science and scientific explanation to the problems of life².

Popular religion was a loose amalgam of unofficial Christianity and pagan survival bound together on a framework of Christian traditions, holidays, saints and celebrations, but which imbued every-day life and the natural world with

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1. J. Obelkevich Religion and Rural Society: South Lindsey 1825-1875 (Oxford 1976); D. Clark Between Pulpit and Pew: Folk Religion in a North Yorkshire Fishing Village (Cambridge 1982) are two studies of this field.
 2. Obelkevich South Lindsey pp.223ff, 259ff.

life and meaning. Holidays, the devil, rites and witchcraft were merely the most obvious of its manifestations ³ .

Such reduction of official Christianity was aided by several trends: a remote God, an educated and dominant sector of society who had little in common with the badly educated classes, and a culturally distant clergy. Processes like the alienation of the Anglican clergy from the people were not immediate or complete, but the less the chance that parish incumbents or curates were local men, imbued with local traditions, and catering for all levels of Christian comprehension, then the more was popular religion fortified. Christianity possessed its own traditions and beliefs, but at most stages of life in the Christian cycle popular religion embellished it ⁴ .

Christianity had adopted, taken over or absorbed many suitable pagan customs and traditions, and in turn was host to the parasitic popular religion. The national growth of an urban industrial environment and in particular widespread migration had challenged the old pagan ways and popular religion. Though there remained remarkable similarities

3. M. Rowling The Folklore of the Lake District (1976) is the standard reference work for Cumbria.

4. Clark Pulpit and Pew pp.91 ff; Obelkevich South Lindsey pp.263 ff.

in certain facets of popular religion throughout the nation, regional beliefs did not travel well and migrants were liable to lose both their traditions and roots . In Cumbria it was typically the young unmarried and inexperienced people who migrated to the towns from the countryside, and once urbanised their popular religious attitudes were watered down and not reinforced within the new and alien community ⁵ . Should the migrant adopt one of the organised denominations for religious expression then a further removal within the network of churches and congregations ensured that new members did not seep away, especially if he or she were a Methodist. There was no such factor militating in favour of popular religion. The growth of board schools and of the potent and pervasive Sunday schools killed off a good deal of rural and urban folklore and traditions, and as life gradually became less risky, dangerous and unhappy, there was less need for the prop of popular religion.

It was not easy to separate what was popular religion from what was popular culture and its expression, and the two were allied in scope and practice. Cumbrians were proud of their Norse and Celtic heritage, whether this pride showed in a desire to employ ancient counting methods for farming, the corruption of words so as to render them

5. Marshall and Walton The Lake Counties pp.67ff for the effects of migration in Cumbria.

incomprehensible to outsiders, or the survival of merry nights and fox hunting. Even the sceptical nineteenth century took more than a passing interest in the wealth of stone circles of pre-history as well as the activities of Hob, elves and fairies.

Fairies were regularly sighted in Martindale in the nineteenth century, and by reliable witnesses, whilst Lanercost too was a fairy haunt ⁶. Food, coins, and other gifts were thrown into wells, the same wells which had been dressed on saints' days, whilst holed stones or dobbies were offered as protection against creatures with power to harm humans and livestock ⁷. Spirits or creatures like Hob were convenient scapegoats for misfortunes ranging from mislaid items to serious illness, though an astute human might use their magic to good effect if they were surprised in the open.

Cumbrian Luck was an attested method of protecting one's family by capturing or surprising fairies ⁸. Lucks were objects of great value given by royalty or supernatural beings, and their retention through successive generations guaranteed a family's fortunes. The idea that such Luck was a tangible object or might be encapsulated within a

6. Rowling Folklore pp.30-32, 38-39.

7. Rowling Folklore pp.31, 59, 61ff, 82ff.

8. The Cumbrian Lucks were: Edenhall 13th century, Burrell Green 15th century, Muncaster 15th century, Workington 16th century, Nether Haresceugh 16th century, Rydal and Skirsgill both 18th century .

material possession persists today and farmers invariably return a small part of the purchase price of livestock in order to perpetuate the Luck with the animal's new owner.

The Norse spirits which inhabited Calgarth at Windermere in the form of skulls were vengeful and dangerous. They might be represented in living creatures as large black dogs, like those at Beetham, which had been held responsible for centuries for carrying off the unwary⁹. Cruel masters and criminals were considered fair game for these spirits at a time when there was little protection for employee, animal or victim. That good would triumph over evil did not mean that it would be personified in respectively Jesus and the devil; king Arthur, in common with other legendary figures, was an important item in Eden valley folklore¹⁰. The traditional Arthurian centres of Mallerstang, Brough, Pendragon, Penrith, Carlisle and Kirkby Stephen were linked with the early saints, Ninian, Martin, Cuthbert, Bega and Kentigern or Mungo, providing the type of traditional Christian and pagan romance now impossible to verify or disprove¹¹.

9. Rowling Folklore pp. 32-35.

10. Rowling Folklore pp.37-49.

11. Rowling Folklore pp.57-70.

The early Christians built churches on pagan sites like Addingham and Kirksanton but local people were not eager to settle near to them and they remain isolated buildings to this day. The stone circles continue to intrigue and have provided no solution so far to their functions ¹² .

One essential element in popular religion was the devil and his witchcraft, and from early times he provided a fund of lore from his feats of bridge building and landscaping ¹³ . There was sufficient belief in his power and those of his minions to convince a Langdale farmer in the 1800s that to pay £10 for the ending of a witch 's curse was no extravagance ¹⁴ . Margaret Teasdale of Over Denton who died aged ninety eight in 1777 was a witch notorious for inflicting pain on those who crossed her ¹⁵ . Mary Baines of Tebay who died thirty years later possessed the power to blind a local publican who had killed her cat ¹⁶ .

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12. R. Millward and A. Robinson The Lake District(1970) pp.98 ff.
13. C.A. Parker The Gosforth District (1904)p.39; A. Pearson Annals of Kirkby Lonsdale (Kendal 1930)pp. 140 ff.
14. W. Dickinson Reminiscences of West Cumberland(Whitehaven 1882) pp.106-109.
15. W.G. Collingwood The Lake Counties (Kendal 1933) p.133.
16. G. Fidler Legends of the Lake Counties(1967) pp.16-17.

Popular belief in witchcraft was strongest in the remoter parishes, the region's borderlands where people were left to their own devices in religious matters. The communities had to have their good to pit against such evil, and they found this in the wise men or seekers who plied their trade ¹⁷. Ian Atkinson of Beathwaite specialised in the return of stolen goods, the naming of thieves, the providing of antidotes to spells, and the curing of sick animals ¹⁸. George Lawson of the Gill, Egremont, succeeded in identifying miscreants and recovering stolen property in front of a sceptical group of farmers including the author William Dickinson in 1818 ¹⁹. Sixty years later Dickinson wrote that in spite of a lifetime trying to disprove Lawson's work he had never managed it, and that his own brother, Dr. Dickinson of Whitehaven, believed in Lawson's powers. A doubting Ambleside clergyman admitted to William Pearson, the Kendal writer, in the 1840s, that a Lake District wise man had operated unobtrusively and successfully for many years ²⁰. When Pearson unwisely added that no seekers or wise men were at work in the East

17. Obelkevich South Lindsey pp.287-291, 309-310.

18. Papers, Letters and Journals of William Pearson edited by his widow (Kendal 1863).

19. W. Dickinson Cumbriana (Whitehaven 1875) pp.106-109.

20. William Pearson 'Sketches of some of the existing and recent superstitions of Westmorland', part 1 pp.14ff. and part 2 pp.29ff.

Ward the Kirkby Lonsdale board of guardians immediately advised him of their own wise man who had just solved a crime at Dent. Nonetheless, Pearson like Dickinson was convinced that improved education, medical knowledge and proper policing would abolish wise men as it would end black magic and witches.

Wise men were exploiters of certain properties in the natural world hidden from ordinary mortals, and the rural population dependent upon nature felt justified in turning to the seekers for advice and solutions not offered by organised religion. It was quite one thing to pray for God to deliver farmers from the deadly foot and mouth disease which afflicted the region in 1865, and to place the blame squarely on men's shoulders as did Francis Close in his sermons²¹; it was quite another to expect God to provide a remedy when the congregation prayed. The countryfolk turned to age-old remedies which offered more concrete hope than prayer, and left the sufferers feeling less helpless.

21. F. Close The Cattle Plague ... a Sermon (Carlisle 1865); the dean's sermons were a regular feature of the newspapers, but farmers put more faith in direct action such as burning live calves or burying healthy ones in doorways.

The use of the Celtic 'need fire' to celebrate or to purify was inherited by the Cumbrians as a counter to many livestock disease . All fires were extinguished in an excitingly primitive ceremony as the special need fire was taken from farm to farm and district to district and all animals driven through it. Progressive landlords like the Hodgsons of Newby Grange disapproved of such actions but they nonetheless continued throughout the Victorian years ²² .

The welfare of livestock might assume obsessive proportions in rural parishes, but the welfare of humans mattered more. Birth was perhaps the most critical moment in all human lives and throughout the region the men were despatched to public houses whilst the women cared for and gave succour to the expectant mother and newborn child ²³ . The gathered female community would drink tea and spirits as soon as a successful birth had taken place, and the baby was plied with gifts of salt for health and silver coins for prosperity. Rum butter was one feature of the event and immediate enquiries were put into force about the baby's future marriage partner and prospects.

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22. Dickinson Cumbriana pp.114-117; William Pearson part 1 pp. 17-21; W. Wilson 'Former Social Life in Cumberland and Westmorland ' Trans CWAALS vol. 10 1884-1885 pp.67-86.
23. T.W. Carrick 'Scraps of English Folklore' Folklore vol.40 1929 pp.278-290; Rowling Folklore pp.129ff.

Marriage remained one of the great events of a person's life and weddings involved communities as well as the families. Bidden weddings were popular in the countryside and were occasions of lavish hospitality and equally extravagant gifts ²⁴. The church ceremony was one of the less considered parts of the business and incumbents like Henry Whitehead of Brampton tried to encourage people to cut their consumption of alcohol both before and after the ceremony ²⁵. Whitehead's predecessor had chopped down the old oak tree which graced the town centre and around which newly married couples danced straight from the church doors ²⁶. The action was a sign of the way that the Anglican clergy did not always support traditional and exuberant popular religion. In a rural region sexual morality was not the issue which it became in towns, and provided a couple intended to marry the community did not emphasise that pre-marital sex was sinful and did not force quick marriages. It might be a different matter over marital infidelity, and 'riding the stang' was a long-lasting rural humiliation still used in the late nineteenth century ²⁷.

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24. Carrick 'Scraps of English Folklore' p.280; Rowling Folklore pp.129ff.
25. Rawnsley Whitehead p.123; funerals presented the same difficulty.
26. E. and M. Radford Encyclopaedia of Superstitions ed. C. Hole, (1969)p.253.
27. Rowling Folklore p.134; it happened in Kendal in 1820, Wetheral in 1850 and Langwathby in 1896.

Death posed the greatest threat to the continuity of human life and popular religion filled the gaps left by Christianity in the conduct surrounding its celebration and customs. Laying out and dressing corpses, sitting up throughout the night, opening windows and doors, encouraging viewing and touching, the placing of yew or box sprigs in the coffin, a vigorous ringing of church bells, were all part of the ritual ²⁸. The living had to be protected and their future guaranteed, and hence the telling of the bees, offerings to allow a smooth transition of ownership from the dead to the living and similar rites. Clerical prayer and advice were well received, but a suggestion from an incumbent that such ritual be curtailed would have provoked hostility.

It was not only the important dates of human life that held significance, for the dates of the year were as vital. The Christian calendar was the basis for rural and urban life although much of the Christian message had been lost or altered on contact with popular religion ²⁹. Days like the first of January held no Christian meaning until the Methodists commenced watchnight services as an alternative to

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28. Clark Pulpit and Pew p.110; Obelkevich South Lindsey pp.295ff.; W. Jardine 'Local Superstitions' TransCWAALS vol.10 1884-1885 pp.41-51; Rowling Folklore pp.136ff.
29. Clark Pulpit and Pew pp.91-109; Obelkevich South Lindsey pp.263-294; Rowling Folklore pp.108-126 .

The Lucks of Cumbria: Edenhall



*1. The Vessel called the Luck of Eden Hall. 2. Its leathern Case. 3. Inscription on the top of the Case.
Fig. 1. and 2. are of the same size as the originals. Fig. 3. of half the size.*

the public house. First footings and pagan celebrations around that and other days continued to flourish into the twentieth century.

The second day of February, Candlemas, had been important to the Romans but was chiefly used in Cumbria as a weather augury and for changing farming tenancies. St. Valentine's day requires no comment and was purely pagan, but Shrove Tuesday was not the religious event it was meant to be and signalled instead the start of rural games such as wrestling and cockfighting as well as barring out of masters at schools as blackmail over extra holidays ³⁰ .

Easter was the date that Anglicans were supposed to take communion at their parish churches, and this sacrament remained a quarterly event in many Cumbrian churches until the 1870s ³¹ . The great Christian celebration at Easter underwent considerable alteration at the hands of the people, with popular hymns and psalms corrupted into rhyme and verse, carlin peas blown or flicked at victims, eggs boiled, painted, rolled and raced, and 'jolly boys' despatched around homes and farms to perform simple plays in return for gifts ³² . The church might be the centre for these festivities because of its central geographical position, but not all clergy smiled benevolently at such games in their churchyards.

30. Rowling Folklore pp.110-111.

31. Rowling Folklore pp.111-117.

32. Rowling Folklore p.113.

May day so far as Christianity was concerned was of no significance, but in Cumbria it was a time of great celebration after a long winter, and the festivities included May pole, sports, drinking, and riotous assembly on traditional festive sites as in Carlisle, Wetheral and Kirkby Stephen³³. Whit walks do not seem to have taken place in Cumbria, but Royal Oak Apple day on the twenty ninth of May was a substitute when the children beat with nettles all who did not display the royal leaf³⁴.

The annual rush bearing ceremonies which continue at Warcop, Ambleside and Grasmere were altered out of all recognition in the nineteenth century. In the youth of William Wordsworth the rushes were put fresh and clean onto the church floor in place of the previous year's stinking refuse, and had been an expression of communal support for the established church³⁵. Fiddlers accompanied the throng of villagers who progressed to the church and then as a body to the public house where music, dancing, singing, gambling and drinking lasted into the next morning, although the clergy might withdraw at a suitable hour once the sabbath had arrived. The off-comers of the Victorian period catered for the off-coming tourists and respectability

33. Rowling Folklore pp.98, 117.

34. Rowling Folklore pp. 119-120; Charles escaped at Worcester.

35. A. Binton Rush Bearing (Manchester 1891) pp.29-38.

of the Church of England when they sent a strictly organised and surpliced choir with sparkingly clean procession of children escorted by immaculate officials with a genteel tea served after an orderly service. Gone was the drink, gone were the merriment, late hours, rowdy behaviour and general communal enjoyment. Even the popular songs were replaced by hymns specially written for the occasion.

Off-comers did not change everything. Kern suppers at harvest continued, though harvest teas and religious festivals replaced the boisterous parties in many places. Halloween with its games, doors ajar, food and drink offered to visiting spirits, and bands of roving children, did not lose its attractions for the Cumbrians, and it was useful as the date for bringing sheep down from the high pastures to the wintering land around the farmsteads. At the close of the year Christmas day was a time of celebration, yet it is salutary to remember that the devout readily held church meetings to conduct business on that day ³⁶. At some towns, including Brough under Stainmore, the day continued to be celebrated with a full-scale football match from one end of the town to the other, the prize being a holly bush which was taken by the victorious side to public houses for free or cheap drinks ³⁷.

36. For example at Penrith Wesleyan circuit

37. F.B. Chancellor Around Eden (1954) pp.47-48

One of the minor but persistent themes in popular religion was the appearance of clergymen of all denominations as figures of suspicion. The devil was presented in the public imagination as a tall dark stranger dressed in black who preyed upon the unwary, those full of drink or in some way transgressing Christian traditions. Bishop Waldegrave was not amused to be mistaken for old Nick on disturbing men playing cards on a Sunday in a barn, but the Wesleyan Hodgson Casson used his appearance to put fear into as many sabbath breakers as possible ³⁸ .

Successive earls of Lonsdale encouraged ancient rural pastimes among which the hunting of the fox was the most important in a society which needed to protect its sheep on the hills and to encourage communal solidarity. There were twelve Cumbrian packs of hounds, four being hunted with horse, the rest on foot and known as the fell packs ³⁹ . The season ran from October to April and attracted a host of followers from all ranks of rural society including the clergy, whilst prayers were often said for both hound and fox. Two ardent supporters were George Moore of Mealsgate and his friend and fellow evangelical Sir Wilfrid Lawson of

38. Carlisle District Primitive Methodist centenary (Carlisle 1907) pp.45-46; Dickinson Cumbriana p.110.

39. W.C. Skelton Reminiscences of Joe Bowman and the Ullswater Foxhounds (Kendal 1921) is the Cumbrian classic history of foxhunting, and Bowman was quite as famous as John Peel. R. Clapham Foxhunting on the Lakeland Fells (1920) has an introduction by J.W. Lowther, baron Ullswater.

Brayton who would spend all day in the saddle even when unwell, though they would allow no strong drink near the followers ⁴⁰ . The Lowther family were famous for their hunting participation but their main interest was in the far more ceremonial hunting of Leicestershire and Rutland where it was not the grim and determined business that fell hunting usually was, and where there was little of the social diversity amongst the followers ⁴¹ . Fell packs went out to kill; Rutland packs went out for the fun of it. The incompatibility of smearing a freshly killed fox's blood onto the forehead of new hunters in the form of a cross with Christian beliefs did not worry the hunts, and men like Bowman and Tommy Dobson were legends and more real to the population than the Christian denominations ⁴² . Nor was the attitude of Lawson and Moore to drink normal; those who hunted with the Blencathra in the 1850s were expected to be able to take thirty pints in ten hours' solid drinking, and as with John Peel ponies and horses had to be trained to take their inebriated owners safely back home along dangerous tracks ⁴³ .

40. Smiles Moore pp.21,141,148,246.

41. L. Dawson Lonsdale: the authorised life of Hugh Lowther fifth earl of Lonsdale(1946) pp.114ff.

42. Obelkevich South Lindsey pp.41ff.

43. D. Style Songs of the Fell Packs(1972); see above p.106 for the attitude of bishop Waldegrave to hunting. Peel was not the glamorous character portrayed in after years and was notorious for his immorality .

It was the way in which traditional country sports and festivities were accompanied by hard drinking and indifferent sexual morality which conflicted with Victorian beliefs in church attendance and decorum, and industrial and urban factory and work discipline. Popular culture and its accompanying popular religion were pressed on several fronts in the nineteenth century to alter direction, to find other outlets, or to die. There was the great migration out of the rural parishes which placed Cumberland and Westmorland in the top three counties to lose most natives ⁴⁴. On the other hand there was the inflow of off-comers to the new industrial and mining centres, and in fewer numbers to settle in the pleasant milieu of lakes society. Both factors militated against popular culture and popular religion. The revival of evangelical religion and of strong Nonconformist denominations countered the native tendencies towards denominational lifelessness and Anglicanism. Nonconformity disapproved of the old ways and worked with the growing professional expertise of medical, veterinary and police professions to make wise men and witches unbelievable, excessive drinking sinful, and traditional pastimes unworkable and degraded ⁴⁵.

44. I am grateful to Dr. J.D. Marshall for this information.

45. F.W. Garnett Westmorland Agriculture 1800-1900(Kendal 1912) pp.200-204 examined the conflict between traditional country medicine and new methods enforced by law and the police force upon unwilling farmers.

The result of these pressures was conflict between the old and the new. Philip Howard demolished the maypole at Wetheral and replaced it with a cross, whilst an unsympathetic Patterdale incumbent banned the regular calendar festivities from the church yard and the Kendal town council banned May day celebrations ⁴⁶. Blood sports were ended, as with the help of the militia in putting down cockfighting and baiting, with the exception of fox hunting which was patronised by the nobility and gentry ⁴⁷.

The old ways lingered on to be studied as so many antiquarian remnants by the CWAAS, the CWAALS and other bodies comprised of educated off-comers and natives. The off-comers interfered with the remnants and regularised and cleaned up wrestling, hound trailing and lakeland sports. Zealous, active and resident Anglican parochial clergy acted as agents of change and worked alongside village schoolmasters and new improved educational facilities to conflict with popular culture and religion. It might be tempting for a reforming clergyman or schoolmaster to see in every piece of popular religion the backwardness of the rural poor rather than the contentedness of a community, and for a historian to regard patrons, especially the Lowthers, as culprits, but many parishes liked their old incumbents who had tolerated rather than assailed traditional ways of thought and action.

46. M.Kirkpatrick The Story of Wetheral(Carlisle 1959)p.17;
Curwen Kirkbie Kendall p.161; Morris Chronicles of Patterdale p.15ff.

47. W.Rollinson Life and Tradition in the Lake District(1974)
pp. 141ff.

Writing in 1929 Tom Carrick of Wigton acknowledged that his grandparents were part of the last truly superstitious Cumbrian generation, the people who were born in the 1840s and 1850s and who possessed an intimate knowledge of the workings of popular culture and religion ⁴⁸. He might have added that theirs too was the last truly religious generation in its implicit acceptance of religion as fundamental to civilisation as they knew it. In an earlier generation than Carrick, the West Cumberland farmer and author William Dickinson believed that over the course of his long life the old ways had disappeared due to the application of scientific knowledge and education which extended to even the poorest families ⁴⁹. Forty years earlier William Pearson, the farmer, grocer and Westmerian writer reckoned that urban growth and religious and educational advances had ended traditional ways in rural Westmorland, which was no bad thing to his mind ⁵⁰. Pearson saw traditional beliefs as an inevitable stage on the road to universal enlightenment, Dickinson disparaged the old ways and regretted them, Carrick viewed popular culture and religion and their passing with affection and sympathy because he was of a later generation.

48. Carrick 'Scraps of English Folklore' pp.289-290.

49. Dickinson Cumbriana pp.105-106.

50. William Pearson part 1 pp.1 ff; the fourth Cumbrian author in this field was A.C. Gibson, a Scottish doctor raised and working in Cumbria, including Hawkshead and Coniston, and author of Ancient Customs ... in Cumberland (Carlisle 1858) and other books on the subject.

Nicholas Carlisle recognised the virtue in popular religion and culture even though he was critical:

With regard to the Rites, sports etc. of the Common People .. have been countenanced in all ages ... though it cannot be denied that they have sometimes been prostituted to the purposes of Riot and Debauchery, yet were we to reprobate everything that has been thus abused ... Religion itself could not be retained-perhaps indeed we should be able to keep nothing. 51

In Ravenstonedale many of the traditional beliefs of rural society lasted into the late nineteenth century. Just as there came into being strong Wesleyan and Primitive Methodist societies, an important Congregational church, and resident and caring Anglican landowners, so organised religion worked to destroy the popular religious and cultural remnants. Popular religion of course did not die out but was absorbed into denominational streams or found new outlets such as the Band of Hope, the social evenings and entertainments, and the harvest festivals 52 .

51. N. Carlisle The Charities ... of England (1828)pp. 227-228.

52. I am grateful for much of the following information to Mr. Hayton, Mrs Duff and Dr. Whitehouse of the parish.

In the 1860s the parish of Ravenstonedale celebrated events on the calendar with singing, dancing and drinking in the public houses, but by the 1880s the people were being shepherded, pressured or encouraged by example into the three Methodist chapels, the High Chapel or the parish church for tea meeting, harvest supper, recitation, or lecture. A revitalised village school under John Butt no longer had time for superstitions or for the paying of lip service to farming customs and great attention was paid to denuding the children's minds of such primitive traditions. A faded photograph of one hundred years ago shows how the more energetic of the parish enrolled in the brass band and met in the High Chapel for practice, whilst others show how communal parish solidarity was encouraged via picnics and elaborate garden or other parties led by the Metcalfe-Gibsons with all notables, ladies and denominational clergy in attendance ⁵³ . The Ravenstonedale agricultural show was started by the Metcalfe-Gibsons in the 1880s but drink made little or no appearance, and the hardier imbibers retired discreetly to the insides of the public houses ⁵⁴ .

Rural depopulation in Ravenstonedale affected the old continuity of popular religion and its expression, as it did in the whole of Westmorland after the 1880s. However a not insignificant residual Christianity was retained within the ageing populace which continues to find expression through the denominations of the parish which continue as previously.

53. Photographs in the hands of Mrs Duff.

54. Show programmes etc. in the hands of Mrs Duff.

The Religious Architecture of Cumbria

As church fabrics decayed so the process of rebuilding, repair or restoration was a continuous process in Cumbria after the great spate of Norman building in the twelfth century¹. In the eighteenth century a number of fine north country Anglican churches were built in Penrith, Whitehaven, Wigton, Carlisle and other towns of the region but by the 1780s demographic changes were starting to make the old parish boundaries inadequate. Anglican provision of churches was often a cumbrous business in which the establishment was slow to respond to the needs of the industrial and mining centres in Cumbria as in Britain as a whole². The Nonconformists were eager to take advantage of their rival and were pleased to have scope for immediate provision of places of worship.

The Church of England was for decades slow to respond to Nonconformity's challenge, but towards the end of bishop Percy's episcopate increasing attention was paid to the problem of church accommodation and increasing amounts of funds were poured into this field³. Although only forty

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1. Bouch Prelates and People pp.157-165, 337-338; J.C. Cox County Churches:Cumberland and Westmorland(1913).
 2. N. Pevsner The Buildings of England: Cumberland and Westmorland(1967) and North Lancashire(1969); M. Port 600 New Churches:a study of the Church Building Commissioners 1818-1856(1961).
 3. See table 47 p. 563

Table 47Anglican church building and restoration 1840-1892

<u>Date</u>	<u>Bishop</u>	<u>Total Spent</u> <u>in £s</u>	<u>Bishop of</u> <u>Carlisle</u>	<u>Dean&Chapter</u> <u>of Carlisle</u>	<u>Patrons' expenditure</u> (number of projects) <u>Earl of</u> <u>Lonsdale</u>	<u>Trustees</u>	<u>Clergy</u>
1840/ 1856	Percy	101,000	19,700(8)	6,200(4)	9,400(2)	11,300(3)	4,500(6)
1856/ 1869	Villiers/ Waldegrave	244,000	64,000(26)	15,400(11)	13,200(8)	36,000(13)	25,000(19)
1869/ 1892	Goodwin	348,000	82,000(33)	25,000(16)	34,000(14)	58,000(26)	48,000(24)

***Note that patrons expenditure signifies amount spent in livings of the listed patrons, and not necessarily the amount spent by the patrons themselves

Note also that the earls of Lonsdale themselves spent the following amount on their own patronage in rebuilding or restoring churches: 1840-1856 £6,500, 1856-1869 £5,000, 1869-1892 £4,000, the remainder coming from sources other than the patrons.

two major schemes costing just over £100,000 were carried out in the last sixteen years of Percy's episcopate, under Villiers and Waldegrave two and a half times that amount was spent on over one hundred works . Even greater sums were channelled into church building under Goodwin which does not include the large amounts spent on parsonages in the 1860s and 1870s ⁴ . These were amounts of money that the non-Anglicans could never hope to match partly because the upper classes provided the cash for the establishment of which they were a part.

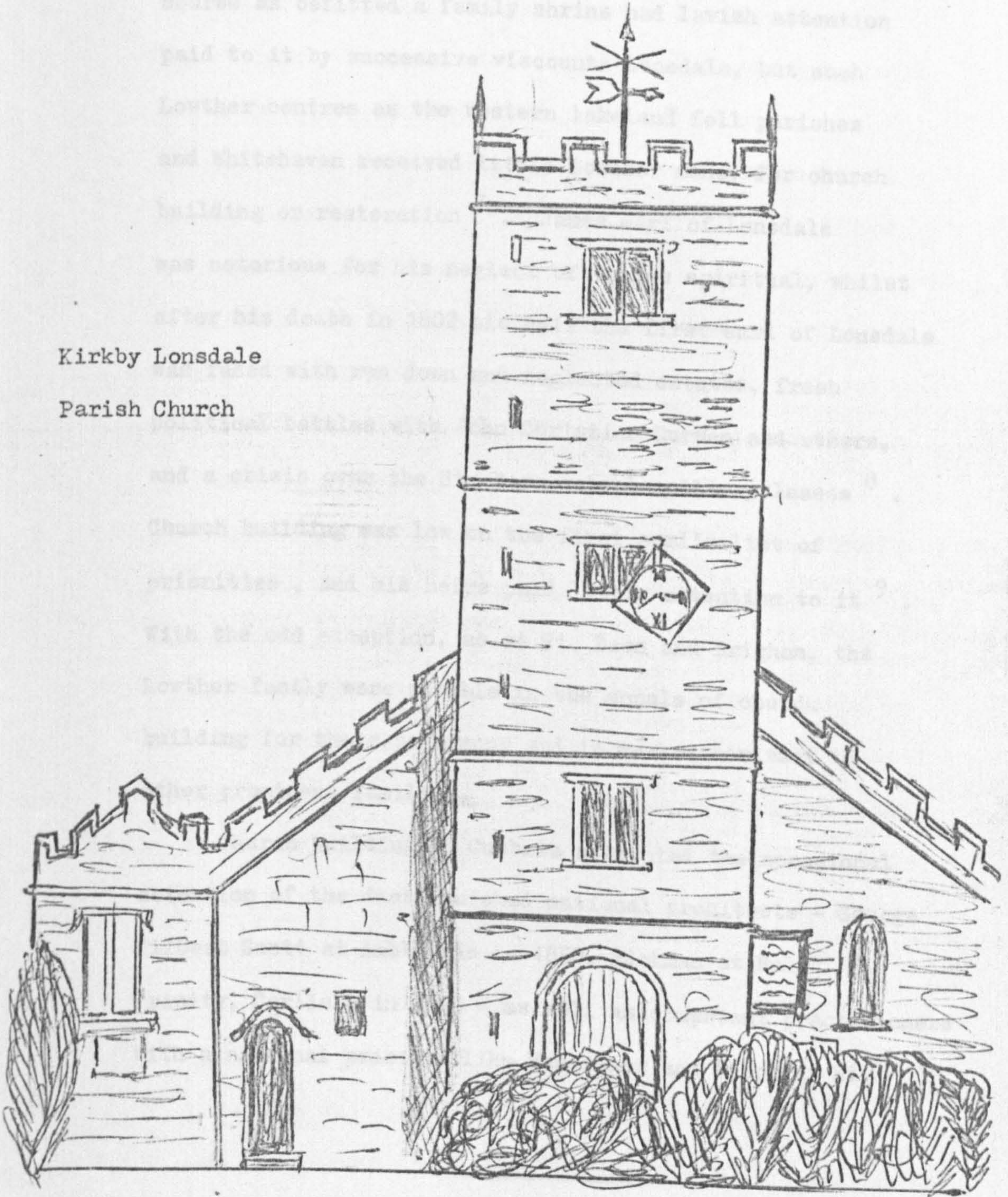
Cumbria was a poor county but there were enough wealthy and interested Anglicans to contrast with Non-conformity. Baroness Burdett-Coutts at Carlisle, Trinity college Cambridge, the railway company at Tebay, all paid for parish churches. Some incumbents, as well as natives who had made good outside the region and then remembered their place of birth, provided churches: Henry Askew at Greystoke, dean Argles and his family at Lyth, Crosthwaite and Heversham where they spent £8,000; Vaughan Thomas, chaplain of Corpus Christi, Oxford, rebuilt Butter mere in 1841, and Canon G.F. Weston at Crosby Ravensworth ⁵ . Mention has been made of the contribution of the wealthy landowners to church building at Barrow, and others like the earl of Bective gladly rebuilt or restored ⁶ .

4. See above pp. 161-171.

5. Directories of the period provide details, see p.748.

6. See above p.487 ; Bective paid for the Kirkby Lonsdale restoration of 1868 which he could see from Underley.

Kirkby Lonsdale
Parish Church



Strangely the great house of Lowther spent little on churches with notable exceptions. Lowther church of course as befitted a family shrine had lavish attention paid to it by successive viscounts Lonsdale, but such Lowther centres as the western lakeland fell parishes and Whitehaven received little Lowther money for church building or restoration ⁷. James earl of Lonsdale was notorious for his neglect of things spiritual, whilst after his death in 1802 his heir the first earl of Lonsdale was faced with run down and neglected estates, fresh political battles with John Christian Curwen and others, and a crisis over the St. Bees school colliery leases ⁸. Church building was low on the first earl's list of priorities, and his heirs paid little attention to it ⁹. With the odd exception, as at St. Bees and Brigham, the Lowther family were notable in the annals of church building for their parsimony and in marked contrast to other prominent families.

Church building in Cumbria attracted the occasional attention of the distinguished national architects - George Gilbert Scott at Ambleside in 1850, Rickman at Holy Trinity, Carlisle in 1828 - as well as competent practitioners with a national practice like Habershon and Brock at St.

7. See table 47 p. 563

8. See above pp. 42,150, and below pp. 630ff.

9. Church matters received scant attention in the letters between the first earl and his son lord Lowther CRO D/Lons/L1/2. J.C. Curwen spent £10,000 on his own parish church, St. John's Workington.

Paul's Carlisle in 1870. One problem was financial limitations, patrons preferring local and cheaper men, on some projects the builder or patron themselves doing the designs. There was too a tradition of employing local men as builders and architects, as well as craftsmen and artists in church furnishings, funerary monuments and artistic additions. Lady Anne Clifford had refitted and rebuilt a number of parish churches between 1650 and 1670, but apart from the sculpture by Nollekens dedicated to Maria Howard by her husband Henry Howard in Wetheral church there was little else of note until the nineteenth century ¹⁰. After two decades of promising artistic developments in Whitehaven, Carlisle and Kendal a school of Cumbrian craftsmanship grew up centred on Carlisle in the 1820s.

The Carlisle academy of fine arts was established in a handsome new building in 1823 with the earls of Carlisle and Lonsdale as patrons ¹¹. The sculptors were the Nixon brothers, Musgrave Lewthwaite Watson, and David Dunbar, the portrait painters George Sheffield and John Dobson, and the miniature painters Thomas Carlyle and Thomas Carrick.

10. The work is dated 1789 and is being cleaned and restored at the present time. For Clifford see G.C. Williamson Lady Anne Clifford (Kendal 1922).

11. Carlisle Exhibition Guide (Carlisle 1973) is a centenary guide ; Parson and White Cumberland and Westmorland (1829) p.146.

The landscape painters were James Kirkpatrick and the brothers Robert and George Carlyle, whilst the painters of mainly Cumbrian scenes were Sam Bough and M.E. Nutter.¹² Many exhibitions were held in the city and the works of the various artists were placed in the homes of the gentry of the diocese, whilst sculptures were commissioned of both earls, members of parliament like Major Aglionby, and for parish churches at Dalston, Ainstable, Raughton Head and Sebergham amongst others¹³. Whitehaven families settled in Carlisle to be at the centre of regional artistic affairs, including the Nelsons and the Nutters, whilst the Kendal men, led by the Websters, maintained their own artistic circle¹⁴. What ended the position of both Carlisle and Kendal fine art organisations was the restricted market which encouraged many men to move to the bigger markets of Edinburgh, Newcastle, Manchester and London.

The only nationally famous architect to achieve distinction in Cumbria was Anthony Salvin who at the start of his career was commissioned by the Braddylls to prepare plans for a new church at Ulverston in 1829¹⁵.

12. S.Gilpin Sam Bough(1905)describes the academy's work.

13. H. Lonsdale Life and Works of Musgrave Lewthwaite Watson(1866); Watson was exceptionally talented.

14. Websters of Kendal catalogue produced by Abbot Hall art gallery Kendal in 1973.

15. Braddylls of Conishead Priory, patrons of the living.

The church cost £5,000 and was one of the most expensive at that date in Cumbria, and from then onwards Salvin was in great demand in the county for both house and church work. Salvin was employed by many of the most important landowners in Cumbria, but never by the Lowthers. He was working for the Howards between 1835 and 1848 and again in the 1870s restoring Greystoke castle, for the earl of Carlisle building Farlam church in 1860, for the Marshalls in building St. John's Keswick, the church at Patterdale and the family's homes, and for George Moore rebuilding Whitehall, Mealsgate. Moore was a close friend of Henry Howard of Greystoke, who gave liberally of his time to oversee the Whitehall work when Moore was absent in London. Moore's biographer wrote that

We find constant references in his diaries to his great obligations to his friend, Henry Howard, of Greystoke, during the rebuilding of Whitehall ... the very best architect, and the most famed for restoration of old places, should be employed [advised Howard]. Mr. Salvin was accordingly persuaded to undertake the work.¹⁶

16. Smiles George Moore p.241. Howard rode over twice a week for two years to see that the 200 workmen were progressing properly.



Keswick St. John's built 1838 by Anthony Salvin for
the Marshall family; extended 1862, 1882, 1889.

17. The Builder 10 December 1904 obituary; The Architect and Contract Reporter 9 December 1904 pp. 373-374 obituary; Ernst Döring no vol. 5 1905 pp. 215-216 obituary.

Had Moore lived longer then he would have employed Salvin to rebuild Allhallows parish church. Salvin was responsible for Scotby church thanks to dean Tait, for Lazonby thanks to bishop Waldegrave in 1863, and for the Crackenthorpe home of Newbiggin hall, Westmorland in the 1840s. He was employed in refashioning Hutton hall for the Fletcher-Vanes in the 1830s and again in the 1860s, and was called in drastically^{to} alter Muncaster castle for the fourth baron Muncaster because the baron's wife, daughter of the duke of Westminster, demanded a proper country home. Perhaps fittingly Salvin was succeeded as the favorite^v Cumbrian architect by Charles James Ferguson of Carlisle.

Ferguson was born in Carlisle in 1840, son of Joseph Ferguson and brother to R.S. Ferguson, the chancellor of the diocese of Carlisle and an outstanding antiquarian ¹⁷ . Charles Ferguson was first articulated to J.A. Cory, the county surveyor and architect practising in Durham and Cumberland, and then spent some time in the office of Sir Gilbert Scott in London. During the 1860s Ferguson was in partnership with Cory, cooperating on work in London and Bournemouth, the Carlisle county hotel, the county hall, and other Cumbrian projects .

17. The Builder 10 December 1904 obituary; The Architect and Contract Reporter 9 December 1904 pp.373-374 obituary; Trans CWAAS ns vol.5 1905 pp.315-216 obituary.

From the 1870s Ferguson became independent of Cory and with offices in Carlisle and London ran a successful business specialising in churches and country houses. He was responsible for the churches of St. Aidan's Carlisle, Silloth, Cumdivock, Silloth, Bridekirk, Cleator Moor, Denton, Bigrigg, Gamblesby, Haile, Penruddock, Plumbland, Seascale, Watermillock, Raughton Head, Dalston, Burgh by Sands, Dearham and Kirkbampton within the diocese of Carlisle: a total of fifty five restorations or new buildings within the county of Cumbria .

Ferguson was employed too on Muncaster castle, Kirkclinton hall for the Dacre family, Woodside for the Losh family, Armathwaite hall, Bassenthwaite for the Hartleys, Edenhall for the Musgraves, and on Naworth for his friend George Howard, ninth earl of Carlisle ¹⁸ . Ferguson and his brother the chancellor were dedicated antiquarians and prolific writers, whilst the creation of Tullie house museum and library at a cost of over £20,000 was largely due to their zeal, skill and pressure. The brothers were involved in a dispute with G.E. Street over the restoration of the only remaining piece of monastic property, the fraternity, in 1880 which provides an absorbing account of professional disagreement.

18. Naworth had been burned down in a great fire. There are many MSS of the Ferguson brothers in the Jackson library, some of which were later printed.

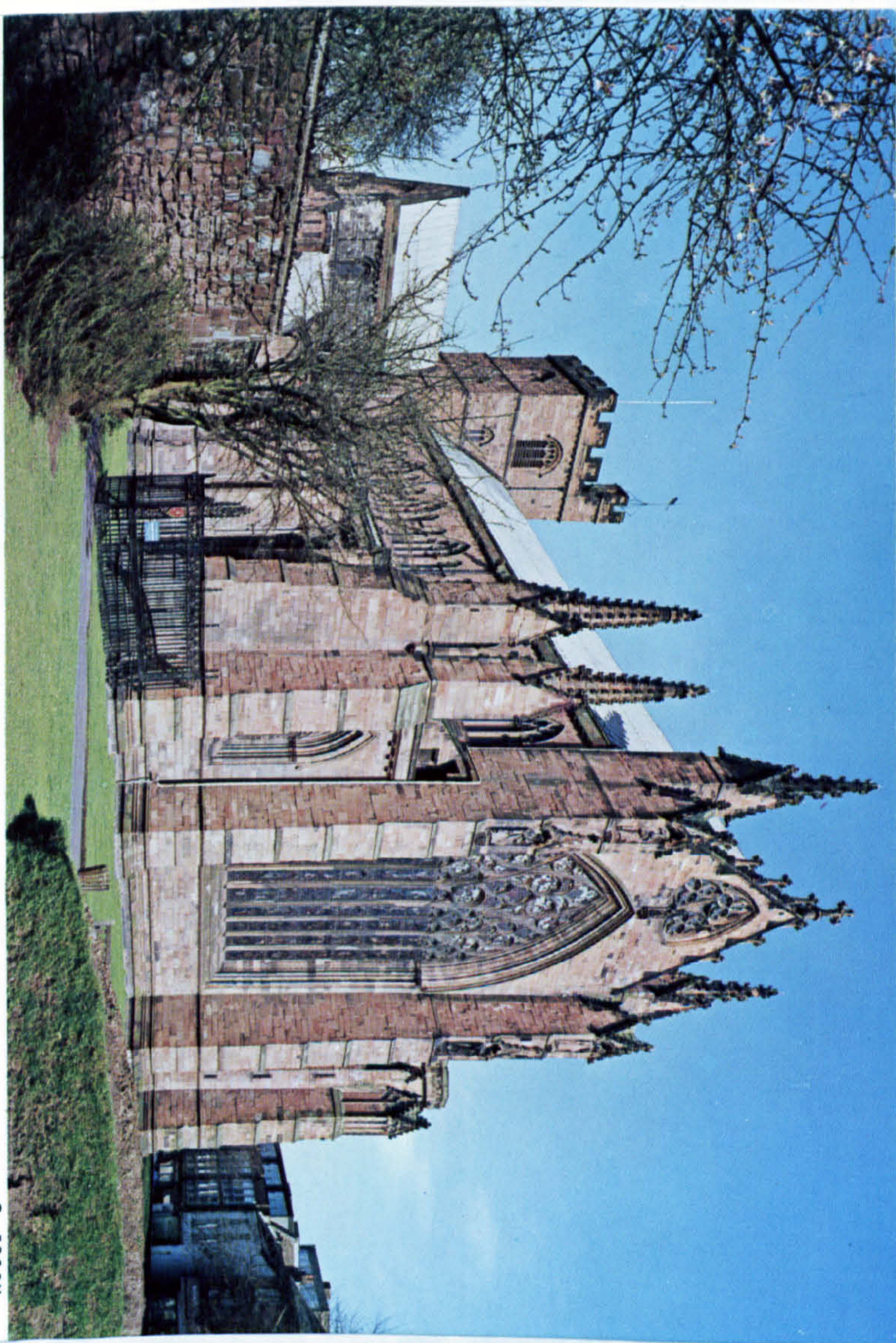
Street had a nationwide reputation by that date, but had only designed a communion table for Crosthwaite church and nothing else in the diocese of Carlisle. He had recently completed a small memorial to William Paley and the bishop's throne in the cathedral when he was commissioned to do something with the decayed fabric of the fraternity. Street intended to

restore the foundations, reface the walls outside, rebuild the crypt, relay the floor, open out the windows on the north elevation that have been built up in the course of time, remove the square shaped windows, which are of an obviously later date than the old building, take away the screen containing the fireplace, ... reroof the whole ... and generally to restore the old fraternity, preserving as much of the old walls as can be possibly repaired. ¹⁹

The Fergusons immediately attacked the scheme:

Mr. Charles Ferguson declared the rebuilding of the crypt to be a melancholy necessity ... He however took exception to the proposed treatment of the exterior, which time had mellowed down

19. Brown Round Carlisle Cross (1925) p.92. Ewan Christian had restored the main cathedral fabric under dean Tait in the 1850s.

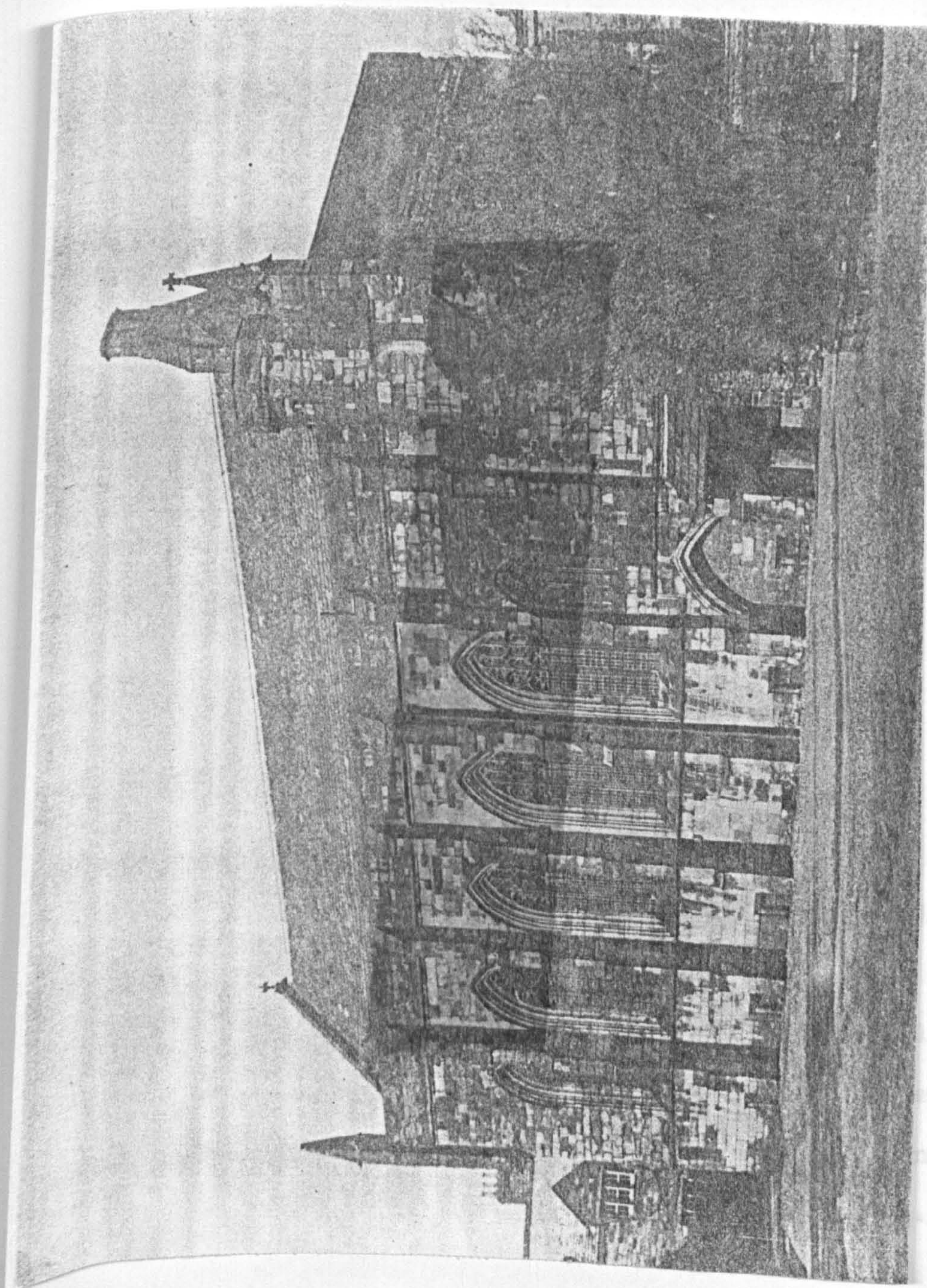


CARLISLE CATHEDRAL FROM SOUTH EAST

C 5280X

The Frater, Carlisle cathedral, built c.1320 with additions in the 1500s and restored in 1880 by Street.

to soft harmonious tints, that would be explained
 by the harsh ravness of our surfaces. But my
 particular objection was to the removal of the



The Fratry, Carlisle cathedral, built c.1320 with additions
 in the 1500s and restored in 1880 by Street.

20. Brown *Great Carlisle's Great* (1925) p. 92.

21. Brown *Great Carlisle's Great* (1925) p. 94; the full account
 is pp. 66-77.

to soft harmonious tints, that would be replaced by the harsh rawness of new surfaces. But his particular objection was to the removal of the two square headed windows, which he maintained, recorded a most interesting page in the architectural history, not only of the fraternity, but of the whole of the diocese of Carlisle.²⁰

The two windows had been inserted in the seventeenth century and were the first example of revived classical architecture in the diocese. The British Archaeological Association agreed with the Fergusons and condemned Street's work, whilst

The Society for the Protection of Ancient Buildings also told Mr. Street what they thought about him ...²¹

The matter received national coverage and highlighted the different interpretations of church restoration. Street favoured a complete and drastic return to the original thirteenth century plan as he understood it to have been, the Fergusons preferred to see the fraternity as a living and developing building complete with later additions.

20. Brown Round Carlisle Cross (1925) p.92.

21. Brown Round Carlisle Cross (1925) p.93; the full account is pp. 86-97.

There was too a clash of interests:

Through all the centuries since its construction the groining of the crypt has continually been in jeopardy. This was the case when Prior Gondibour rebuilt the fratriy, and Mr. Street in 1880 points out-and takes exception to-certain stone props then recently placed under the groining from the designs of the late Mr. Charles Ferguson, as a protection against subsidence. ²²

The problem was eventually solved in the 1920s when a well was filled in and water channelled off . Street regarded the issue as trivial and not worthy of attention although it did upset him ²³ .

Ferguson was the usual choice for church work in north Cumbria and found favour with the dean and chapter and successive bishops of Carlisle. Trustees of livings usually chose him for restoration work and other evangelical patrons were attracted to his designs. However both the Penningtons of Muncaster and the Musgraves were high church, and Ferguson was often the man chosen by patrons concerned to do their best for parishes. In this respect it is noticeable that Ferguson rarely worked in a parish where the earl of Lonsdale was patron, and when he did, as at St. Nicholas, Whitehaven, others footed the bill and not

22. Brown Round Carlisle Cross(1925)p.94.

23. A. Street Memoirs of G.E. Street(1888) pp.261-263.

the Lowthers ²⁴ .

The former diocese of Carlisle before 1856 proved to be the areas of episcopal and dean and chapter influence, and these were the parishes in which Ferguson worked. In south Cumbria another Victorian firm enjoyed an equally successful Cumbrian business: that of Edmund Sharpe, E.G. Paley and H.J. Austin ²⁵ .

In 1845 Sharpe had taken Paley into partnership at Lancaster but he retired in 1851 leaving Paley to expand the business into Cumbria. The arrival of Austin in 1868 transformed the firm from one of mediocre talent into a prominent regional firm producing outstanding work ²⁶ . The partners' clientele included the duke of Devonshire, for whom they rebuilt Holker after a fire, and the homes of Sir James Ramsden of Barrow and Lord Winmarleigh near Lancaster were their creation. They were commissioned by the Furness and North West railways for stations, but it was in the building of churches that the partners showed their skill and enterprise: Mansergh, Flookburgh, Ulverston, three Barrow churches, Barbon, Millom, Dalton, Torver, Preston Patrick, Windermere, Crosscrake, Finsthwaite. All told the firm of Paley and Austin rebuilt, restored or constructed over forty Cumbrian parish churches.

24. St.Nicholas was paid for by Margaret Gibson.

25. Pevsner North Lancashire pp.31ff, 120-121.

26. The Builder 2 April 1915 for Austin, 26 January 1895 for Paley, pp.258 and 312 respectively. Paley's son joined the firm and it was renamed Austin and Paley in 1895.

Paley and Austin were renowned for their flair, their ability to produce something special and personal for each client and project. With Ferguson they shared a sympathetic appreciation of the continuous history of a church and regarded the building as a living creation capable of development and adaptation over the centuries. The two firms of architects produced competent and sometimes outstanding churches, but in Cumbrian religious architecture there was rarely great excitement or quality which might bring the diocese to a national stage. One exception was the work of the ~~P~~re-Raphaelites in the region.

The pre-raphaelites were involved in Cumbria because of the patronage of George and Rosalind Howard, later ninth earl and countess of Carlisle. Howard was a gifted amateur painter and a member of the artistic circle that embraced Morris, Burne-Jones and Webb ²⁷. The literary, political and artistic world of London society in the 1860s and 1870s included Gladstone, Browning, Tennyson, Arnold and Eliot as well as the Howards and ~~P~~re-Raphaelites, and it was to be expected that when the Howard family wintered in Italy they would have as their guests many important artists including Morris and Burne-Jones ²⁸.

27. Roberts Radical Countess chapters 3,4,5, .

28. G.B. Jones Memorials of Edward Burne-Jones (1904) 2 vols.
vol.2 pp.50ff, 83ff.

The deaths of the seventh and eighth earls of Carlisle and of their brother lord Lanerton brought the earldom to George Howard together with Castle Howard in Yorkshire, forty four thousand acres and Naworth castle in Cumberland, and twelve thousand acres in Northumberland. From 1870 the Howard family made Naworth their country home although after the political division of 1886 George spent most of his time in London and Rosalind and the children lived mainly in Cumberland²⁹. Brampton benefited from having the Howards once more in residence nearby, and Philip Webb, the ~~pre~~^Praphaelite architect, provided houses for the vicar and the Naworth agent in the town. Webb had already provided George and Rosalind Howard with a notable London home in Palace Green, and Webb was asked to plan a new Brampton church.

Burne-Jones had already been commissioned to produce the masterpiece Avalon in 1881, but Howard had agreed to leave it with its maker and put Flodden Field in its place at Naworth³⁰. It was a natural choice to ask Morris and Burne-Jones to provide the stained glass which makes Brampton church so outstanding, although the cost was high and caused local difficulty. One window alone cost £700 and there were fourteen altogether³¹.

29. See below pp. 635ff.

30. Jones Burne-Jones vol.2 pp.120ff.

31. A. Penn Brampton Stained Glass (Brampton 1976); B. Wright St. Martin's Church Brampton and the Arts and Crafts Ideals of Philip Webb(Brampton 1976).



Brampton parish church stained glass east window 1878 by

Burne-Jones and Morris. 48 ft.

After four years' work Brampton church was completed in 1878 for over £6,000 and a tower only added from new plans by Webb in the 1900s. Morris and Burne-Jones were regular guests at Naworth in order to see to the work and to stay with their friends and patrons. They also came to Cumbria in order to visit an old school and college friend, Richard Watson Dixon.

Dixon in the 1870s was classics master at the cathedral grammar school in Carlisle and a minor canon. He was the son and grandson of two well known Wesleyan ministers and had been Burne-Jones' great friend between 1847 and 1852 at school in Birmingham. He had preceded Burne-Jones to Oxford university by a term and had then introduced his friend to William Morris. When the other two had gone into arts and crafts Dixon had become an Anglican communicant and taken orders. One of his father's former ministerial colleagues had had a daughter who married Burne-Jones, and Dixon conducted the service for both him and Morris at their respective weddings when he was a London curate. During 1862 Dixon had for an unexplained reason taken the posts in Carlisle, where five years later he was offered an incumbency in the gift of the earl of Lonsdale which he declined, but he did impress bishop Waldegrave: 32

32. Jones Burne-Jones made extensive use of Dixon's letters and memoirs. Dixon died whilst it was in the press. See vol. 1 pp.37ff, 68 ff.

Brampton vicarage built 1880 by Philip Webb, with 1 acre of grounds, 3 reception and 5 main bedrooms, extensive outbuildings and central heating.



Front



Rear

Mr. Dixon came here this day week. He is a decidedly superior man and I sincerely think thoroughly in earnest. He quite explained to me the history of the declining of the living. ³³

In 1875 Dixon became vicar of Hayton, near Brampton, and removed to become incumbent of Warkworth, Northumberland where he completed his great work on the history of the Church of England ³⁴. One of his neighbours was Mandell Creighton, then vicar of Embleton, and the two possessed reputations for being scholars and gentlemen of taste and refinement. Dixon kept in touch with the ~~Pre-Raphaelites~~ but with his writing he was immersed in his own great challenge which excluded other interests:

Of all the nineteenth century accounts of the English Reformation he wears best and stands up best to the cruel tests of time. Dixon's history is like a ~~Pre-Raphaelite~~ fresco. He had the immense virtues of the school: the careful attention to tiny detail, the accuracy, the bright colours-and perhaps something of their defects; a romanticism ... which never was on land or sea. ³⁵

33. Waldegrave MS, book 3, Waldegrave to Mr. Lowndes 20 November 1867.

34. E.G.Rupp 'The Victorian Churchman as Historian: a reconsideration of R.W. Dixon's History of the Church of England' pp.206-216 in Bennett and Walsh Modern Church History

35. Rupp 'The Victorian Churchman' p.216.

Dixon of course was unusual in being a scholar of reputation as well as a clergyman in the diocese of Carlisle ³⁶ . Outside Howard influence in east Cumberland there was little ~~P~~re-Raphaelite work, apart from windows in Troutbeck church commissioned by J.M. Dunlop, an off-comer living at Holehird, work by Sir Edward Boehm at Naworth and Lanercost church, and further glass for Holy Trinity church Ulverston. Thomas Woolner was the creator of a fresco around the Wigton market place fountain in 1862, chosen and paid for by George Moore, whilst Henry Holiday, a pre-raphaelite admirer, provided good quality stained glass for a dozen county churches ³⁷ . In west Cumberland and Westmorland, the areas of greatest Lowther influence, artistic innovation was rare in churches and church furnishings. The Lowthers of the nineteenth century were no patrons of artistic excellence on the scale that the Howards proved to be .

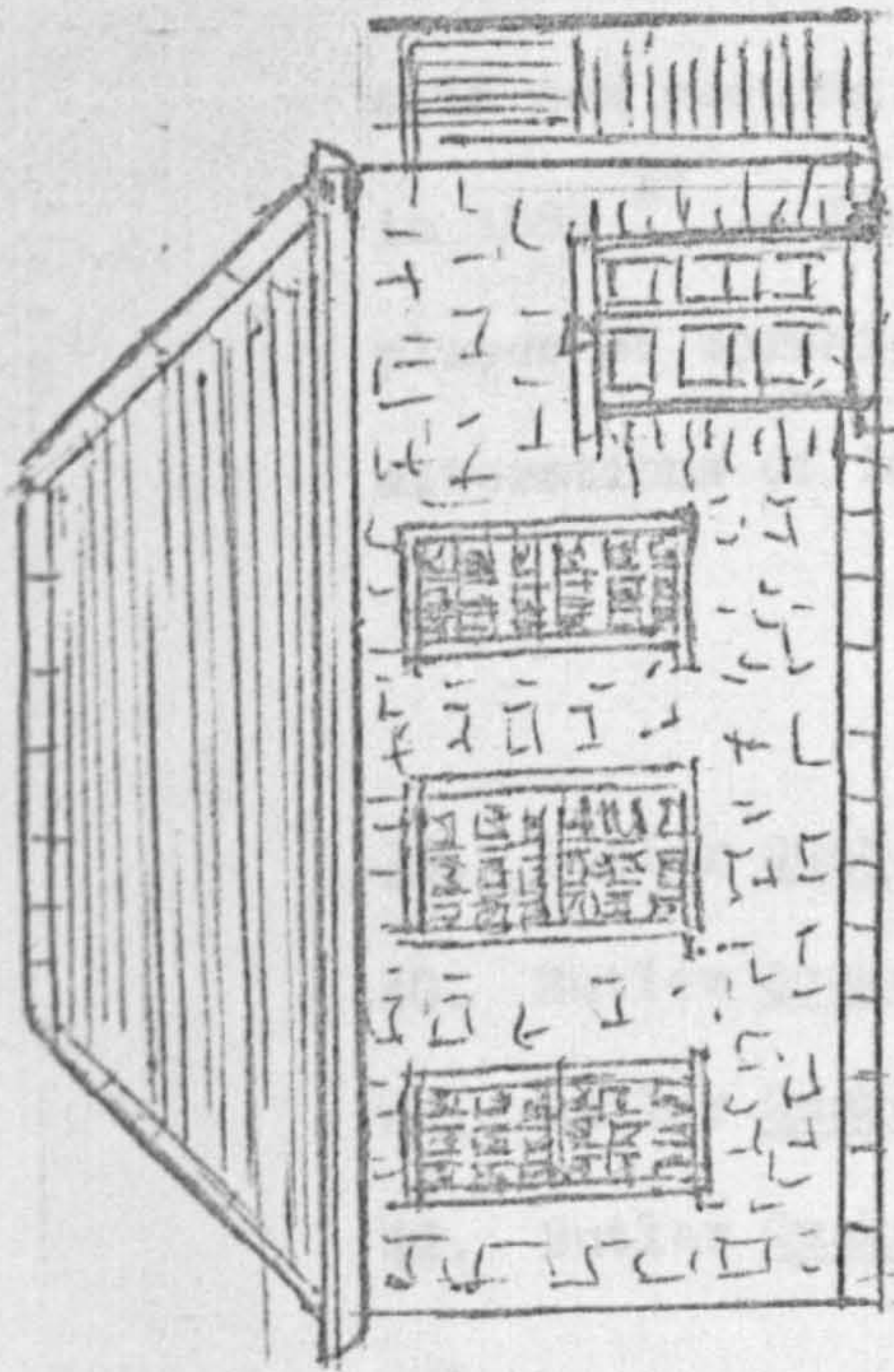
36. J. Sambrook A Poet Hidden: R.W. Dixon (1962).

37. Holiday lived at Betty Fold, Hawkshead, built for his own occupation in 1910; E.W. Hodge 'Stained Glass in the Diocese of Carlisle' Trans CWAAS ns vol. 76 1976 pp. 199-213 . The Moore fountain was a memorial to his wife and in four panels showed the feeding of the hungry, clothing the naked, comforting the afflicted and instructing the ignorant. The block weighed 8 tons (granite).

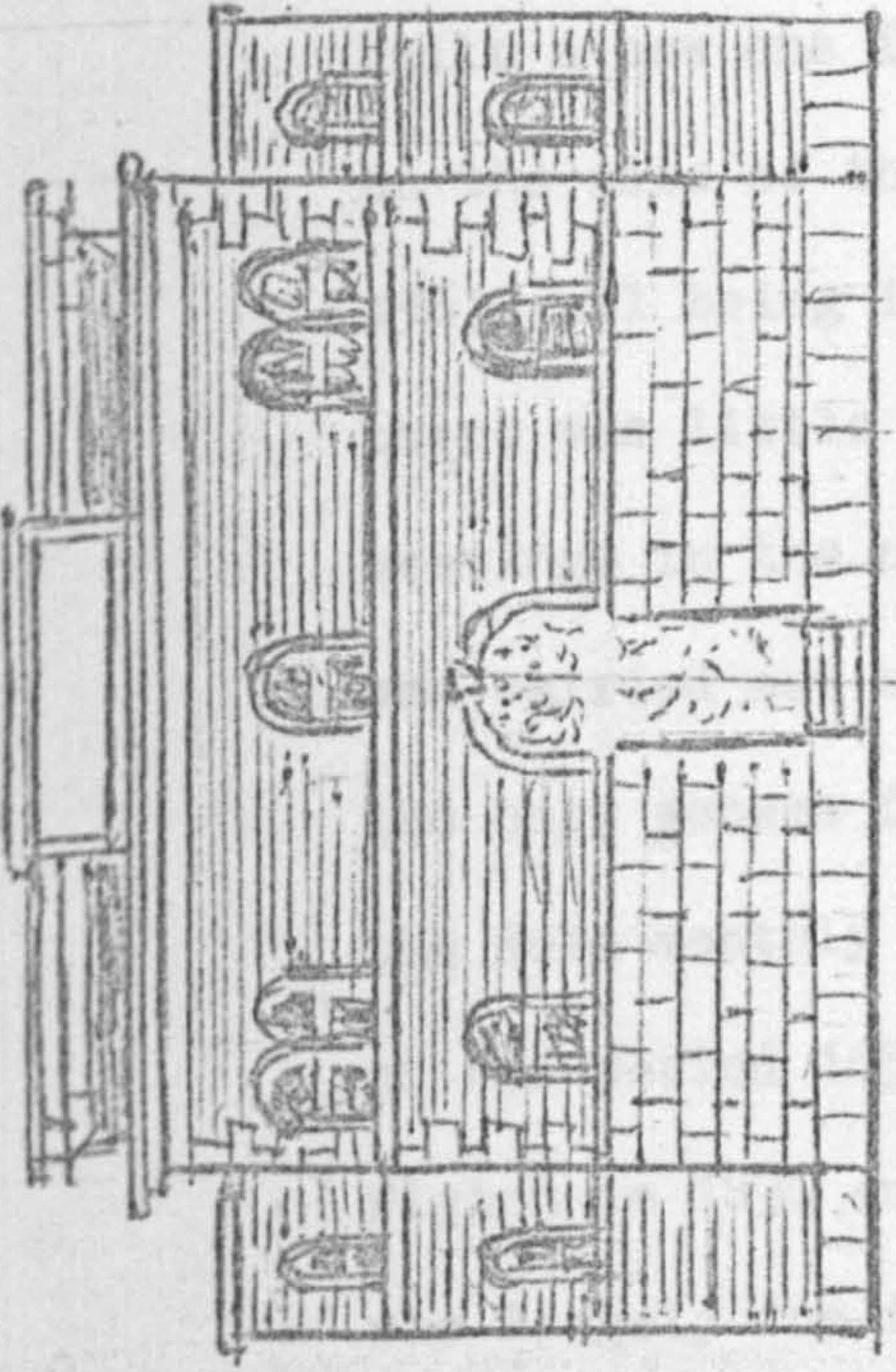
Of all of the denominations the Quakers provided the greatest contrast with the Church of England, and their meeting houses in Cumbria were precise models of simple design for basic functions. All Quaker places of worship were used for religious devotions and business meetings, whilst some served as school, library and other practical purposes for the Quaker community³⁸. The construction of the buildings closely resembled local farm buildings, being long and narrow in the northern and western parts of Cumbria and broader but shorter in the south and east. Windows were normally in the south side only for heating, except along the coast where they faced inland, normally east. Changes to the main buildings of the period 1690-1750 included window sashes, the provision of separate room for women to use, galleries, and insertion of some heating in the nineteenth century, but the basic design was perpetuated into the late nineteenth century.

Where a meeting was prosperous or expanding then meeting houses were rebuilt or renovated over the centuries although many in rural districts simply remain today as they were in the eighteenth century. Seventy four places of worship are known in detail for the region, though others have disappeared and were in private houses or farm buildings. The Carlisle meeting built its first

38. Butler Quaker Meeting Houses provides details and pictures of all known buildings in Cumbria; the introduction is valuable.



CARLISLE 1776



EXTENDED 1867
NEW FACADIE

Quaker Meeting House:

CARLISLE BUILT 1963.



place of worship in 1653, bought a new one in 1702, built a new one in 1776 and finally built a new one on the site of the seventeenth century burial ground in 1963, all being in or by Fisher Street ³⁹ . Generally there was little rebuilding or building in Cumbrian meetings in the nineteenth century, and at Carlisle nothing was carried out between 1776 and 1963, the latter being the only scheme for the seven places of worship. At the Holm monthly meeting there were the usual projects of the period 1653-1772 but also new meeting houses in Wigton in 1830 and Maryport in 1810. The Wigton project was largely due to the success of the nearby Quaker day and boarding school at Brookfield. The Maryport scheme was a complete rebuilding of the meeting house ⁴⁰ .

In the Pardshaw meeting there were fourteen rebuildings or new buildings between 1653 and 1799, with new meeting houses at Keswick in 1914 and in Cockermouth in 1884 ⁴¹ . The Caldbeck monthly meeting had only four places of worship, the last being opened in 1729, and no alterations of importance thereafter ⁴² .

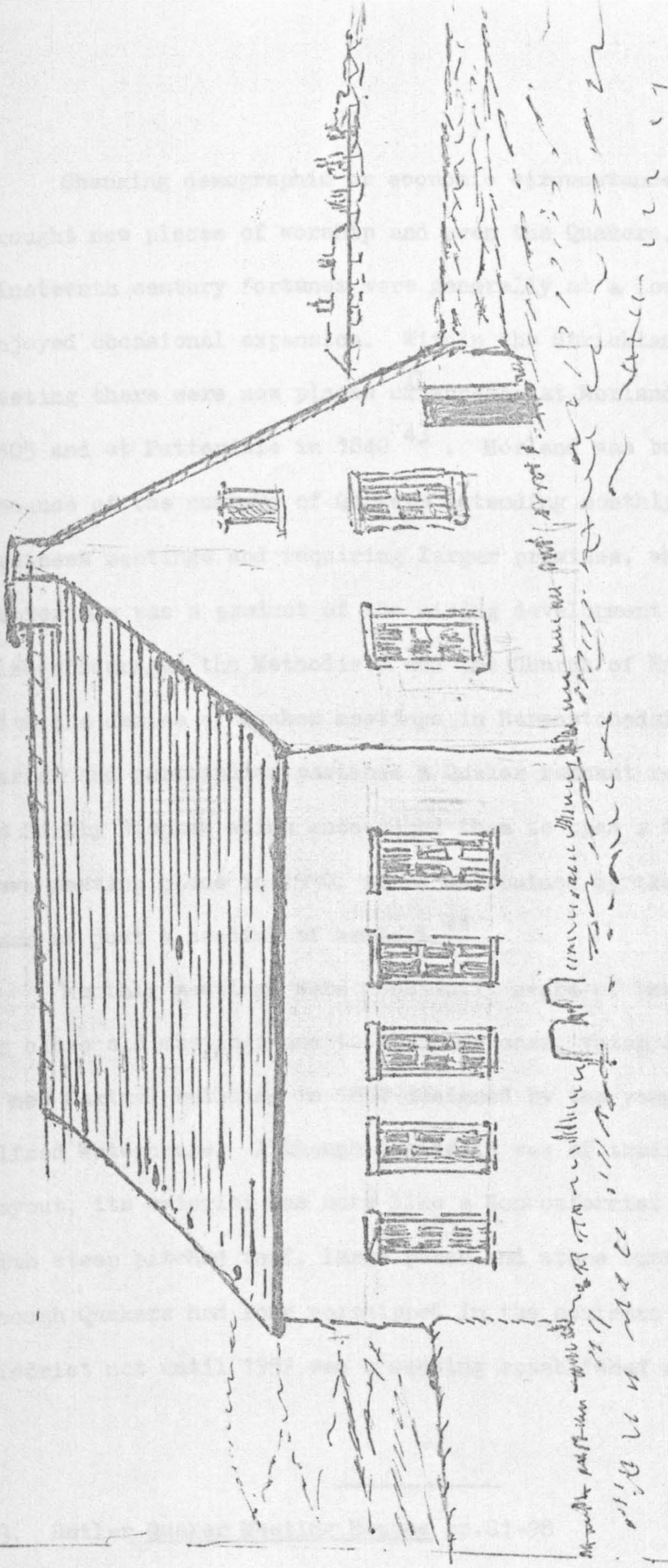
39. Butler Quaker Meeting Houses pp.1-22.

40. Butler Quaker Meeting Houses pp.23-38.

41. Butler Quaker Meeting Houses pp.39-68.

42. Butler Quaker Meeting Houses pp.69-80.

Quaker Meeting House:



PARDSHAW.

Changing demographic or economic circumstances brought new places of worship and even the Quakers, whose nineteenth century fortunes were generally at a low ebb, enjoyed occasional expansion. Within the Strickland monthly meeting there were new places of worship at Morland in 1805 and at Patterdale in 1842⁴³. Morland was built because of the numbers of Quakers attending monthly business meetings and requiring larger premises, whilst Patterdale was a product of the mining development which also encouraged the Methodists and the Church of England. With the demise of Quaker meetings in Ravenstonedale parish and surrounding parishes a Quaker remnant remained in Kirkby Stephen which encouraged them to open a first town meeting place in 1930, since maintained by the enthusiasm of just a handful of members⁴⁴.

Monthly meetings were constantly aware of the need to close old meetings and to open new ones, which led to a new Cartmel building in 1858 designed by the young Alfred Waterhouse. Although inside it was of traditional layout, its exterior was more like a Nonconformist chapel with steep pitched roof, large porch and stone buttresses⁴⁵. Though Quakers had long worshipped in the southern Lake District not until 1957 was a meeting established at

43. Butler Quaker Meeting Houses pp.81-98

44. Butler Quaker Meeting Houses pp.95-96. I am grateful to Mr. F.W. Parrott for details.

45. Butler Quaker Meeting Houses pp. 135-136



Quaker Meeting House: Briggflatts, Sedbergh built 1675, now with a tiny cottage on the left.

Ambleside to cater for off-comers as much as natives.

In the Sedbergh monthly meeting seven places of worship had been opened between 1675 and 1706, with only the most humble of Quaker places of worship outside those dates, at Northwaite in 1823⁴⁶. The Kendal monthly meeting however had buildings completed in 1869 at Preston Patrick and at Grayrigg in 1871, but the largest of all the meeting houses in Cumbria was that built at Kendal in 1816 for the use of the largest and richest Cumbrian meeting⁴⁷.

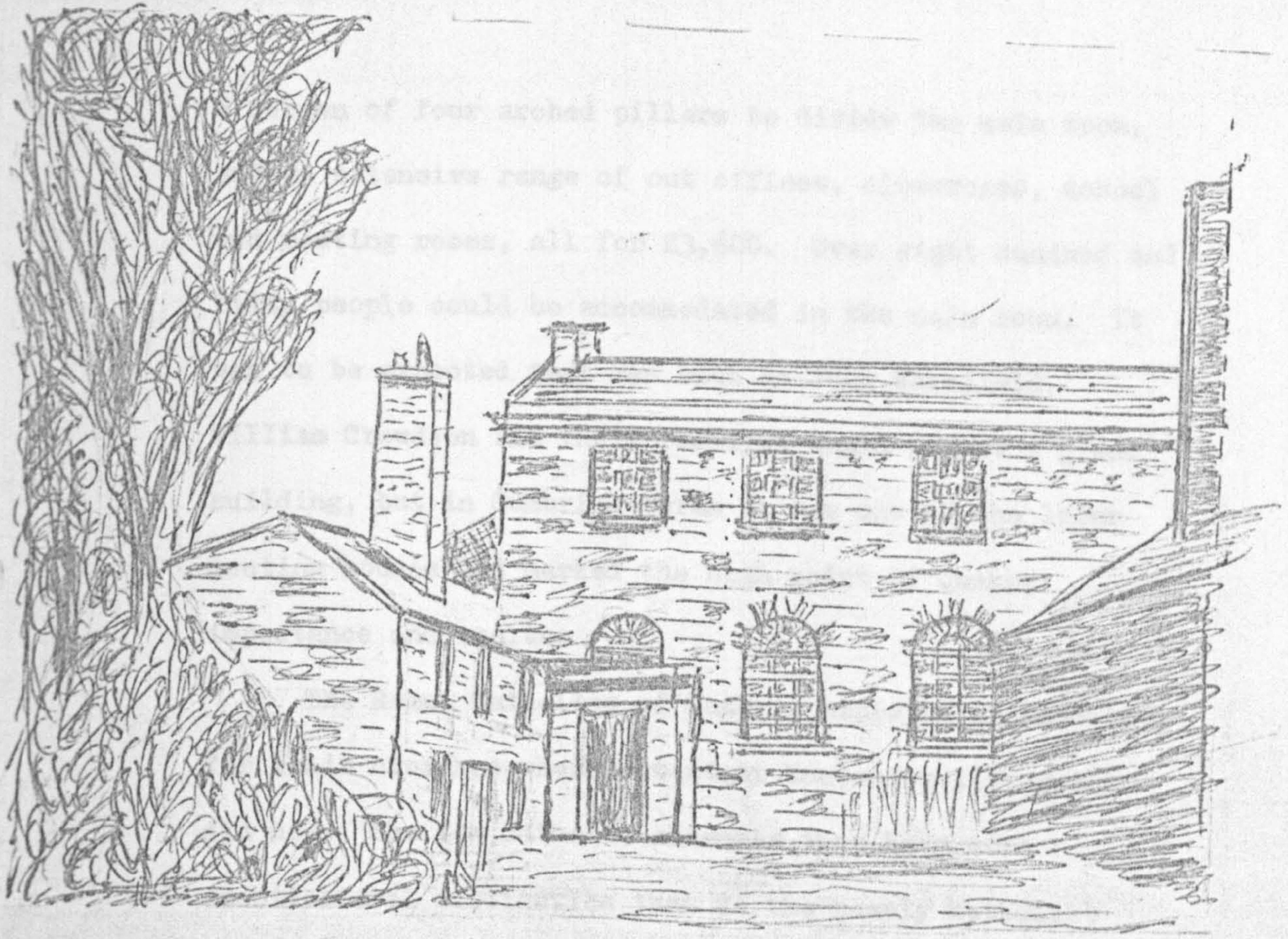
The original Kendal building was purchased in 1687 but proved overcrowded during monthly and yearly meetings within twenty years even though it seated six hundred⁴⁸. After several alterations it was decided to build on the old site a new and large edifice to plans by the leading Cumbrian architect Francis Webster of Kendal⁴⁹. Webster produced the plans and then individual Quakers made contracts with tradesmen to carry out the work rather than using one contractor. By Quaker standards it was a lavishly appointed meeting house, with its own central heating system which broke down and had to be replaced in 1825, a winch system to operate the large windows,

46. Butler Quaker Meeting Houses p.162.

47. Butler Quaker Meeting Houses pp.99-109.

48. For the meeting see above pp.346-351.

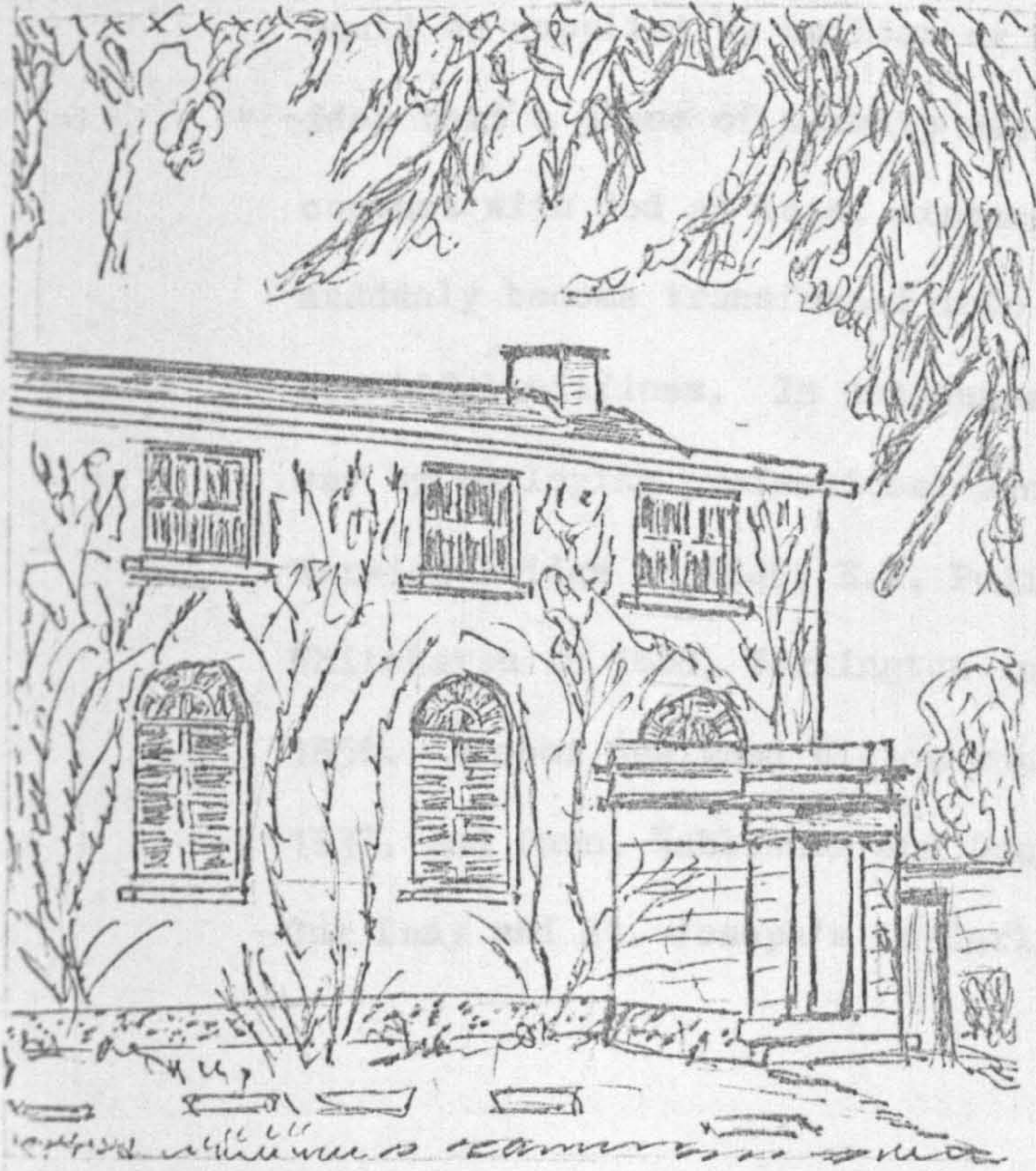
49. Webster 1767-1827; see above p.568



Quaker Meeting House:

KENDAL

opened 1816

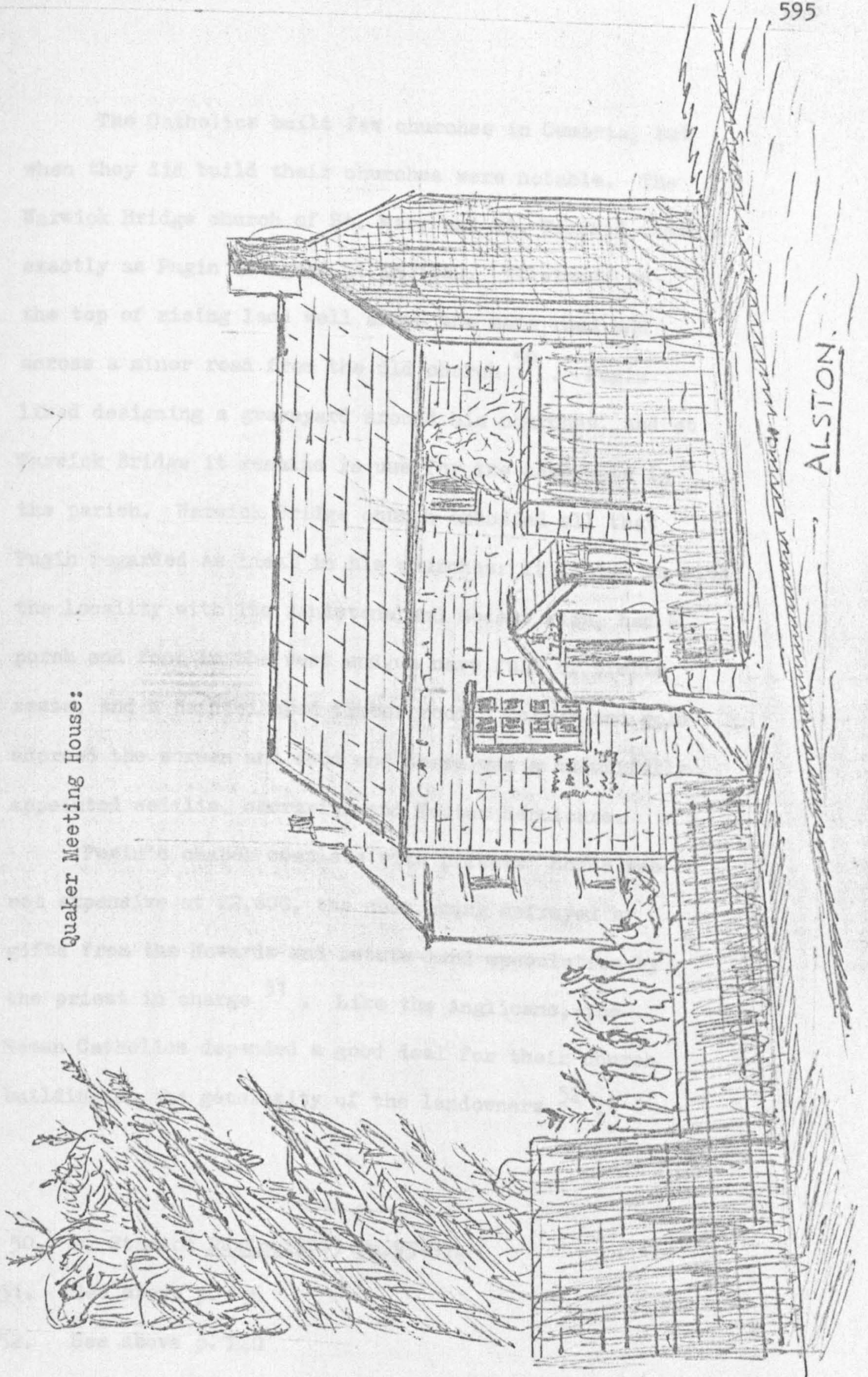


KENDAL.

a screen of four arched pillars to divide the main room, and an extensive range of out offices, cloakrooms, school and meeting rooms, all for £3,600. Over eight hundred and fifty people could be accommodated in the main room. It was to be expected that men such as John Wakefield, William Crewdson and their families would expect a grand building, but in Cumbrian terms it was one of the later meeting houses and marked the high point of Quaker importance and wealth.

The Roman Catholics of Cumbria employed architects for their churches when Protestant Nonconformity usually did not. The few Catholic churches thus have more architectural distinction than do the homely Methodist or Quaker places of worship, though Nonconformity by the Victorian period was seriously thinking about the need for more professional or skilled help in building than could be supplied by builder or members or ministers. The idea that a place of worship was solely to bring man into contact with God at least expense and most room did not suddenly become transformed into an idea of providing beautiful edifices. In one sense the Catholics led the way by employing professional architects: A.W. Pugin at Warwick Bridge in 1840, E.W. Pugin at Barrow in 1866, Whitehaven in 1868, Workington in 1876, and Cleator in 1856. Bonomi designed Wigton church for the Catholics in 1837, and Dunn, Habershom and Dunn of Newcastle completed Our Lady and St. Joseph's in Carlisle in 1893.

Quaker Meeting House:



ALSTON.

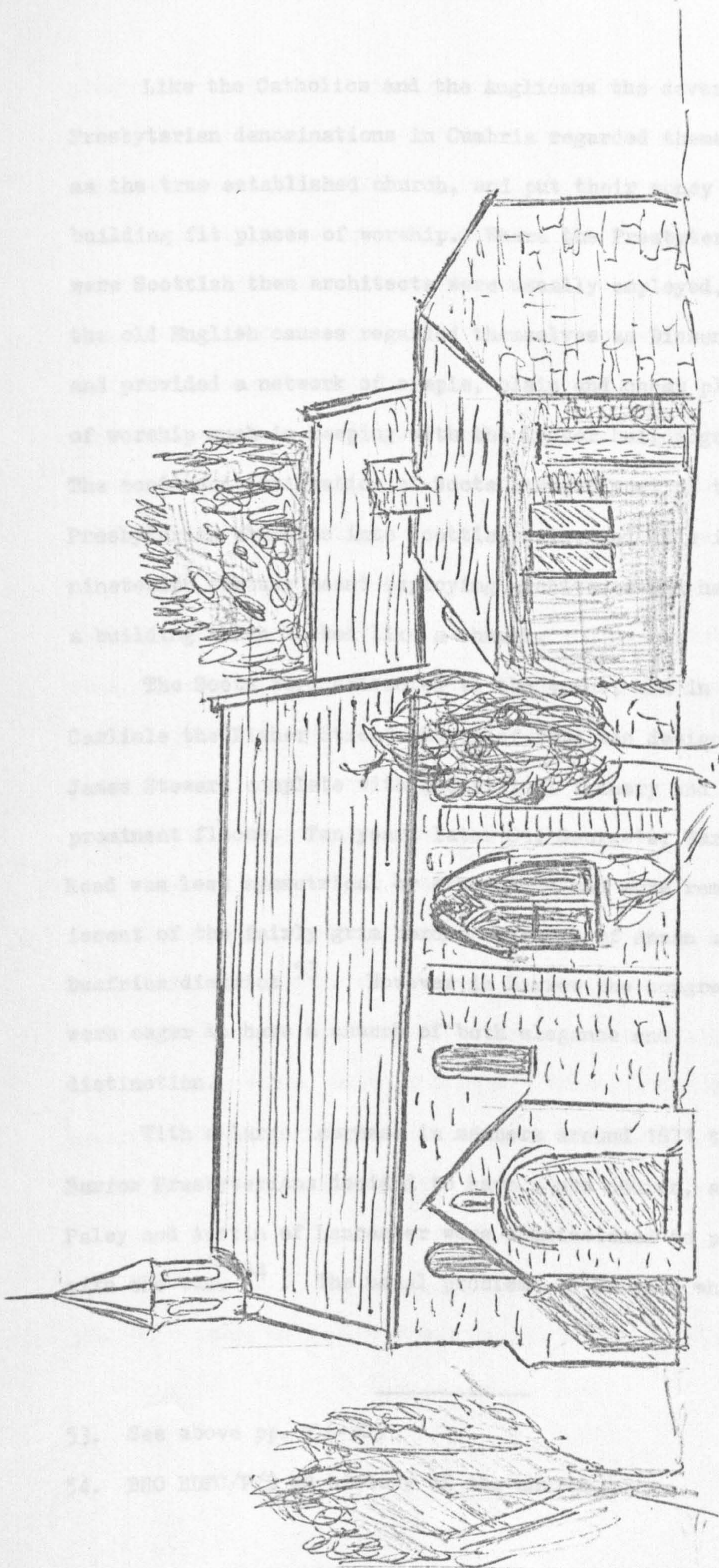
The Catholics built few churches in Cumbria, but when they did build their churches were notable. The Warwick Bridge church of St. Mary and St. Wilfrid remains exactly as Pugin designed it in 1840. It stands on the top of rising land well above the main road and across a minor road from the old church⁵⁰. Pugin liked designing a graveyard around his churches, and at Warwick Bridge it remains in use for the adherents in the parish. Warwick Bridge church embodied all that Pugin regarded as ideal in his churches: it fitted in with the locality with its sandstone and modest size, had a porch and font in the west end, a nave full of simple seats, and a painted open timber roof. Colour and gold adorned the screen and rood and there was a beautifully appointed sedilia, sacrarium and Easter sepulchre.

Pugin's chapel complete with priests' house was not expensive at £2,600, the cost being defrayed by gifts from the Howards and astute land speculation by the priest in charge⁵¹. Like the Anglicans, the Roman Catholics depended a good deal for their church building on the generosity of the landowners⁵².

50. P. Stanton Pugin(1971) pp.95-97.

51. See above p. 236

52. See above p. 240



Warwick Bridge Roman Catholic Church

built by Pugin and opened in 1841

Like the Catholics and the Anglicans the several Presbyterian denominations in Cumbria regarded themselves as the true established church, and put their money into building fit places of worship. Where the Presbyterians were Scottish then architects were usually employed, but the old English causes regarded themselves as Dissenters and provided a network of simple, plain and cheap places of worship much in keeping with the Quaker buildings. The continued immigration of Scots brought most of the Presbyterian churches into Scottish ways, and this in the nineteenth century meant employing architects and having a building which looked like a church.

The Scots were attracted to the towns, and in Carlisle the Fisher Street church of 1854 was designed by James Stewart complete with geometrical tracery and prominent flèche. Ten years later St. George's, Warwick Road was less symmetrical or attractive and more reminiscent of the fairly grim border churches of Annan and Dumfries district ⁵³. However in Barrow the congregation were eager to have a church of both elegance and distinction.

With a large increase in members around 1871 the Barrow Presbyterians decided to have a new church, and Paley and Austin of Lancaster were commissioned to proceed with the task ⁵⁴. The usual problems of finance which

53. See above pp. 304-305

54. BRO BDFC/P/B MS history of the church.

plagued Nonconformist building schemes afflicted the Barrow Presbyterians when they estimated an absolute maximum expenditure of £3,000. Tenders for the plans ranged from £5,000 to over £7,000, and Paley and Austin had to scale down the costs and come to a more realistic figure of £5,000 maximum. The final product was opened in 1875 and was positioned on rising land so that it could be seen from every main road into the town. It was built of limestone with red sandstone dressings and bands, had a porch extending the whole width of the church, and was shaped like a parallelogram. It was fully equipped with school and meeting rooms, minister's room, cloakrooms, two staircases to the extensive gallery, and pitch pine furnishings with oak pulpit ⁵⁵. Money problems meant that a tower was not built for some years and that it was strangely truncated when finally added.

The revision of the Barrow plans was not entirely satisfactory and accounts for the slightly odd church today. Financial constraints were apparent throughout the religious architecture of Cumbrian Nonconformity as soon as there was a shift of emphasis from providing large preaching boxes cheaply to creating an architect-designed building that expressed the pretensions of the denomination.

55. MS history of Barrow Presbyterian church pp.55-8.

After the Church of England and the Methodists the Congregational churches were the most numerous in Cumbria. They possessed a number of buildings from the eighteenth century and in the nineteenth were to create many more in both town and country. Ancient ones such as Ravenstonedale were renovated or rebuilt and as new congregations came into being a rash of churches covered the region. Local initiative and enterprise ~~were~~ responsible for ones such as that at Bellevue, Ambleside, completed in 1841 ⁵⁶ .

J.A. Coombs had founded the church in his home before purchasing a site on the main road to Grasmere out of Ambleside. The building was plain and simple, forty eight feet by thirty three feet and with one long side against the road. There was a minister's vestry and a schoolroom for upto two hundred pupils, and on the end a chapel keeper's residence. Four Gothic windows on each long side were the sole ornamentation and its dull grey rough cast exterior remains unaltered ⁵⁷ . It seated over three hundred, had six double oil lamps , and cost £1,000. When the Wesleyans were given it by Coombs they

56. See above pp. 526-527 for Ravenstonedale.

57. Nightingale Lancashire Nonconformity pp.298-299.

It is now a joiner and builder's workshop but is externally unchanged. A Sunday school is beneath it.

paid no attention to the outside but reseated it with modern pews.

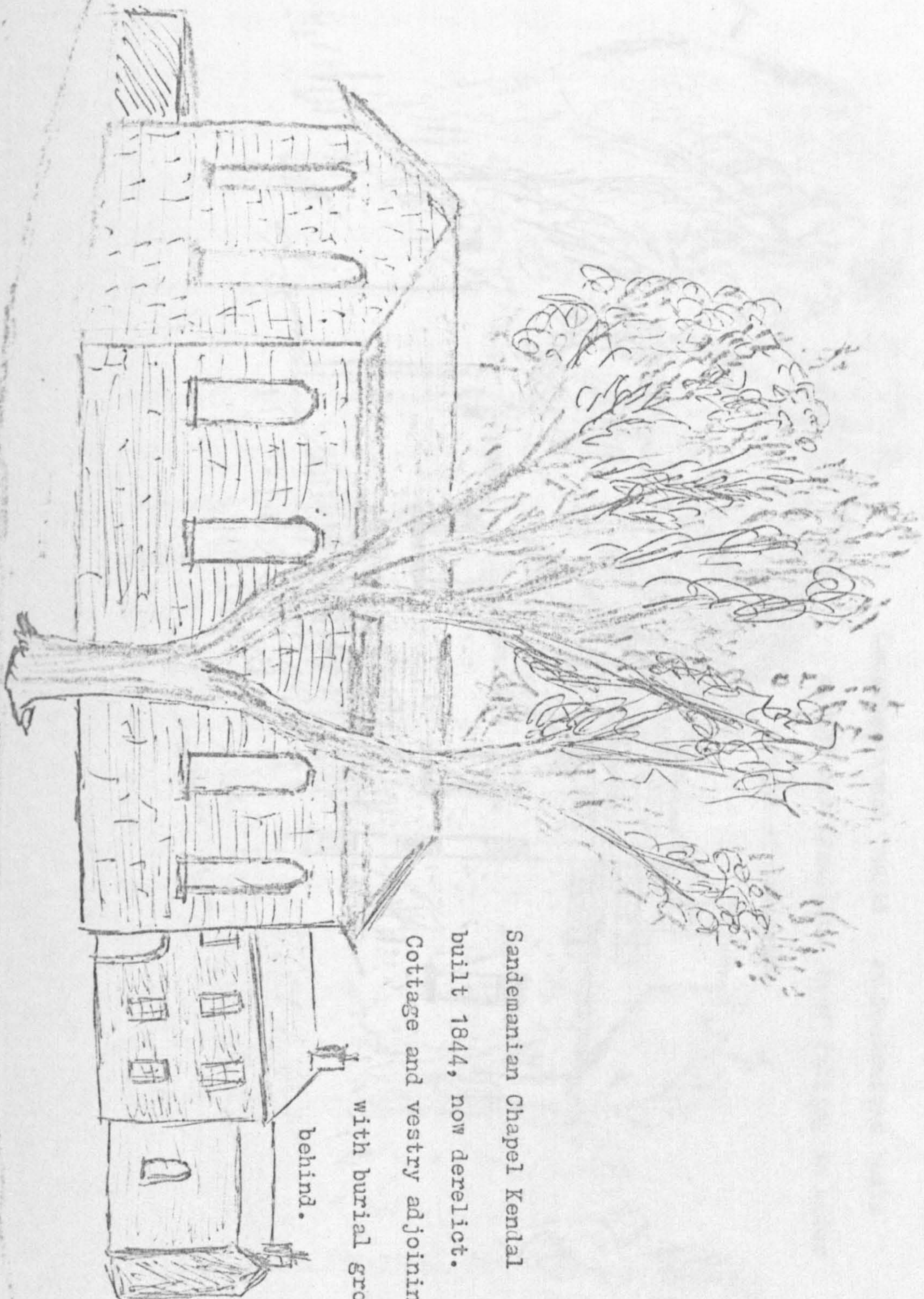
One early congregation to employ an architect was that in Carlisle which built the Lowther Street Congregational church of 1843. Nefarious dealings between architect Nichol of Edinburgh and the builders ensured that the cost spiralled and the congregation could do nothing about the final cost, towards double the anticipated £2,500⁵⁸. It is a strange facade for the time and is described by Pevsner as 'Jacobean in a free treatment and simply one of a terrace of houses ie. neither religiously nor stylistically in conformity'⁵⁹. It lacks the usual out offices and school rooms because of the cramped site at the back, and the vestry is in a sunken space running behind the pulpit and communion area.

The seceders from Lowther Street in 1858 eventually purchased an excellent site between the city centre and Denton Holme for only £150⁶⁰. The land is a triangle and about one third was given to the city council for road improvements. The members approached a number of architects including Cory for plans, but the chosen man,

58. See above pp. 273-275 ;Hamilton Ms history of Charlotte Street Congregational church.

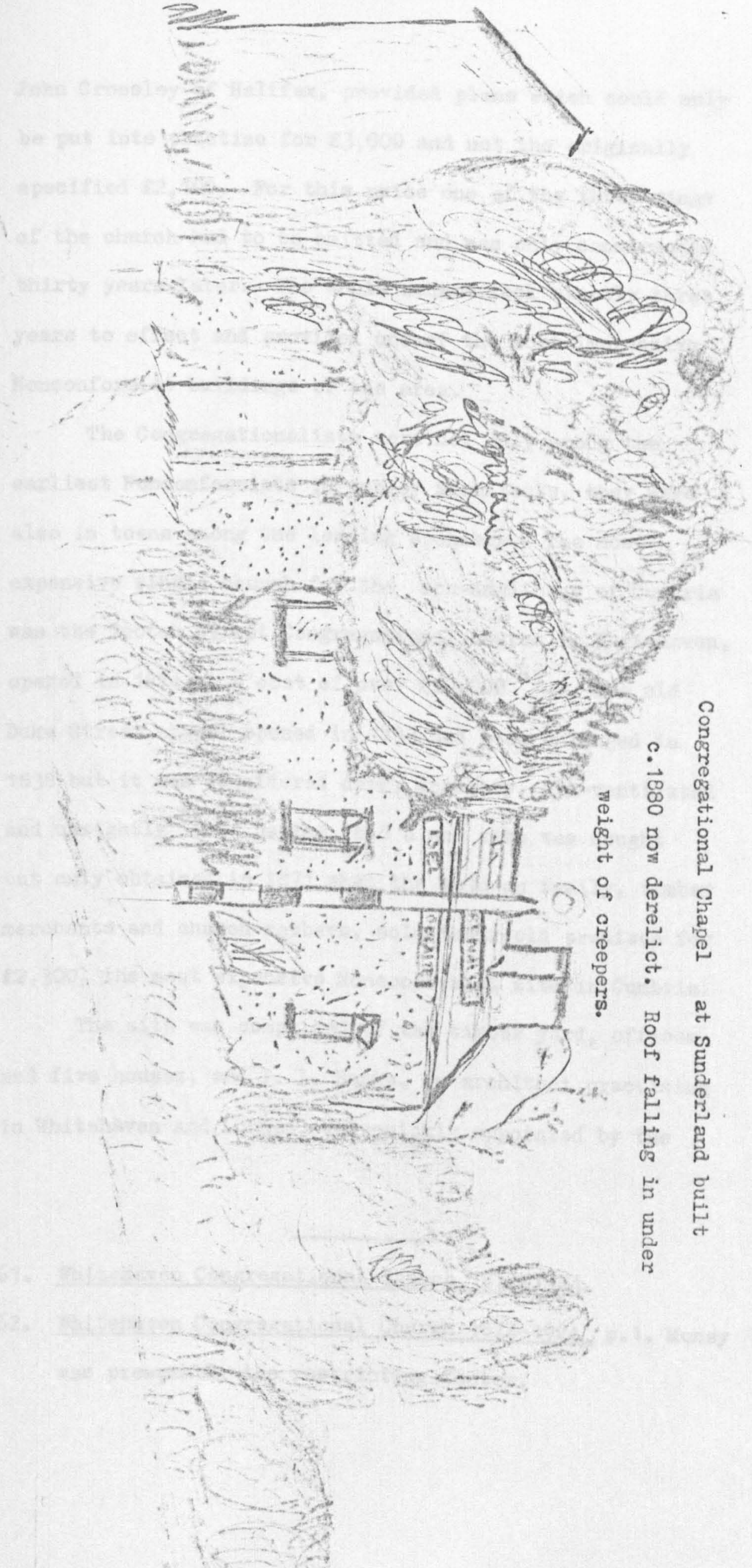
59. Pevsner Cumberland and Westmorland p.98.

60. MS history of Charlotte Street in the original first minute book, and Hamilton's MS.



Sandemanian Chapel Kendal
built 1844, now derelict.
Cottage and vestry adjoining

with burial ground
behind.



Congregational Chapel at Sunderland built
 c.1880 now derelict. Roof falling in under
 weight of creepers.

John Crossley of Halifax, provided plans which could only be put into practice for £3,000 and not the originally specified £2,100. For this price one of the three wings of the church had to be omitted and was only constructed thirty years later. The whole scheme took exactly three years to effect and provided one of the most impressive Nonconformist buildings of the area.

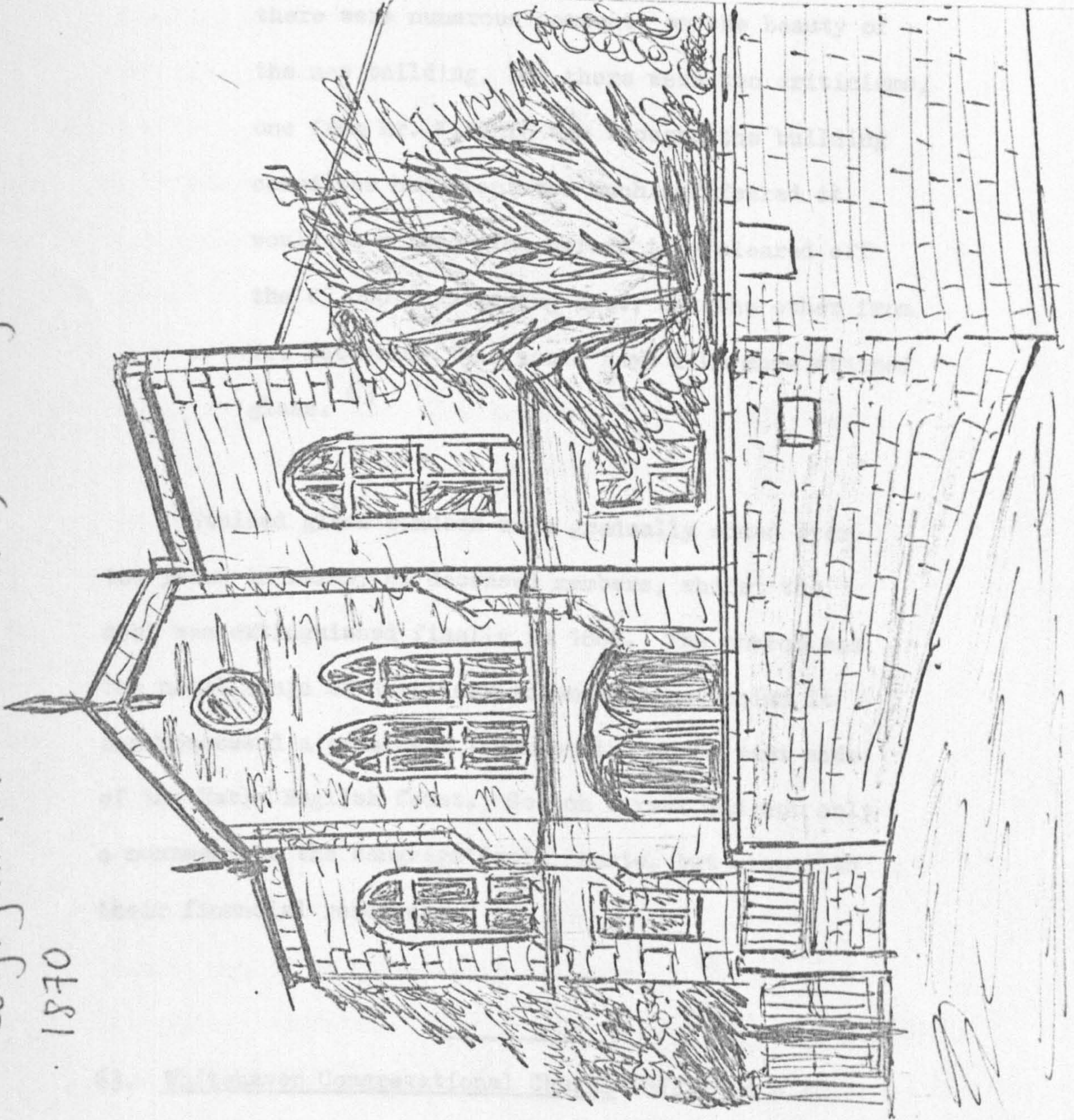
The Congregationalists were not only among the earliest Nonconformists to employ architects, they were also in towns among the leading spenders. The most expensive single church for the non-Anglicans of Cumbria was the Scotch Street Congregational church in Whitehaven, opened in 1874 at a cost of over £10,000⁶¹. The old Duke Street chapel opened in 1793 had been enlarged in 1838 but it was considered dark, draughty, ill-ventilated and unsightly⁶². During 1868 a new site was sought but only obtained in 1871 when the McGowan family, timber merchants and church members, sold their old premises for £2,300, the most expensive Nonconformist site in Cumbria.

The site was comprised of the timber yard, offices and five houses, and T. L. Banks, an architect practising in Whitehaven and London, was quickly appointed by the

61. Whitehaven Congregational Church 1874-1924.

62. Whitehaven Congregational Church 1874-1924 p.1. Money was presumably the restricting factor.

Congregational Church, Sedbergh
1870



members and the church was opened by Guinness Rogers, chairman of the Congregational Union, during 1874.

At the opening it was stated

there were numerous comments on the beauty of the new building, but there were two criticisms, one from Mr. Kitchin who thought the building committee had spent too much and feared it would be a long time before they cleared off the £3,000 outstanding debt; and the other from Mr. Batchelor, who would have like more stained glass. ⁶³

Stained glass windows were gradually added over the years in memory of deceased members, whilst the debt was extinguished finally in 1882. The church had the usual range of ancillary accommodation behind it and possessed a prominent tower on the north west side of the Early English front. Scotch Street was not only a monument to the congregation's taste, but also to their financial resources.

63. Whitehaven Congregational Church 1874-1924 p.2.

It seems that Banks may have been a worshipper at the church although no members of that name appear in the church records. Cockermonth Congregational church records that several Banks were members there.

The Methodist connexions outnumbered the rest of Nonconformity in Cumbria with their places of worship, partly because they continued in many parts of the region to use any premises available for worship and had less pressing need of a permanent building. The United Methodists inherited, or rather took, some churches from the Wesleyans in 1835 and 1850, whilst the few which they built themselves were indistinguishable from the Wesleyans' constructions. The Primitives built a large number of chapels throughout the region and usually used their own members' labour and skill as well as their money and enthusiasm. The result was many small, plain and simple chapels with an interior devoid of all but the essentials, inexpensive to build and maintain, but likely to be badly sited, inconvenient for attendances, and in country areas isolated.

The Primitives were adept at using stables, lofts, barns, rooms and business premises for services, whilst in circuits where the Wesleyans did not consider them to be dangerous or unwelcome rivals the larger and older connexion often passed on their old chapels to the Primitives, as in Cockermouth and Penrith⁶⁴. The Primitives had little money to spare and rarely expended more than £1,000 on a building scheme in Cumbria. When Methodist union came in 1932 it was usually the Primitive

64. Keswick and Cockermouth centenary 1954 no pagination;
Penrith Methodist church centenary 1973

chapel that was closed in 1844



total lack of artistic opinion...
 thought unnecessary, perhaps unwise...
 Glasson Primitive Methodist chapel built 1844 of local
 materials, now a home.

continued to build chapels with external...
 such different from Quaker meeting houses...
 Foot chapel of 1863, and Fell End of 1865, were...
 a slightly higher roof line and pitch and...
 to distinguish them from Quaker buildings. The...
 the arrangement of pews and...
 obvious differences⁶⁵. On the other hand...

65. Garsdale Foot and Fell End chapels

chapel that was closed in competition with a Wesleyan one and often on the grounds of taste and aesthetic superiority. Nonetheless the little Primitive chapels, such as that at Walton which stands foursquare against the prevailing winds on the edge of Spadeadam Waste, or the Appleby one cut out of the rock up Bongate since no site could be obtained, survive to show their connexion's contribution to religious architecture.

In the eighteenth century the Wesleyans had been happy to make use of whatever accommodation was available, and regularly converted barns, commercial premises and cottages into places of worship with a total lack of artistic opinion simply because it was thought unnecessary, perhaps undesirable, and sometimes too costly. Well into the nineteenth century Wesleyan societies particularly in the more remote parts of Cumbria continued to build chapels with external appearances not much different from Quaker meeting houses. Garsdale Foot chapel of 1863, and Fell End of 1861, have only a slightly higher roof line and pitch and larger windows to distinguish them from Quaker buildings, though inside the arrangement of pews and communion rail provided obvious differences ⁶⁵. On the other hand by that date

65. Garsdale Foot and Fell End centenaries .

the Quakers were happy to share a similar building at Hawkshead with the Wesleyans opened in 1862⁶⁶. During the 1870s the Wesleyans enjoyed a great church building expansion which left behind the old plain preaching boxes and produced architect-designed places of worship which could not have been mistaken for anything but that. The result of increasing wealth amongst members, greater aesthetic appreciation, and a desire to keep up with other denominations produced buildings such as Gosforth in 1874, Coniston in 1875, Silloth in 1876 and Catherine Holme in 1879, each with high roof, pointed windows, ornamental brick or stone work, and comfortable heated interior⁶⁷. All were under £1,000, all were carefully placed on the connexional model trust deed, all were of local material and blended in well with the surrounding buildings.

Wesleyans in towns of course spent more and demanded a more imposing construction. Charles Bell of London designed the South William Street church opened in 1890 and built in order to show off Wesleyan wealth and fashion⁶⁸. Its prominent Italianate features were modestly priced at £4,500 and at the rear cavernous ancillary accommodation was later provided. The old

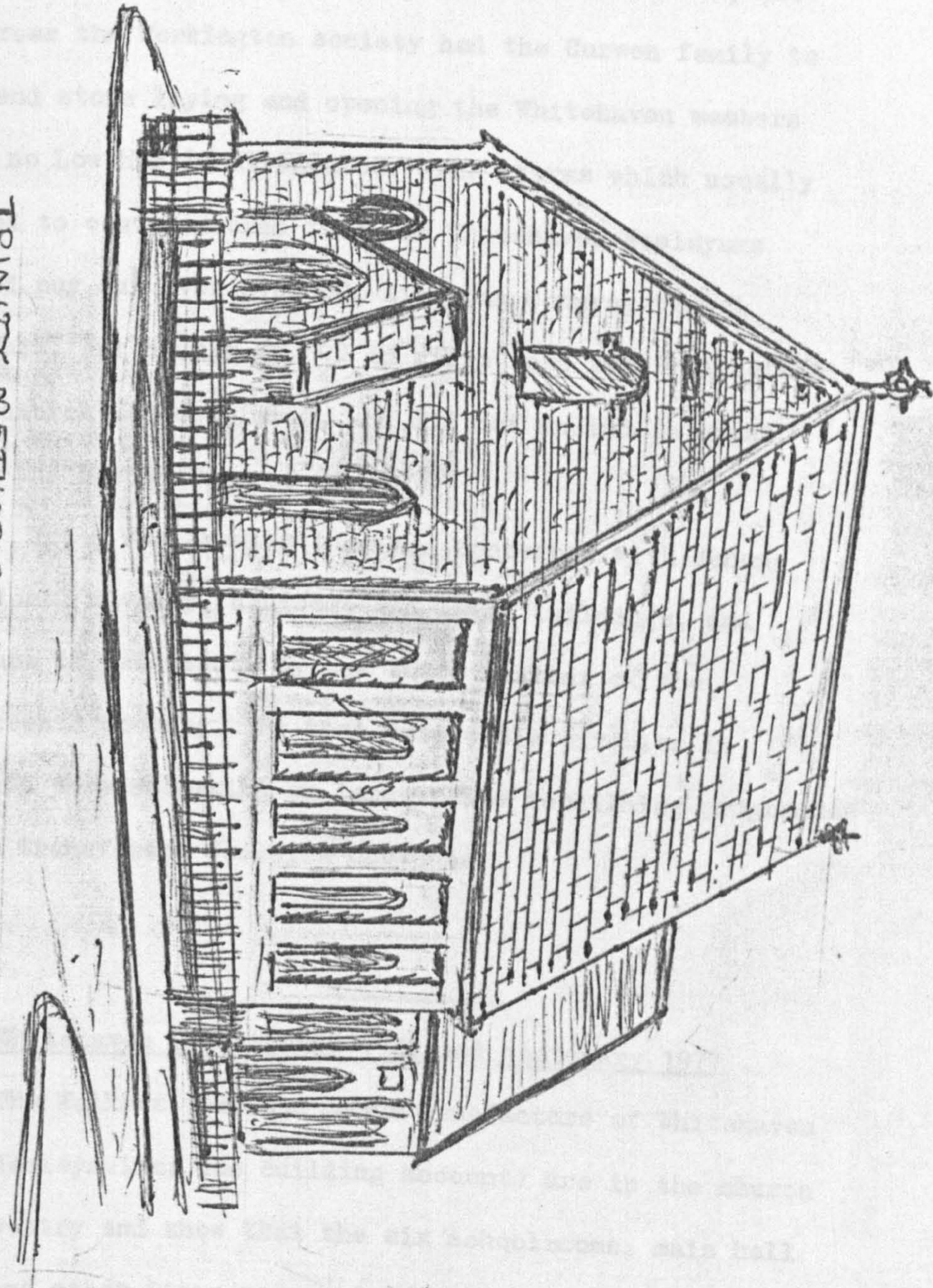
66. Hawkshead centenary

67. Each has a centenary history complete with picture.

68. Workington centenary 1940(of the circuit)

rivalry between Torrington and Whitby was apparent
 since the Whitby Wesleyan Society had recently copied the
 design of the neighbouring Congregational Church and added seats to
 produce similar plans for their own Lowther Street
 church opened in 1876. It was faced with the same
 style and had the same arrangement north west tower, but

whereas the Whitby Wesleyan Society had the Curwen family to
 build it for them the Whitby Wesleyan
 had to build it for themselves and usually



TRINITY METHODIST CHURCH.
SILLOTH.

(Wesleyan) 1876

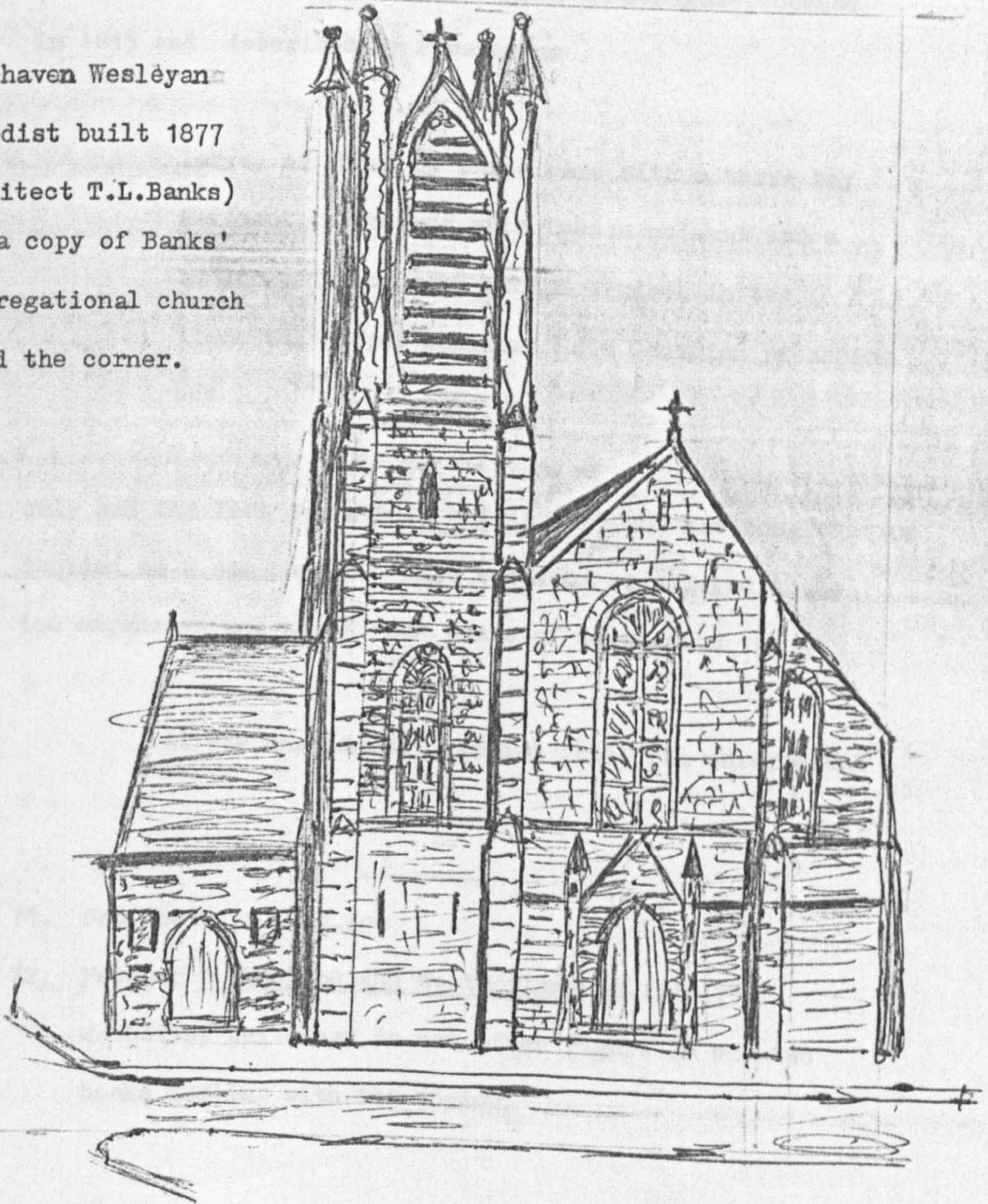
rivalry between Workington and Whitehaven was apparent since the Whitehaven society had recently copied the neighbouring Congregational church and asked Banks to produce similar plans for their own Lowther Street church opened in 1877⁶⁹. It was faced with the same stone and had the same prominent north west tower, but whereas the Workington society had the Curwen family to attend stone laying and opening the Whitehaven members had no Lowther in attendance. The extras which usually added to costs ensured that the Whitehaven Wesleyans would pay out over £10,000, like the Congregational members, but nearly £6,500 in gifts were received before the church was completed, and did not include a grant from the Burton Fund of £1,500⁷⁰.

Urban Wesleyanism then was concerned with denominational rivalry, handsome and large buildings, and the use of architects by the third quarter of the nineteenth century. By that date whole circuits in Cumbria were embarking on large-scale rebuilding programmes which transformed Wesleyan churches.

69. Whitehaven bicentenary 1949 and centenary 1977 .

70. The Walkers were the major benefactors of Whitehaven Wesleyanism; the building accounts are in the church vestry and show that the six schoolrooms, main hall and other items were added later due to costs having escalated.

Whitehaven Wesleyan
Methodist built 1877
(architect T.L.Banks)
and a copy of Banks'
Congregational church
round the corner.



The Penrith Wesleyan circuit had been spared major difficulties in 1835 and 1850 although its neighbouring circuits at Appleby and Carlisle had been sorely tried ⁷¹. The Penrith circuit places of worship were plain, simple and inexpensive preaching boxes, and over half of the societies worshipped in buildings not constructed as such but converted from barns, cottages and the like. The large old Penrith society chapel in Sandgate, opened in 1815 and described by Pevsner as

large, of three by three bays with a three bay pediment, a doorway with Tuscan columns and a broken pediment, and arched windows in two tiers—the proper spacious Late Georgian preaching box ... ⁷²

only had the last debts paid off in 1865 and the congregation decided on a new church. This was soon considered to be too expensive and after four years of discussion

it was unanimously decided that the enlargement

71. See above pp. 403-409.

72. Pevsner Cumberland and Westmorland pp.174-175.

Methodist buildings do not often figure in his two books dealing with the region.

of the chapel is urgently required. ⁷³

All members, friends and adherents were called to a meeting in December 1870 at which a committee of twenty four was established to put into execution the decision to enlarge the chapel at Sandgate, taking advantage of

the legacy left by Mr. John Burton of Leeds for the maintenance and extension of Methodism in Cumberland and Scotland. ⁷⁴

A subcommittee of John Crone, Christopher Fairer and John Pattinson commenced negotiations with the Primitive circuit who were then worshipping in an unpleasant looking building at the foot of Arthur Street. The Sandgate chapel was considered a bargain at £1,000 but after discussions the Primitives could only afford £800 at the absolute limit. Three of the more enterprising Arthur Street trustees then met the Wesleyan triumvirate privately, and a deal was secretly reached ⁷⁵. In early 1871 it had not been finally decided to build a new church for £3,500 or to extend the old one for £1,400, but by March the congregation had agreed to a new one and to include a caretaker's cottage. The major problem was over employing an architect.

73. CRO FCM/3/1/75 trustees' meeting minutes 17 September 1870.

74. Trustees' meeting minutes 19 December 1870.

75. Trustees' meeting minutes 27 January 1871.

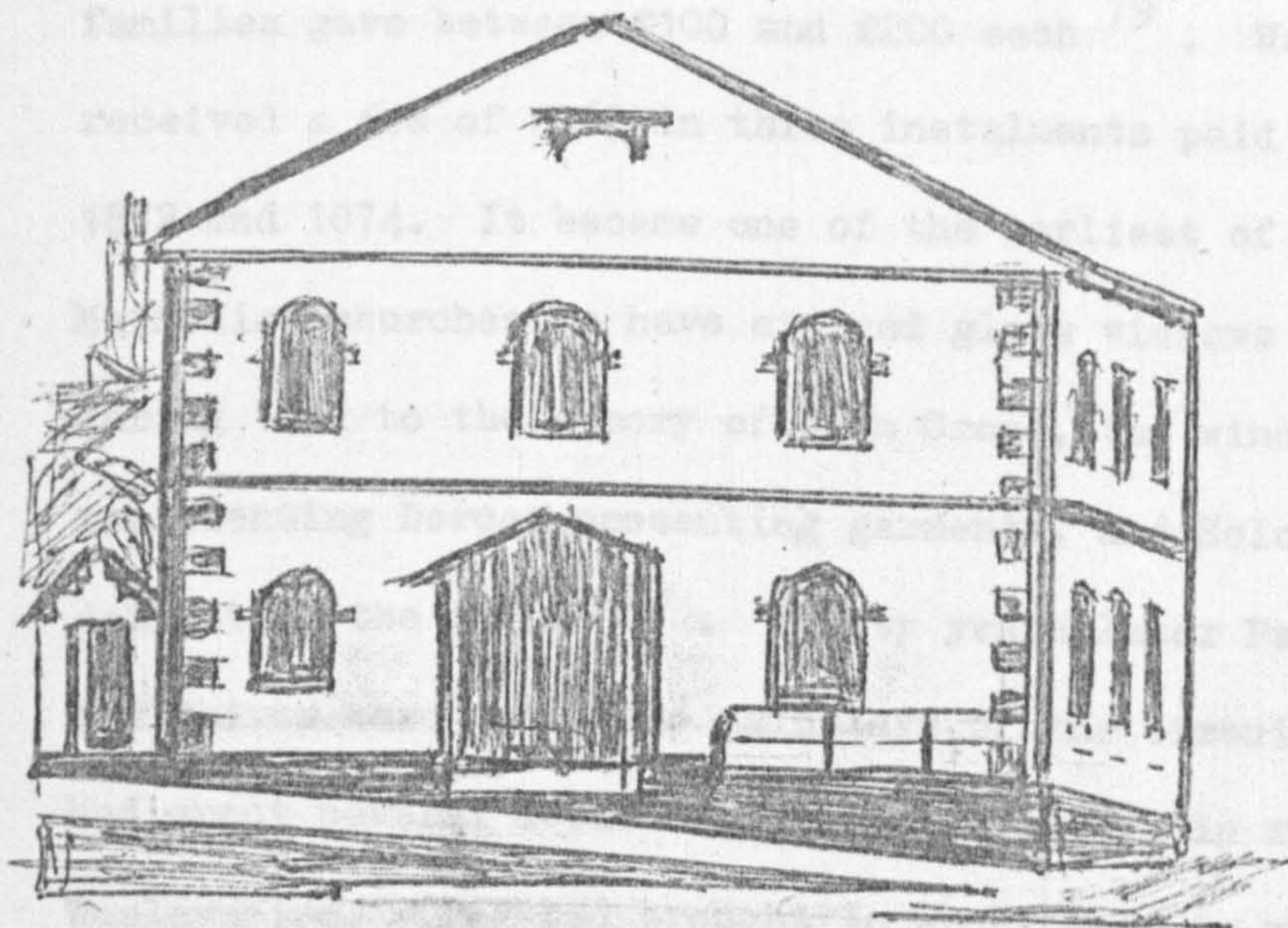
John Crone and others were not satisfied with the strongly favoured suggestion that a Mr. Pollock, formerly a builder, should 'from memory' draw up plans he had once executed for an architect ⁷⁶. Crone was adamant and stated that he would pay all expenses involved, and that after working for thirty years in Liverpool he, Crone, could assure all that an architect was always used in that city. After a tour of churches in the north of England Crone, Pattinson and Fairer recommended George Woodhouse of Bolton, an entirely competent provincial architect. He was accepted by the meeting in April 1871 ⁷⁷.

After 'a long discussion' on the merits of Gothic and Classical architectural styles the latter carried the day and Woodhouse was asked to draw up plans for a building not to exceed £3,500 ⁷⁸. After the usual delays of bad weather, contractors, disagreements over boundaries and the like the church was opened in October 1873 by the president of the Wesleyan conference. It was red sandstone and pitch pine throughout and cost more than double the original estimate, at £7,500.

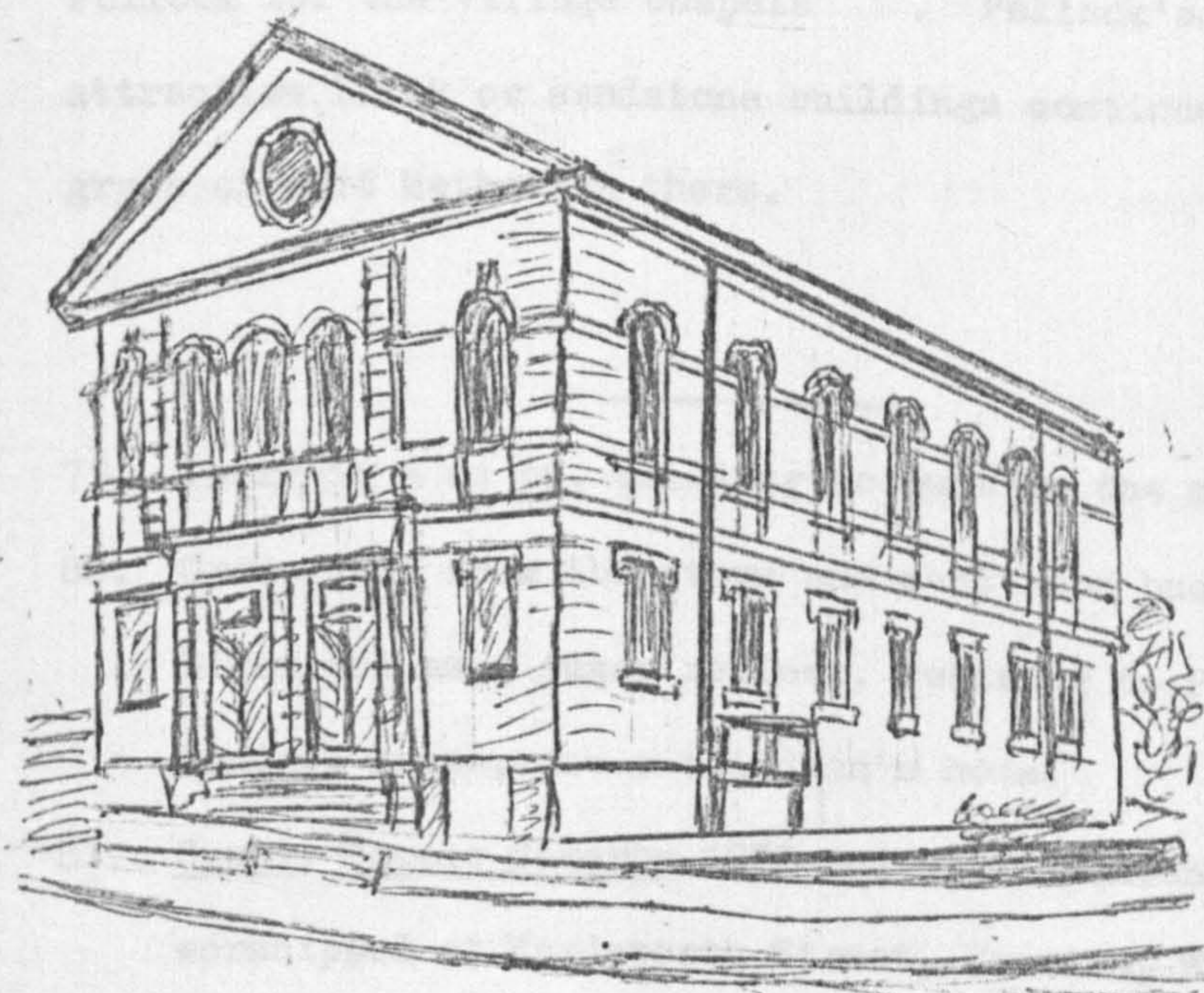
76. Trustees' meeting minutes 17 March 1871.

77. Trustees' meeting minutes 7 April 1871.

78. Trustees' meeting minutes 26 May 1871.



Sandgate Wesleyan Methodist Church 1815
(later Primitive Methodist)



Wordsworth Street Wesleyan Methodist
Church 1873

Crone and his wife as befitted the circuit's richest members gave £1,345 towards the cost, the Pattinsons and Fairers gave nearly £1,100 between them, and four other families gave between £100 and £200 each ⁷⁹. Woodhouse received a fee of £369 in three instalments paid between 1872 and 1874. It became one of the earliest of Cumbrian Methodist churches to have stained glass windows inserted during 1892 to the memory of John Crone, the windows representing Dorcas presenting garments, and Solomon dedicating the temple ⁸⁰. Thirty years later Pattinson and Fairer were still the mainstays of the circuit and had spent several decades promoting the work in rural Wesleyanism. They had brought in architects to work on a dozen new chapels built mainly in the Lowther parishes on the Westmorland border and down the Eden valley, and in particular favored the style of Thomas Pollock for the village chapels ⁸¹. Pollock's neat, attractive brick or sandstone buildings continue to grace circuit Methodism there.

79. There is a 64 pp. building account in the minutes.

80. Crone came from Abbeytown and went into business in Liverpool as a sugar refiner, retiring to Penrith at Sandath house, now a children's home.

81. Ousby, Temple Sowerby 1872 and other centenaries. He worshipped at Wordsworth Street, Penrith, Wesleyan church.

Plumpton Back Street chapel was one of the last Wesleyan buildings to be designed in the circuit. The scheme was organised by Fairer and Pattinson and the chosen architect was named Bennett of whom nothing is known⁸². The small Wesleyan society had originally used the ancient Presbyterian chapel built in 1707, which in spite of renovation in 1875 and being purchased finally in 1898 was showing its age.

Through the good offices of one of the Back Street members, Thomas Howson, the local landowner Joseph Harris gave a good site outside the village of Calthwaite to the Wesleyans for a new building. Howson was Harris's farm bailiff and Harris sometimes attended Wesleyan services though himself an Anglican. Harris was a wealthy colliery owner in West Cumberland and had retired to Plumpton in 1900 where he commissioned Robert Lorimer to build a mansion, Brackenburgh⁸³. Harris was a friend of the Mortons and of the Scott-Nicholsons of Carlisle and Penrith, and shared their common interest

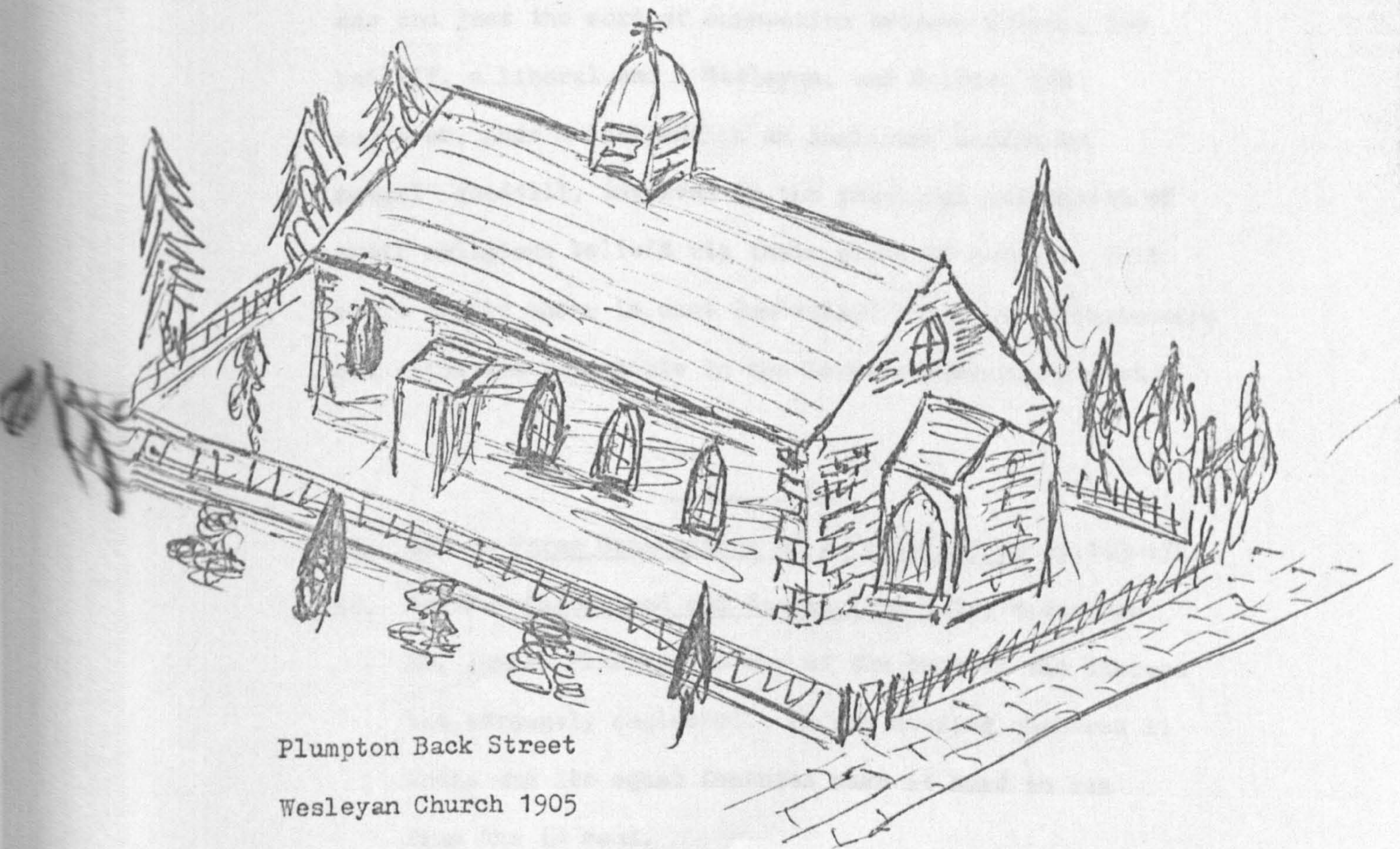
82. Plumpton Back Street Wesleyan Methodist Chapel(Penrith no date but c.1905) used to raise funds.

83. Completed in 1903 in a Tudor style and incorporating work of 1852 and parts of a pele tower with splendid views towards Skiddaw, the Eden Valley and over the Petteril valley.



Plumpton Back Street Presbyterian c.1707

later Wesleyan Methodist



Plumpton Back Street

Wesleyan Church 1905

in the ~~Pre~~-Raphaelites and the arts and crafts movement of which Lorimer was a part ⁸⁴. Two years after the Wesleyan chapel was completed Harris paid over £3,000 for a new Anglican church at Plumpton village itself and designed by Lorimer complete with Morris stained glass ⁸⁵. The Wesleyan chapel was placed on the old back road to Carlisle from Penrith and less than four hundred yards from Brackenburgh, surrounded by a small garden and yard, but today stranded by the new motorway and with pine trees crowding in on two sides. Its final cost had been under £700 because of the free site and free architect's and solicitor's fees. The chapel's connections with Harris, Lorimer, Morton and Scott-Nicholson families showed how a common artistic ideal might link patrons and architects and employers. There was too just the sort of connection between Howson, the bailiff, a liberal and a Wesleyan, and Harris, his employer, but a tory and an Anglican, linked by mutual goodwill, involved in the practical expression of their religious beliefs via their place of worship, that could easily occur in east Cumberland religious architecture but which was impossible in the Lowther-controlled west.

84. Morton Three Generations of a Textile Firm pp.163-172.

85. Pevsner Cumberland and Westmorland p.179 describes St. John's Plumpton as one of the best of the diocese but strangely neglected. Modern housing obscures it today and its squat features make it hard to see from the A6 road.

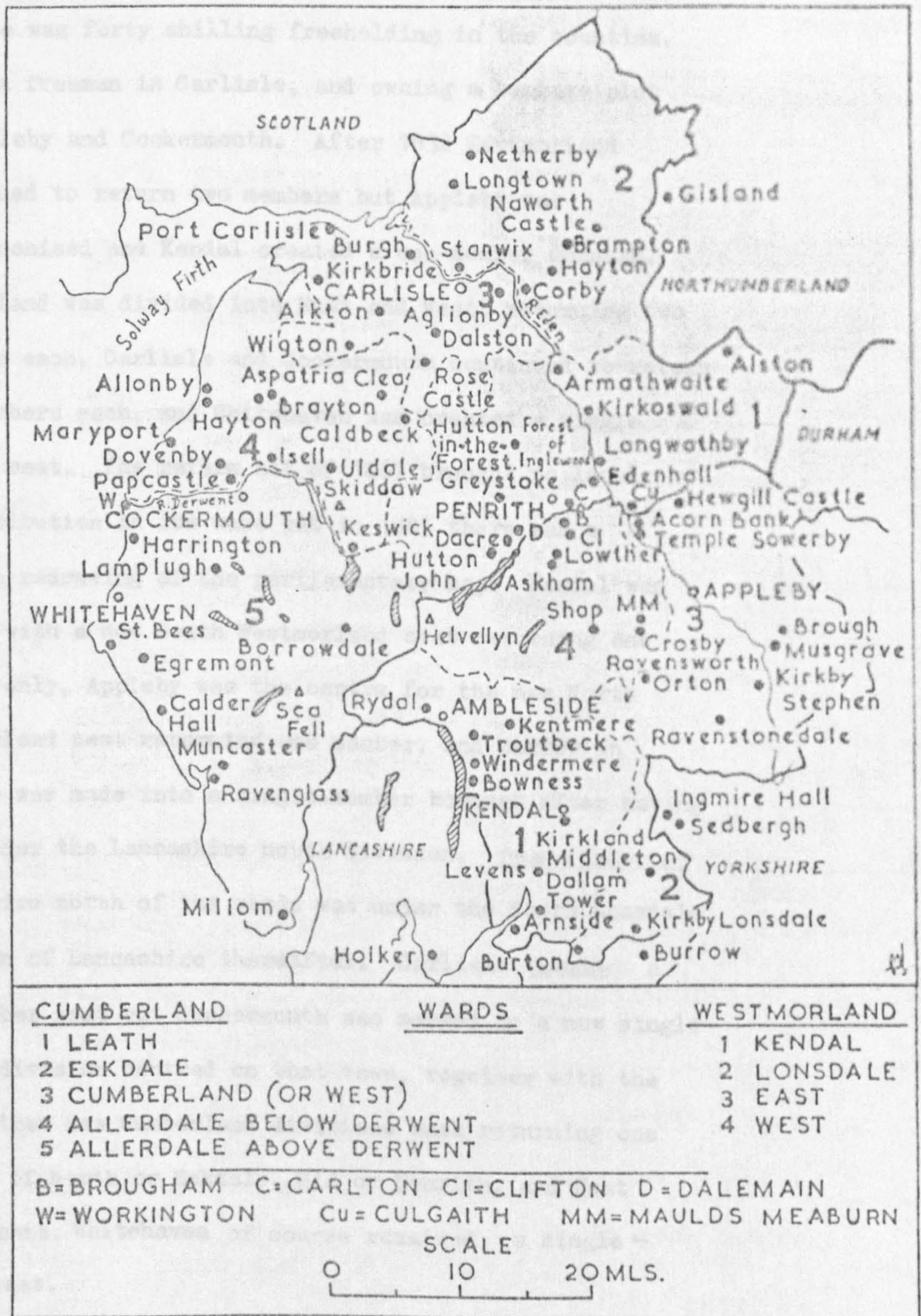
Politics and Religion

The intertwining of politics and religion was a complicated matter and not simple to categorise as an issue of Anglican or Nonconformist preference. The non-Anglicans were not necessarily or even largely pro-reform or pro-whig before the 1870s, whilst large numbers of church members possessed no vote until twentieth century changes enfranchised citizens regardless of sex or property ¹. It was Anglican voters who decided the result of elections although occasionally non-Anglicans might hold a balance, and before the 1880s Kendal was the only Cumbrian constituency in which non-Anglicans had a major say in local government. Electoral battles in Cumbria were usually a struggle between members of the same prominent classes ².

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1. See table 48 p.627 ; see below p.626
 2. The main political history for Cumbria is R.S. Ferguson Cumberland and Westmorland MPs from the Restoration to the reform bill of 1867(Carlisle 1871)but there is little in it for post-1832 years; W.Bean Parliamentary Representation of the six Northern Counties of England 1603-1886(Hull 1890) pp.1 ff for Cumberland seats and pp. 596ff for Westmorland ones. T.H.B. Oldfield The Representative History of Great Britain and Ireland (1816), vol.1 pp.255 ff for Cumberland, pp.86 ff vol.6 for Westmorland.

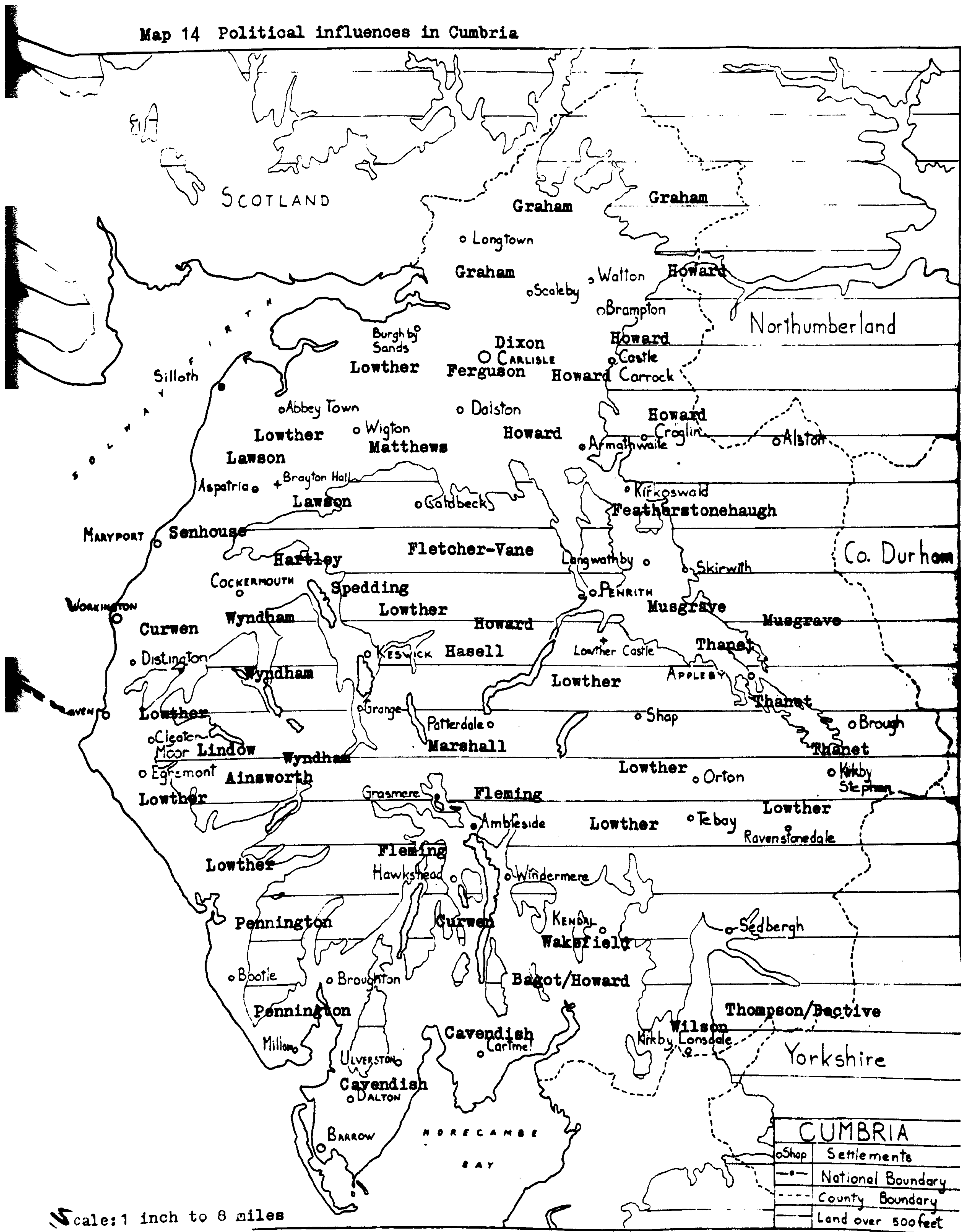
Map 13

Administrative Wards of Cumberland and Westmorland



Before the reform act of 1832 Westmorland and Cumberland returned two members each, as did the boroughs of Cockermouth, Carlisle and Appleby. The qualification to vote was forty shilling freeholding in the counties, being a freeman in Carlisle, and owning a burgage plot in Appleby and Cockermouth. After 1832 Westmorland continued to return two members but Appleby was disfranchised and Kendal created a one-member borough. Cumberland was divided into East and West, returning two members each, Carlisle and Cockermouth continued to return two members each, and Whitehaven was created a single member seat. The reform act of 1867 brought no local redistribution in its wake but in 1885 there was a drastic redrawing of the parliamentary map. Kendal was merged with a new South Westmorland seat returning one member only, Appleby was the centre for the new North Westmorland seat returning one member, and Barrow in Furness was made into a single-member borough after having been under the Lancashire north division. The whole of Lancashire north of the sands was under the North Lonsdale division of Lancashire thereafter. Carlisle became a one-member seat but Cockermouth was merged in a new single member division centred on that town, together with the three other new Cumberland divisions each returning one member, of North or Eskdale, Mid or Penrith, and West or Egremont. Whitehaven of course remained a single-member seat.

Map 14 Political influences in Cumbria



Scale: 1 inch to 8 miles

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

The size of the electorate varied greatly both before and after 1832. At Cockermouth the borough was disputed in the eighteenth century between the Lowthers and the Wyndhams, and at Appleby between the Lowthers and the Sackville-Tufts, and sometimes involved less than twenty voters ³. A flurry of purchasing burgage plots escalated the conflict and increased the voters in the boroughs, although the counties always had a far larger electorate. Carlisle's freemen numbered about five hundred for most of the eighteenth century until the Lowthers attempted to create large numbers of freemen illegally ⁴. Kendal and Whitehaven remained small boroughs in the nineteenth century with only a few hundred voters when the counties had ten times as many. The reform act of 1867 dramatically increased the Carlisle electorate and swamped the freemen, but not until 1885 were the counties similarly affected.

Many men and all women remained voteless into the present century. In Carlisle in the 1850s less than ten per cent of men voted and even after the 1867 act less than one third were enfranchised. The rootless males

3. See below table 48 p.627

4. Ferguson Cumberland and Westmorland MPs pp. 189-211;
 B.Bonsall Sir James Lowther and Cumberland and Westmorland Elections 1754-1775 (Manchester 1960) deals with all aspects of the contests and electorate.

Table 48Number of electors in Cumbrian constituenciesConstituency

Carlisle	<u>1786</u> 570	<u>1816</u> 720	<u>1847</u> 1200	<u>1865</u> 1500	<u>1868</u> 4850
Cockermouth	<u>1786</u> 50	<u>1818</u> 70	<u>1852</u> 300	<u>1868</u> 1100	
Whitehaven	<u>1832</u> 440	<u>1868</u> 2400			
Westmorland	<u>1820</u> 3200	<u>1832</u> 4000			
Cumberland					
East	<u>1841</u> 4500	<u>1868</u> 6400			
West	<u>1832</u> 3700	<u>1867</u> 4300			

Source: Poll Books, Jackson Library.

or those who lodged with parents or relations could not be enfranchised until the twentieth century, whilst even those who owned a three-bedroomed terraced house in Carlisle in the 1860s and 1870s often had no vote because the town council sought to keep down rates and rents with a deliberate policy of economy ⁵ .

Parliamentary contests were not common in certain constituencies either because of the pre-eminence of the Lowthers, the cost of elections, or a political compromise ⁶ . Until after 1886 Westmorland had few polls since the Lowthers were so powerful there, whilst Carlisle had a poll more often than not due to the refusal of the voters to be dictated to by the earl of Lonsdale. Compromise was reached at Cockermouth for a time although Appleby was the classic example when the Lowthers and earls of Thanet were forced to it by the expense ⁷ .

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5. I am grateful to Mr.B.C. Jones for this information; Mr.J.Middleton, formerly chairman of the Cumberland Building Society informs me that there was little incentive to buy before 1914 since house rents were on average only £5 per year in the city.
6. See table 49 p. 629
7. The earl of Thanet's agents purchased 65 burgage plots for the Appleby election of 1754 at a cost of £20,000 and the election cost the earl £44,000. Bonsall Sir James Lowther p.34.

Table 49Contested and uncontested parliamentary elections in Cumbria

<u>Constituency</u>	<u>1780-1831</u>		<u>1832-1885</u>		<u>1886-1914</u>	
	<u>Con.</u>	<u>Uncon.</u>	<u>Con.</u>	<u>Uncon.</u>	<u>Con.</u>	<u>Uncon.</u>
Carlisle	12	8	12	4	5	3*
Cumberland	2	14	-	-	-	-
East	-	-	9	8	-	-
West	-	-	6	9	-	-
all	-	-	-	-	28	4*
Whitehaven	-	-	5	10	8	0
Cockermouth	1	26	11	9	-	-
Appleby	0	24	-	-	-	-
Kendal	-	-	4	11	-	-
Westmorland	3	14	2	14	-	-
North	-	-	-	-	8	0
South	-	-	-	-	6	2
Barrow in Furness	-	-	-	-	7	1

Note: includes bye-elections.

*No contests at Carlisle and East Cumberland due to speaker of Commons seat there, held by W.C. Gully and J.W. Lowther in succession for 3 elections.

The outstanding fact in political life in Cumbria was the power of the Lowther family. From being modest Tudor gentlemen they had risen over the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries to become the wealthiest gentry and then nobles of the region via assiduous development of their West Cumberland collieries and Whitehaven⁸. When Sir James Lowther, baronet, of Whitehaven died in 1754 his estate valued at over £2,000,000 was producing an annual income of £20,000. All of it went to his dead brother's son, James Lowther, who also inherited Lowther castle and sixty eight thousand acres before becoming earl of Lonsdale in 1784⁹.

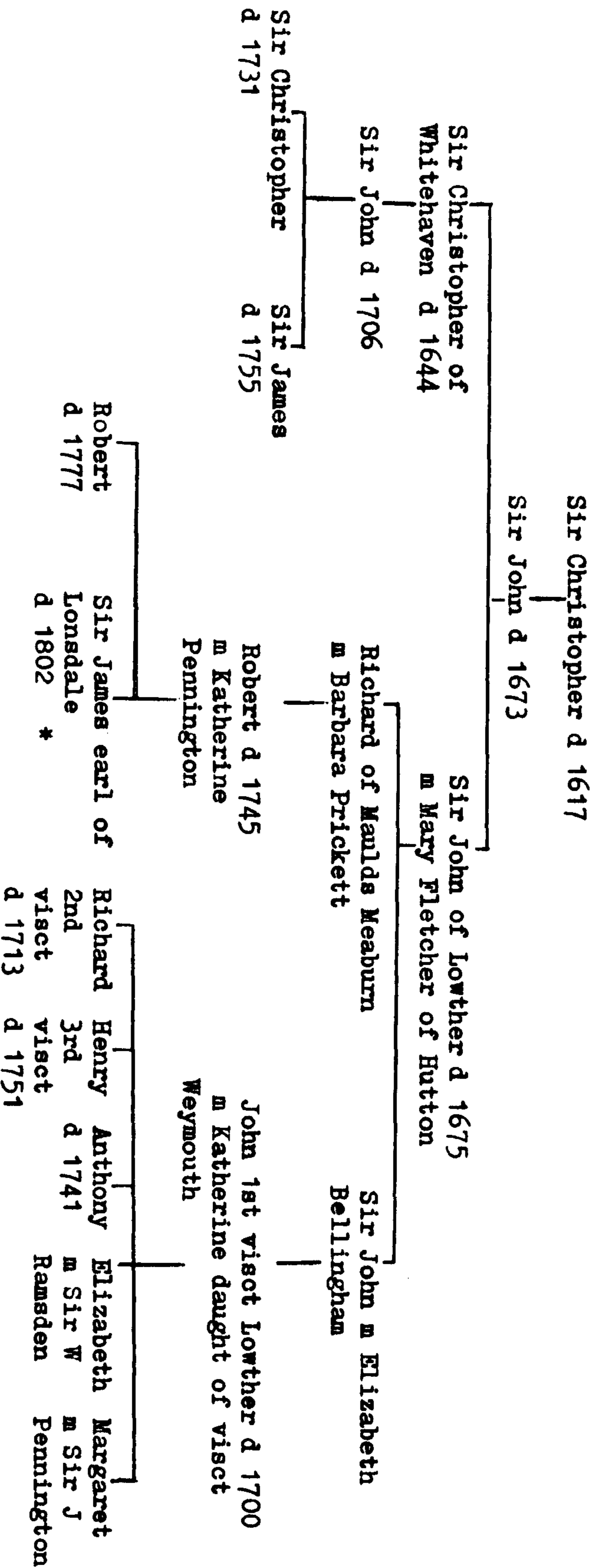
The earl of Lonsdale had entered politics in the 1750s and by 1764 controlled eight of the ten Cumbrian seats. The expense was not only the £100,000 laid out by Lonsdale but also the loss of important friends. The result was that the duke of Portland, earls of Thanet, Egremont and Carlisle and their supporters, united against their common opponent¹⁰. Though compromise was reached in some seats after years of battles only Carlisle was beyond the Lonsdale interest by 1786 and the earl of Lonsdale spent his remaining years in attempts to control the city seats.

8. See p. 631 family tree.

9. Bonsall Sir James Lowther deals with this; Ferguson Cumberland and Westmorland MPs pp. 407-410, 189-211.

10. See above p.45 ; Bonsall Sir James Lowther pp.50-61 and chapter 7.

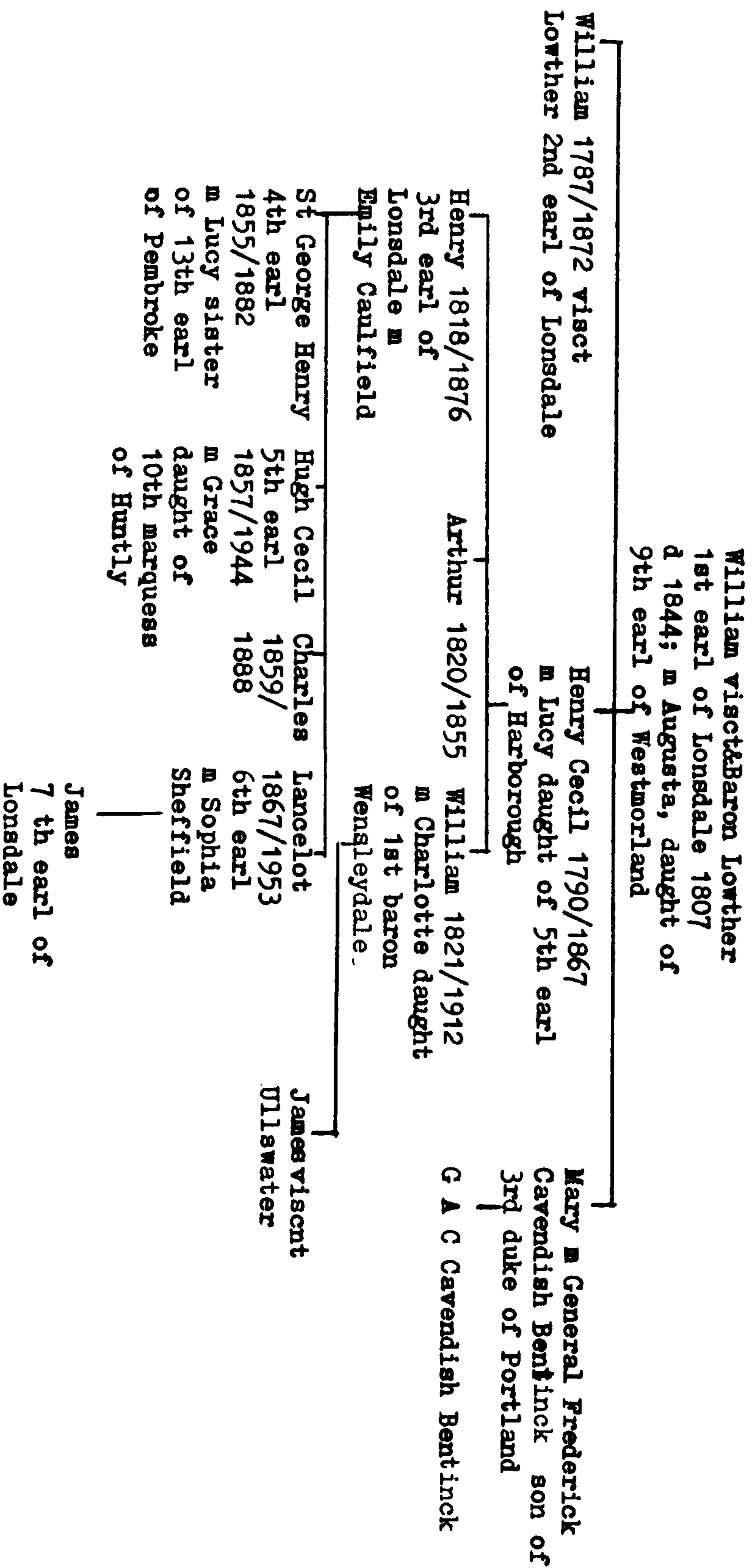
Lowther earls of Lonsdale



* all Lowther estates of Whitehaven, Lowther and Maulds Meaburn inherited by Sir James Lowther by 1755
 Family tree continued overleaf

Lowther earls of Lonsdale continued

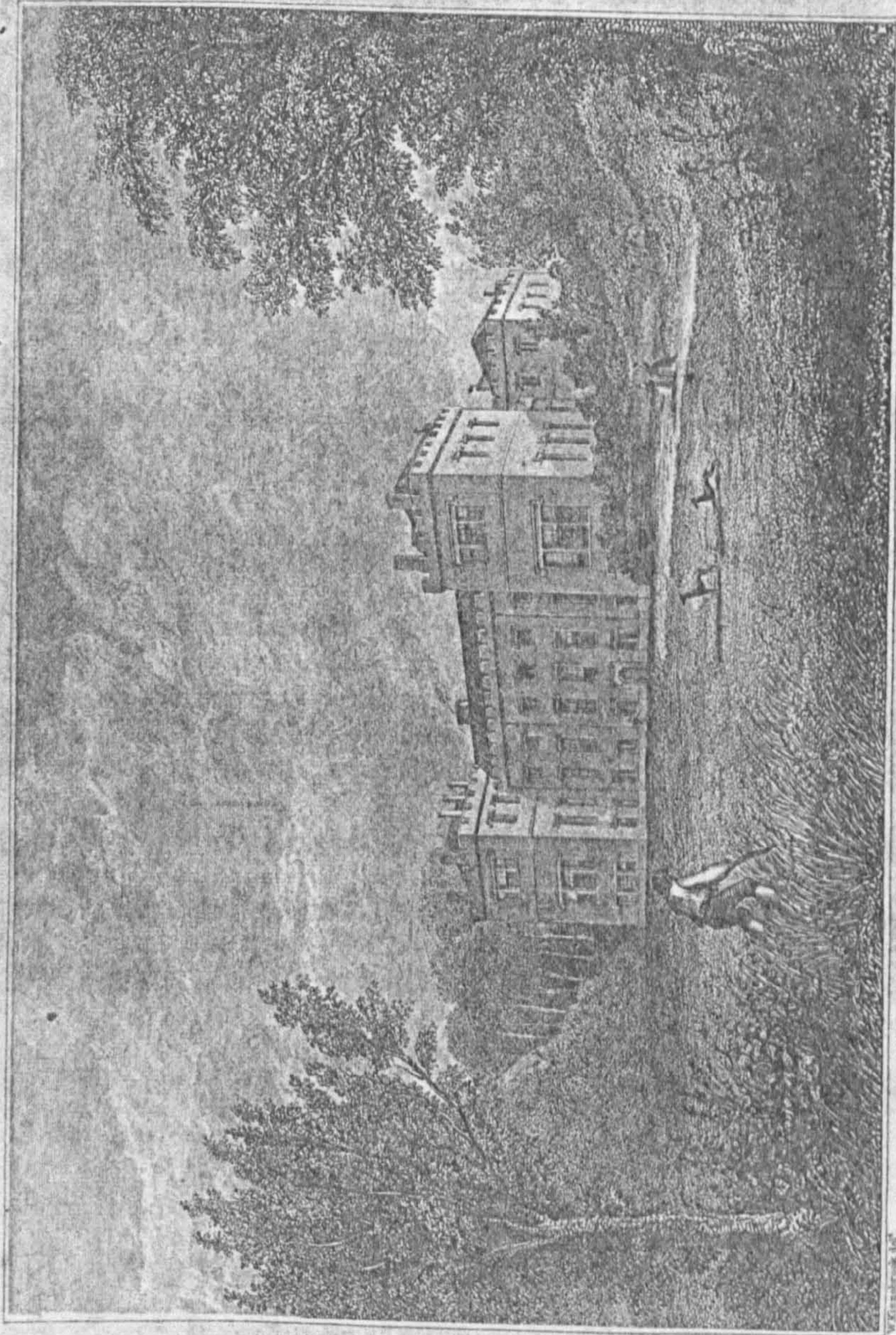
Sir James Lowther, viscount Lonsdale and earl of Lonsdale m Mary daughter of 3rd earl of Bute ;
 at his death all estates pass to William, son of the Rev Sir William Lowther of Little Preston, Yorks



The earl of Lonsdale failed in this and died in 1802 with his economic empire neglected.

Lowther control of Westmorland experienced only four contests at elections in the nineteenth century until the re-merging of Kendal with the county planted a strong liberal element in the tory realm. West Cumberland remained strongly pro-Lowther and Whitehaven remained a pocket borough for most of the century. East Cumberland was a different matter and the liberal Howard influence exerted there and in Carlisle tended to keep the tories out of the seats. The gradual decay of the Lowther fortune allowed other landowners and influences to exert a political authority, and Carlisle toryism was always a force in the nineteenth century precisely because it eschewed close links with the ambitious Lowthers ¹¹ . In Cockermouth the re-assertion of the Wyndham interest in the 1850s through the economic development supervised from Cockermouth castle by lord Leconfield and his brother General Wyndham meant that tory candidates were not affected by Lowther partisanship which improved their electoral chances against strong liberal families like the Fletchers, Ainsworths and Caines ¹² .

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11. Ferguson Cumberland and Westmorland MPs pp. 212ff; this independent toryism dates from the election of 1816 when Sir Philip Musgrave used purple colours and not Lowther yellow, the traditional tory colour.
12. J.B. Bradbury History of Cockermouth (Phillimore 1981); Leconfield and the General were sons of the earl of Egremont and supervised the Wyndham s' extensive estates.



Whitman sculp

WHITEHAVEN CASTLE.

A SEAT OF THE RIGHT HONORABLE THE EARL OF LONSDALE K.G.F.S.A.

S. Jefferson, Carlisle 1842

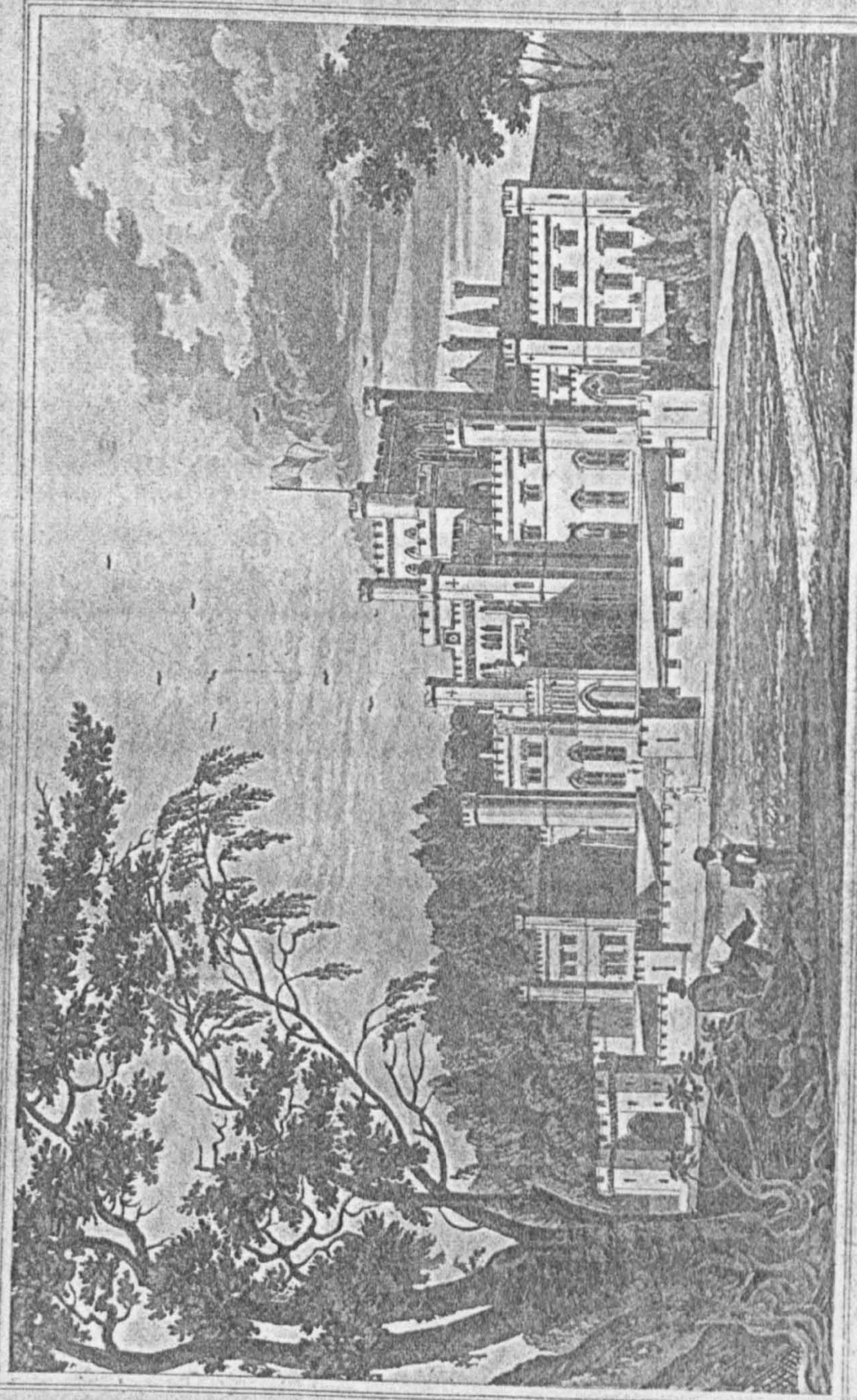
Whitehaven Castle, rebuilt 1769

Lowther political influence declined with the rapid deaths of three earls in the period 1872-1886 and the way that the third, fourth and fifth earls had taken little interest in Cumbria¹³. The fifth earl lived the life of glamour and extravagance which appealed to him, doing no work and travelling the world with total lack of regard for the painstaking care of the first and second earls in maintaining family wealth¹⁴. It was not however the gift to the liberals of the region that it might have been because of the home rule crisis.

The decision of Gladstone to grant Irish home rule was supported by men of calibre like Sir Wilfrid Lawson, but some such as the earl of Carlisle, five of his sons, the duke of Devonshire and most of the Cavendish family including the marquess of Hartington, joined the unionist lobby and eventually the tory party¹⁵. Important but lesser names, like Miles McInnes and the Caines, at first did not know which way to move¹⁶. Though the liberals eventually were to experience a great revival, the home rule blow let the tories gain ground when they should have lost it and encouraged working men and the labour party.

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13. J.W. Lowther A Speaker's Commentaries(1925)vol.1.p.8ff and Wood, thesis, pp.199ff, 238 ff.
14. L.Dawson Lonsdale;the authoried life of Hugh Lowther Fifth Earl of Lonsdale(1946)and D.Sutherland The Yellow Earl(1955).
15. D.Southgate The Passing of the Whigs(1962); Roberts Radical Countess pp.68ff;Hartington led the unionists.
16. Newton Caine pp.136ff; McInnes Miles McInnes pp.180-195.

North Front



LOWTHER CASTLE.

The Seat of the Earl of Lonsdale.

Engraved by Robt. Howell & Son.

Proof Price 1/6

Lowther Castle, rebuilt 1806-1811 by Sir Robert Smirke

Members of parliament for Cumbrian constituencies were exclusively Anglicans for county seats until after 1880 and occasionally non-Anglican for the boroughs. Before 1830 all members had been Anglicans, but then Philip Howard was elected for Carlisle as a Roman Catholic member of local gentry, and the Unitarian Edmund Potter represented Carlisle after 1862¹⁷. David Ainsworth was the first non-Anglican in West Cumberland in 1880, whilst W.S. Caine, a Baptist sat for Barrow in 1886 and a number of unsuccessful candidates who were non-Anglicans started to contest Cumbrian seats after the 1860s¹⁸. The only Methodist member was Sir John Randles, the tory rival to the Lawsons at Cockermouth¹⁹.

Nominal Anglicanism of members of course did not guarantee friendliness towards the Anglican church, and both Edward Horsman and his fellow member for Cockermouth, Henry Aglionby, were notable scourges of the Establishment and of the bishops in the 1840s²⁰. Sir Wilfrid Lawson the second baronet remained Anglican but his religious sympathies showed no favouritism towards the Church of England²¹.

17. See below p.663 for Howard and Potter.

18. See above p.328 for the Ainsworths; Charles Thompson, a Morland Quaker, contested Whitehaven in 1875.

19. Randles, son of a Whitehaven Wesleyan minister and partner in a Workington steel business.

20. Best Temporal Pillars pp.374 ff.

21. See above pp.419ff ; his father was a Congregational and EU supporter.

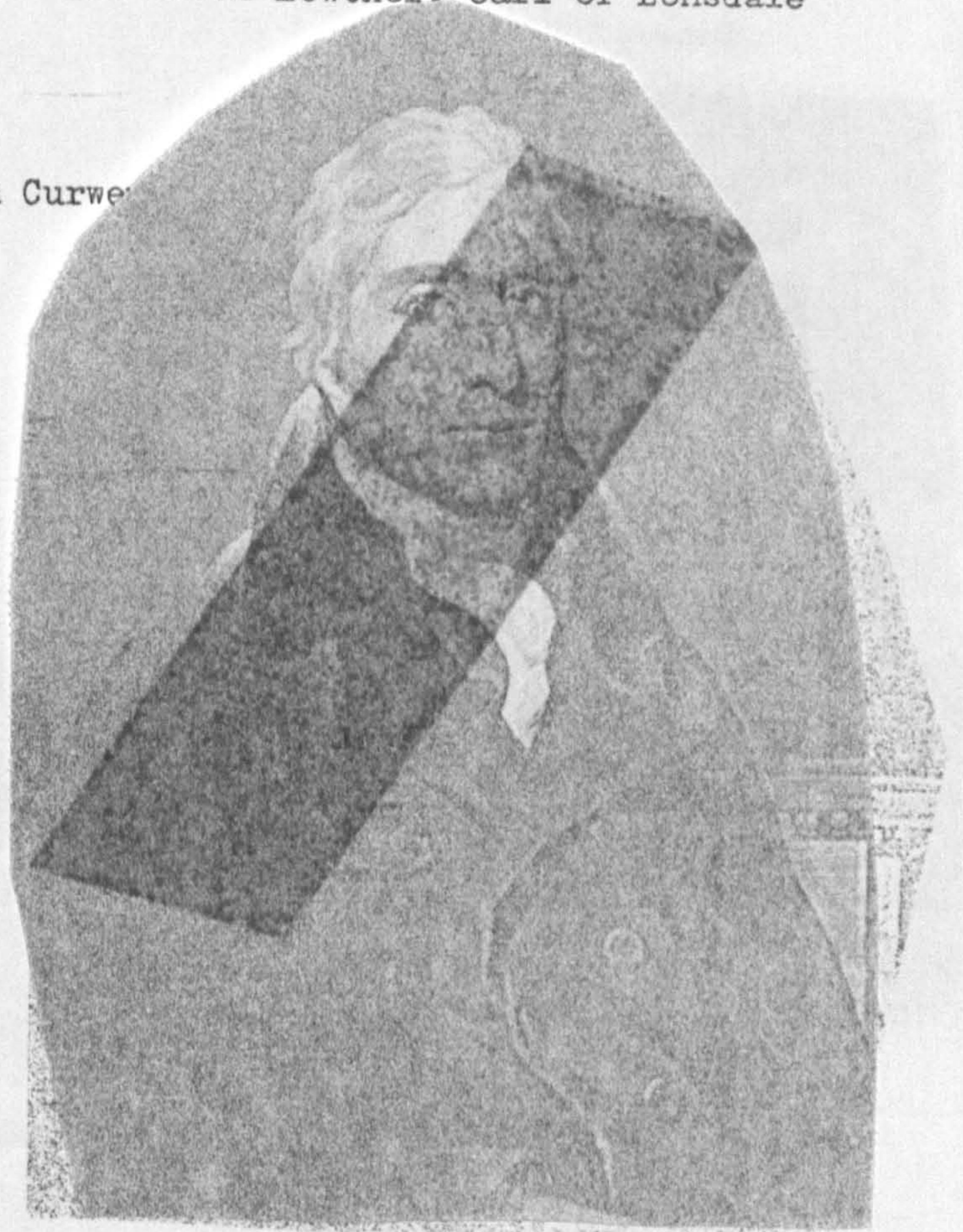


1st earl of Lonsdale

Sir James Lowther. earl of Lonsdale

John Christian Curwen

2nd earl of Lonsdale



5th earl of Lonsdale

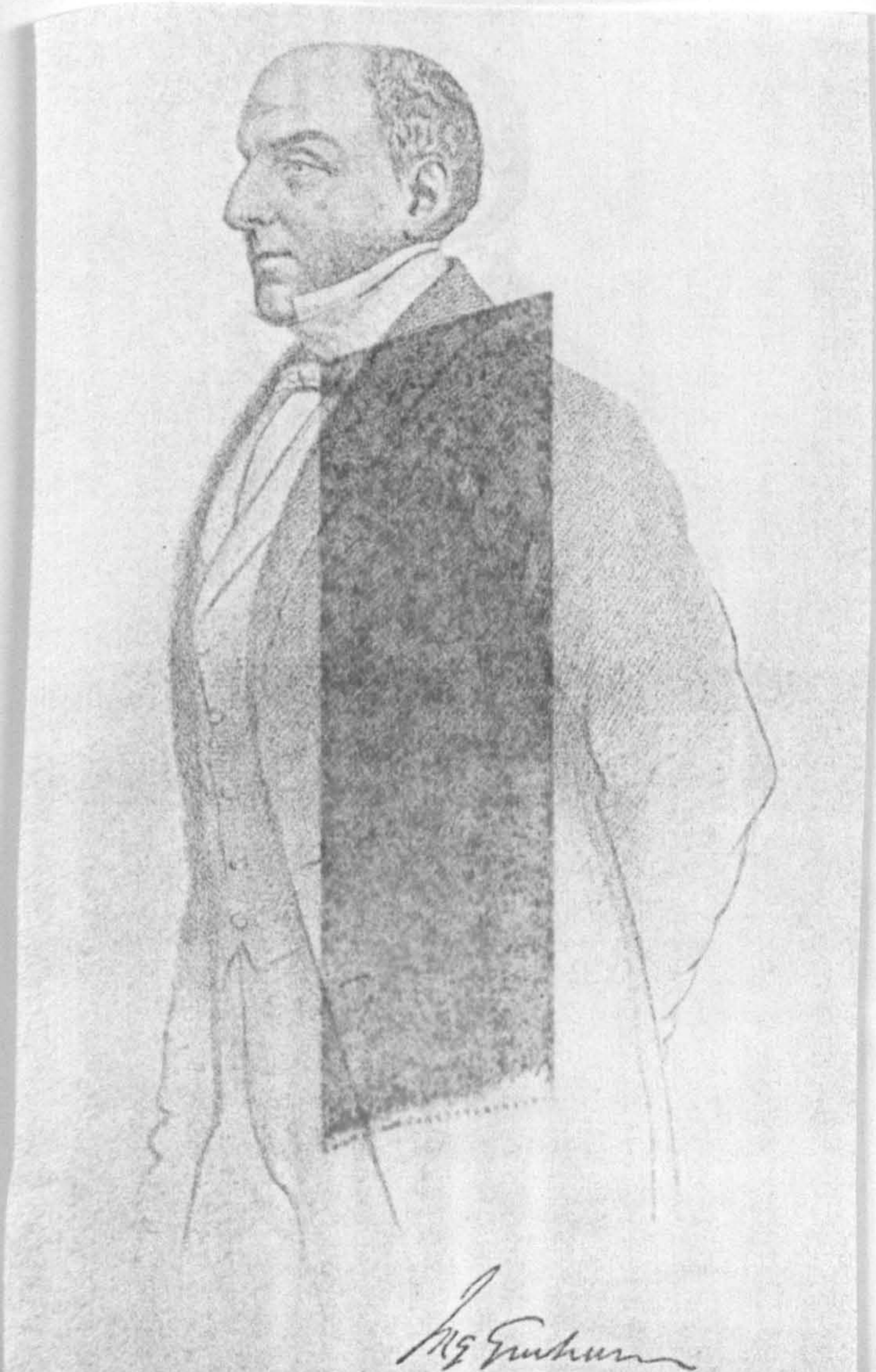


3rd earl of Lonsdale

4th earl of Lonsdale



Sir James Graham of Netherby



The Lawsons apart, the landed families were Anglican and normally not of the evangelical wing. Some landowners were eager to help the Church of England via politics, but the Lowthers showed a characteristic indifference to the Established Church unless it harmed their own pocket or prestige ²². Lowther supporters in church and politics included the Hasells of Dalemain, the Penningtons of Muncaster, the Thompson-Bective family at Underley, and the Flemings of Rydal with the Wilsons of Abbot Hall and Dallam Towers ²³. Those landowners who had at some stage opposed the Lowthers, like Sir James Graham of Netherby, tended to be more moderate in their political and religious expressions and often belonged to no clearly defined political or religious wing ²⁴.

Amongst Cumbria's industrialist families the Kendal elite were politically liberal and religiously Nonconformist for much of the nineteenth century. The Carlisle families of Chance, Ferguson, Dixon and Hodgson were invariably Anglican but divided between liberals and Tories, whilst later industrialists such as Hudson Scott, Laings, Carrs and Bucks were all Nonconformist and liberal.

22. See above pp. 562ff.

23. See table 1 p. 25.

24. Ward Sir James Graham p.246 ; Graham changed sides in the house of commons several times and remained moderate in his churchmanship.

The role of the Anglican clergy in political life in Cumbria was not simply a matter of supporting the tory party. During the period 1760 to 1780 Cumbrian clergy had been as likely to oppose the Lowthers as to support them, and both sides used incumbents as agents for their efforts. At the height of the conflict between Lowthers and their enemies a clergyman, Joseph Hudson, provided the duke of Portland with vital help in upholding the duke's rights to land in Cumbria:

By reason, in a great measure, of Mr. Hudson's skill in decyphering some ancient writings, the cause terminated in favour of the Duke of Portland; and to evince gratitude ... offered a bishopric in Ireland ...²⁵

Hudson refused the bishopric but took an offered canonry at Carlisle cathedral and a D.D.. His allegiance to the Law family brought him the livings of Warkworth and Newburn in Northumberland when John Law resigned them on becoming a bishop. Those were the days when a strong anti-Lowther bishop was needed at Carlisle against the Lowther family, but between 1800 and 1820 the situation changed dramatically if temporarily.

25. Jefferson Carlisle pp.421-425; Hudson 1719-1811.

The terror inspired by the French Revolution, the great social unrest and distress of the period, and the rise of strong Nonconformity which threatened the Church of England pushed the Anglican clergy into the arms of the tory party. There were exceptions to this general rule, and the liberal parson remained common enough in the 1870s if only because they were men like Harford-Battersby and Rawnsley, but a majority of clergy turned tory. In these circumstances it was less necessary to have bishops or deans who could stand up to the earl of Lonsdale largely because the political views of bishop Percy and dean Hodgson were those of the first earl of Lonsdale ²⁶ .

Earls of Lonsdale were important patrons, as were bishops of Carlisle, and politics came into their minds when appointing to livings. Sir James Lowther, earl of Lonsdale, created hundreds of new freemen in order to swamp the genuine voters at Carlisle elections in the 1780s. Among these were some clergy, including Jeffrey Bowness of Ravenstonedale, Richard Burn of Kirkandrews on Eden, Charles Cobbe of Whitehaven, Thomas Kilner of Bampton and William Lowther of Lowther ²⁷ . Lowther clergy wore yellow at

26. See above p. 49ff.

27. F. Jollie A Political History of Carlisle (Carlisle 1820) provides a list of the illegal freemen and voters; Boletarium or a collection of squibs, papers songs etc ... about the 1786 election ... including a list of illegal freemen(Carlisle 1786)

election time and provoked William Paley into bedecking his family in the opposition blue, whilst senior clergy such as Richard Parkinson, principal of St. Bees college, acted as proposers or seconders of Lowther nominees when somebody of weight and authority was required ²⁸ . The first major test of the voting influence of the Anglican clergy came when Henry Brougham attempted in 1818, 1820 and 1826 to dislodge the Lowthers from their control of Westmorland.

Viscount Lowther and colonel Henry Lowther had a difficult time in 1818 because of the St. Bees school exposure, lack of preparations for a contest, and unfamiliarity with the need to canvas and work at the hustings ²⁹ . Kendal's wealthy Quaker and other Nonconformist bankers and industrialists poured money into Brougham's campaign but he narrowly lost ³⁰ .

28. Park St. Bees p.65. Clarke Paley p.37.

29. J.R. McQuiston 'The Lonsdale Connection and its Defender, ^{William} Viscount Lowther, 1818-1830', Northern History vol. 11 1976 pp.143-179.

30. See above pp. 347ff ;Brown, thesis, 'Growth of Middle Class Leadership', and Tate, thesis, 'The Kendal Elite', throughout, see above pp.363-364.

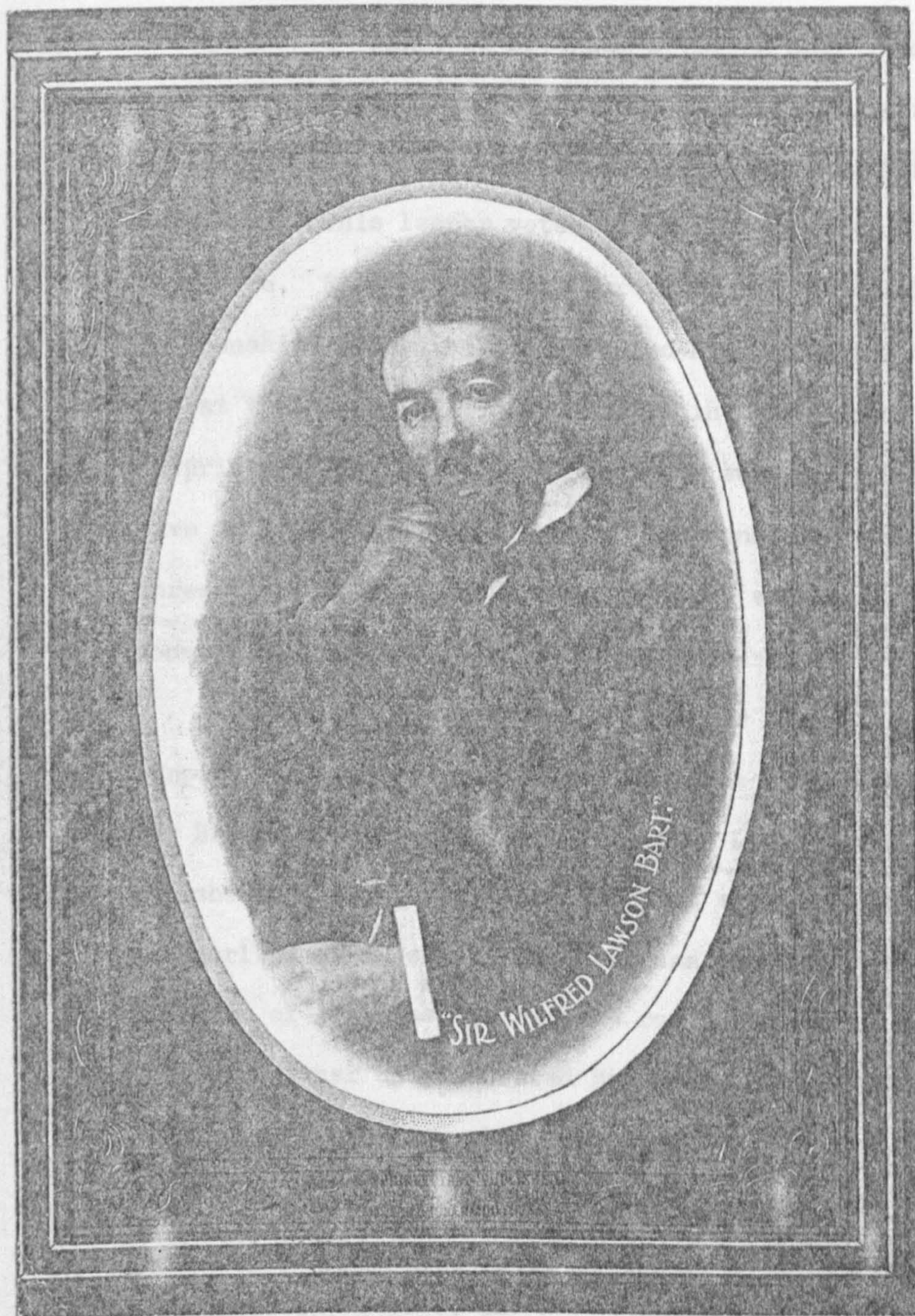
Kendal was carved out of the county in 1832 because of the problems it caused the Lowthers.

Table 50Voting pattern of Anglican clergy in Cumbrian elections

<u>Constituency</u>	<u>year</u>	<u>tory</u>	<u>liberal</u>	<u>split</u>	<u>did not vote</u>	<u>total electorate</u>	
Carlisle	1786	4	0	0	10	570	
	1816	1	2	0	2	720	
	1847	5	0	1	4	1200	
	1848	4	0	1	2	1200	
	1852	7	0	0	1	1200	
	1857	3	1	2	2	1240	
	1859	4	1	0	0	1260	
	1861	3	0	0	4	1450	
	1865	6	2	0	2	1500	
	1868	12	1	0	1	4850	
Westmorland	1818	80	20	3	0	1980	
	1820	103	26	3	0	3200	
	1826	124	21	3	0	3350	
Cumberland	1831	14	13	2	28	3900	
	West	1867	40	11	0	19	4300
	East	1841	37	7	1	27	4500
Cockermouth	1868	44	9	2	31	6400	
	1852	1	1	2	0	300	
Whitehaven	1868	1	1	0	2	1100	
	1832	5	0	0	0	440	
	1868	5	0	0	0	2400	

Sources: Poll books

In the 1853 election one hundred and three voters
polled, of whom eighty voted for the the last, and
twenty for the first and three for the second and



Sir Wilfrid Lawson second bart. of Brayton about 1867

11. See table p. 84
12. See table p. 84

In the 1818 election one hundred and three clergy polled, of whom eighty voted for the two Lowthers, twenty for Brougham and three for the viscount and Brougham ³¹ . Eight of Brougham's voters came from East Ward freeholdings, seven from Kendal Ward, six from Lonsdale Ward and only one from the Lowther dominated West Ward. This latter voter was Christopher Bird of Yorkshire. Five of the East Ward Brougham voters lived in townships returning decisive pro-Brougham majorities, whilst the other three did not live in the county. Not surprisingly the Kendal Ward Brougham supporters did not live in Lowther parishes, and of the Lonsdale voters three lived in West Cumberland parishes with no Lowther connections and two lived in the East Ward.

It was to be expected that Lowther clergy would support the Lowther candidates, and that clergy voting for Brougham would live well away from Lowther-controlled parishes and were usually resident at some distance from Westmorland or in safely pro-Brougham parishes. The election of 1820 was the closest run of the three and colonel Lowther only defeated Brougham on the last of the seven days of polling, by sixty three votes. Over one hundred clergy voted for the two Lowthers and Brougham too increased his clerical votes to twenty nine including three split with the colonel ³² .

31. See table 50 p. 644

32. See table 50 p. 644

Brougham's East Ward clerical supporters numbered thirteen and all lived in decisively pro-Brougham townships or outside the county. All five of the West Ward clergy supporting Brougham were away from reprisals from the Lowthers: Edward Jackson of Bolton lived in that parish where Lowther voters were outnumbered two to one, whilst Jonathan Topping who held a freehold at Shap, where the Lowther voters outnumbered those of Brougham by ten to one, lived at Warrington. Another of the five was Dr. John Lamb, vicar of Chipping Walden, who polled at Sandford where Brougham voters outnumbered Lowther by two to one.

The election of 1826 found the pro-Brougham camp in financial difficulties because the Wakefields of Kendal were in the middle of a financial crisis. The Lowthers on the other hand had settled the St. Bees school crisis and had brought in proper agents for registering their voters and organising a campaign which included canvassing by the colonel and the viscount. Brougham lost by a wide margin and only twenty four clergy voted for him whereas over one hundred and twenty polled against him³³. The brave clergy who polled against the Lowthers were all men not resident in Westmorland or who lived in safe parishes where the patron of the living was not pro-Lowther and where the majority was for Brougham.

33. See table 50 p.644 ; Poll books have been used throughout.

The Lowther influence in Cumbria was so great that the clergy were bound to do in political matters what their great landowning patrons required, which involved setting an example of supporting the Lowther candidates at election time. Many clergy would influence their parishioners to vote, although it needs stressing that the support of the Lowthers was not necessarily enforced but might well be simply an expression of support for the earl of Lonsdale with which farmer, tenant and vicar might well be in an accord. Other landowners expected their clergy to vote for them, and many incumbents were certain to support whichever landlord appointed them.

In Cumberland it was to be expected that there would be a stronger clerical vote against the Lowthers simply because that county had a stronger general opposition to that family. At the 1831 election fourteen clergy polled for viscount Lowther and thirteen for the reform candidates Sir James Graham and William Blamire³⁴. However the poll was so crushingly against Lowther that he withdrew two days early, and the clergy lost an opportunity to vote since in elections they tended to poll late. The clerical vote too was of little importance in such elections when one side was clearly the victor, whereas in the Westmorland elections of 1818 and 1820 the clergy were vital for the Lowther success.

34. Poll book 1831; Ferguson Cumberland and Westmorland MPs p. 256. 1200 polled for the reform men, 450 for Lowther.

At the Cumberland poll of 1831 those clergy voting for the reform candidates included John Curwen of Harrington who belonged to the Curwens of Workington, and Christopher Wybergh of Isel, brother of Sir Wilfrid Lawson of Brayton and Isel ³⁵. Both Curwens and Wybergh-Lawsons were old antagonists of the Lowthers. William Graham of Arthuret, uncle of the reform candidate, voted for his nephew but not for Blamire who may have been too radical and not sufficiently gentlemanly ³⁶. Other pro-reform clergy had no obvious links with the candidates: Samuel Rushton of Broughton, John Topping of Irthington, J.R. Hunter of Armathwaite, and James Marshall of Ireby ³⁷.

The division of Cumberland into East and West in 1832 allowed more Howard influence in the former and more Lowther influence in the latter. At the election of 1841 in East Cumberland the sole tory, W.W. Stephenson, was beaten by the radical William James of Barrock and liberal-whig Philip Howard of Corby, but the effect of the disputes in the 1830s included pushing the Anglican clergy into the tory camp and against a radical and a liberal-whig who was a Roman Catholic ³⁸.

35. See above pp. 419ff.

36. Blamire 1790/1862, tithe commissioner, and a farmer.

37. Marshall was also a coal merchant dealing with the Lawson collieries; Dickinson Cumbriana pp.140-141.

38. For Howard see below p.663; James 1791/1861, member for Carlisle 1820-1826 and 1831-1834, for East Cumberland 1836-1847, owned extensive estates in Jamaica.

Whilst eight clergy voted for Howard and seven for James, Stephenson was plumped for by thirty seven clergy. Perhaps as significantly twenty seven who possessed the franchise did not vote, which suggests a desire not to become embroiled in the conflict. In the 1868 election for East Cumberland a similar figure was recorded, with the majority of those polling plumping for William Nicholson Hodgson, the tory railway director of Newby Grange, and a large number of clergy choosing not to vote ³⁹. Hodgson won by only seventy five votes out of over six thousand votes cast, which emphasises that the Anglican clergy might be a crucial element at close contests ⁴⁰.

In West Cumberland few Anglican clergy ever voted for any but the Lowthers or their nominees. At the 1867 election forty voted for Henry Lowther and general Wyndham and only eleven for Wilfrid Lawson, who lost by only three hundred votes ⁴¹. Lawson's plumpers included Henry Curwen of Workington, Christopher Benson of Bolton Low Houses, William Gunson of Allhallows, Walter Brookbank of Lamplugh and William Jukes of Ennerdale. T.D. Harford Battersby of Keswick and Christopher Wybergh of Isel, Lawson's uncle, also polled for Lawson ⁴². The old

39. See below pp. 664ff.

40. See table 51 p. 665.

41. For Lawson see below p.670 and above pp.419ff.

42. For Battersby see above p.199; Henry Lowther became 3rd earl of Lonsdale; see family tree pp.631-632.

rivalries between Curwen, Wybergh and Lawson on one side and Lowther on the other took many years to die down, and family and friends could be relied upon to vote for anti-Lowther candidates even though a clergyman's natural inclinations might be to plump for a tory ⁴³ .

Small borough constituencies usually had few clerical voters but might show an interesting voting pattern. The Cockermouth election of 1852 was an exceptionally lively one and the clerical vote was evenly divided between general Wyndham and the two liberals, Horsman and Aglionby ⁴⁴ . Cross petitioning took place with each side alleging widespread bribery and treating, though each case was dismissed. The Whitehaven constituency seems never to have possessed a clergyman who polled against the Lowther candidates, but in Carlisle, which was a far larger centre and contained far more clergy, there was more variety.

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43. Wybergh of Isel had been prominent in the ranks of the Curwen-Lawson objections to Lowther voters at the recording barrister's court sitting in Egremont, Cockermouth and Whitehaven during October 1833, when objections were raised to over 300 Lowther electors of whom 260 were disfranchised. Copy in Jackson library.
44. See above p.637 for Horsman and Aglionby; Ferguson Cumberland and Westmorland MPs pp.374-375,331-332. Aglionby lived at the Nunnery, Kirkoswald, and Horsman was chief secretary for Ireland 1855-1857.

With the bishop, dean and chapter resident for part or all of each year there was bound to be an amount of Anglican clerical involvement in city elections. Both deans and bishops were political appointments and were normally men able to stand against Lowther influence and to rebuff undue pressure from either political party ⁴⁵ . Most of the cathedral clergy possessed the vote but until the 1830s few chose to use it, although the meddling of some parsons in the city in the 1780s and 1790s had earned for the clergy a name for corruption and pro-Lowther sentiments that was not necessarily justified ⁴⁶ . The work of clerical families such as the Laws worked against the Lowthers and the tories, but by the 1830s the large scale and sustained attacks on the Church of England had pushed many clergy into the tory party, although there were exceptional men who remained liberals ⁴⁷ . After bishop Percy's death in 1856 every bishop of Carlisle until 1920 was a liberal, though Goodwin turned liberal unionist in 1886 and broke with Gladstone ⁴⁸ . Deans were often tory after Milner in the 1790s, and whilst Francis Close was able to vote for Sir Wilfrid Lawson in 1865 because of their teetotalism he returned shortly to the tory fold over the Irish Church threat in 1868.

45. See above pp. 38ff

46. See above pp. 641ff

47. See above pp. 642ff

48. See above pp. 59ff

Bishop Waldegrave was a member of one of the major whig families of England and had been sent to Carlisle by a liberal government, yet the threat to disestablish the Church of Ireland in 1868 led him to champion the tories of Cumberland at the general election of that year ⁴⁹. The tories seemed suddenly to be the party able to check disestablishment and the growth of the ritualist party within Anglicanism. In November 1868 the bishop wrote to congratulate friends on their parliamentary successes as tories and defenders of the Church of England, and to a tory electoral agent called Nugent in order to complain about the tory agents in Carlisle trying to enlist the support of the Roman Catholics ⁵⁰.

Waldegrave had been irritated by the defeat of his friend W.N. Hodgson of Newby Grange by two radical liberals, the Manchester Unitarian Edmund Potter, and Sir Wilfrid Lawson of Brayton, so that the bishop's summary of election affairs in the city illustrates how the whigs might easily develop into tories ⁵¹. Waldegrave wrote:

49. See below pp. 670ff

50. Waldegrave MS, book 4, Waldegrave to Mr. Wright 25 November 1868, and to Nugent 24 November 1868.

51. For Lawson and Potter see below pp. 664, 670ff. Waldegrave died in the new year and might have returned to the whigs had he lived.

My dear Mr. Nugent,

The rejection of my good friend Mr. Hodgson by the citizens of Carlisle has led to his triumphal return for East Cumberland . Good has therefore come of evil ... Still I think that with a view to future contingencies a serious blunder committed in Carlisle by the Conservative leaders should be pointed out ... Carlisle ... has sixteen clergymen. These clergymen are to a man Constitutionalists and all but one avowed Evangelicals.

The Dean and the Evangelical clergy were anxious to put the question of the Irish Church on its true basis and supply the working classes with information ... But there are a number of Roman Catholic voters on the register. Several Roman Catholic voters were placed on the Conservative Working Men's committee-and hopes were constantly dangled before the eye of the Conservative canvassers that if nothing was done to irritate them, their votes could be had.

Deceived by this hope the Conservative leaders discouraged the efforts of the Protestant clergy in every way: they did not countenance their meeting ... ⁵²

52. Waldegrave MS, book 4, Waldegrave to Nugent, 28
November 1868.

The dean had published tracts in support of the clergy advocating voting by all who loved the Church of England to defend it from the liberals. Clerical unanimity was spoiled by the one ritualist who had helped the liberals and the Roman Catholics

... and like his brother Ritualists made himself very busy in the election. ⁵³

The bishop continued to Nugent that

Many of the party, and Mr. Hodgson among them, deeply regret the mistaken policy adopted ... the universal feeling of all the clergy of truly Protestant principles is that this is the way the election was lost. ⁵⁴

Dallying with Romanists and ritualists by the Tories was fatal to electoral success and Anglican welfare, stated the bishop, and

These men-overt Papist~~s~~ and Ritualist~~s~~-flatter but to betray and to destroy, and the last thing that the Conservatives can do for themselves as well as for Queen and Country, is to believe that it is so and to act accordingly, truthfully

53. Waldegrave MS, book 4, Waldegrave to Nugent 28 November 1868.

54. Waldegrave MS, book 4, Waldegrave to Nugent 28 November 1868.

and fearlessly- then God will defend the
right. ⁵⁵

When the Church of England was felt to be in danger
then the political allegiance of the clergy was hardly
to be doubted.

Waldegrave's successor Harvey Goodwin was less
involved in politics, and after the home rule crisis
only took part in the house of lords work on matters
directly affecting the Church of England or morality ⁵⁶.
Other clergy were less reticent and Francis Close remained
a strong tory into the 1880s ⁵⁷. Some diocesan clergy
were as strongly liberal, though not what could be
described as political parsons. Harford Battersby was
a keen liberal, as had been his predecessor Myers ⁵⁸ ;
Rawnsley at Crosthwaite was however an important liberal
county councillor and only exceeded in his public and
council work by the assiduous chairman Henry Howard
of Greystoke ⁵⁹. Liberal clergy were important but they
were restrained and commonly acted as did Henry Whitehead:

55. Waldegrave MS, book 4, Waldegrave to Nugent 28 November
1868.

56. Rawnsley Goodwin pp.261ff. See above p.58.

57. Memorials of Dean Close pp.48ff; see above p.84.

58. See above pp. 198-205.

59. R.Tuft 'The Social and Political Composition of the
early Cumberland County Council 1889-1914' University
of Lancaster M.A. 1976 pp.44ff, 60ff.

An ardent liberal all his life yet he never actively took any side in party politics. Only on one occasion during the ten years he was vicar of Brampton did he appear on a political platform. This was on the occasion of the extension of the franchise. He firmly held the opinion that no parish priest should take an active part in party warfare; and he was right. ⁶⁰

Whitehead disapproved of one liberal clergyman and his work, Llewellyn Davies, Henry Ware's successor at Kirkby Lonsdale:

No question of this kind [the burial question] ever arrives without Ll. Davies delivering utterances which are widely read and which are of vast importance. The laity read them and say "Well at all events the clergy are not all on the wrong side ". I think he steps down from his pedestal when he engages in these coalitions. ⁶¹

60. Rawnsley Henry Whitehead p.124.

61. Rawnsley Henry Whitehead p.105.

A majority of Anglican clergy were always tory in their voting habits in Cumbria, but the small minority of liberal or whig clergy might carry more weight than the common run of parsons on the tory side. What Sir Wilfrid Lawson, first baronet of Brayton, noticed at the hustings at one election he took for granted about the general body of the clergy:

Once when speaking from the hustings he noticed a numerous body of clergy massed over against the Tory side, and he began his speech by rolling out, after the manner of a clergyman droning his text, this slightly altered verse of ^apsalm: The Lord gave the word, and great was the company of preachers. The sarcasm may not now appear crushing, but that it fulfilled its purpose of irritating those at whom it was levelled need not be doubted. ⁶²

The other side of the coin was the weekly gathering at Wigton hall where from the 1800s until the 1830s the Rev. Richard Matthews was host to the Lowther family's

62. Luke Lawson p.3 ; the date was presumably about 1830, and the lord referred to the first earl of Lonsdale. See above pp. 419ff.

enemies: John Christian Curwen, William Blamire, Sir James Graham, Aglionby, Spedding of Mirehouse, and John Rooke the political economist amongst others ⁶³ .

The non-Anglicans in the rural parishes of Cumbria were usually few and even in towns until the later nineteenth century a majority did not possess the franchise. Within certain denominations, known for their affluence, there might reside great local political authority, as with the Kendal Quakers who brought into being a borough controlled by a few liberal Nonconformist families ⁶⁴ . Nonetheless it was true to say that where there were opponents of the Tories and of the Lowthers their usual religious affiliation was Anglican and not Nonconformist. The Wigton hall Whigs, the Carlisle manufacturers, Whitehaven liberals like Thomson, the father of the Archbishop of York, and the Westmorland anti-Lowther group were Anglicans ⁶⁵ .

The largest Nonconformist denomination in Cumbria was that of the Wesleyan Methodists, who were also the least likely to be politically active before the 1860s ⁶⁶ .

63. Lonsdale's Worthies of Cumberland (1872) pp. 189-200.

64. Brown, thesis, Tate, thesis, for the politics of Kendal; the only elections in Kendal were in 1843, 1874 and 2 in 1880.

65. See above pp. 428, 534ff.

66. W.R. Ward Religion and Society in England 1790-1850 (1972) chapter 9; G.I.T. Machin Politics and the Churches in Great Britain 1832-1868 (Oxford 1977) throughout.

This was not to say that Wesleyan voters were invariably apathetic, but that many tended simply ^{to} vote for the Tories and took little active role in the proceedings. The Wesleyan voters of certain Cumbrian circuits were prominent in their anti-Lowther stance, and at the time of the 1835 and 1850 secessions these Whigs and radicals were amongst the earliest to be expelled or to secede ⁶⁷ . The holding of radical political views accompanied the former Wesleyans into the UMFC circuits of Carlisle, Appleby and Whitehaven and gained them notoriety; ⁶⁸ the Wesleyan remnant possessed little desire for such political activity, whilst the Primitives were largely voteless until 1867 and later because of their poverty ⁶⁹ . Where important Primitive members had the franchise and used it flagrantly ^{to} support radical liberals, then conflict with the ministerial authorities might ensue as at Carlisle in the 1870s ⁷⁰ .

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67. See above pp. 389ff ; D. Gowland 'Methodist Secession and Social Conflict in South Lancashire' University of Manchester Ph.D. 1966 deals with politics and the secessions of 1835 and 1850.
68. See table 55 p. 677 ; see above pp. 391ff.
69. See table 53 p. 669.
70. CRO FCM/1/1/2-3 Carlisle circuit quarterly meeting minutes, where William Saul was in conflict with messrs. Richardson, Miller and Thompson, who were all strong radicals.

If the Wesleyans occupied the middle ground between *the* Church of England and Nonconformity proper then the UMFC and Primitives were closer to the latter wing in matters political. The Congregationalists in particular were in the forefront of national politics by the 1830s and where they possessed an energetic and combative minister or members in Cumbria this was likely to be the case too ⁷¹. The work of a man like Henry Wight in Carlisle in the early 1840s encouraged the radical political activities of members, and the arrival of a radical such as Robert Pool at a quiet and undisturbed pastorate like Sedbergh or Ravenstonedale might electrify members unused to political Nonconformity ⁷². Even in a rural region like Cumbria the planting of Congregational ministers like Archibald Jack of Whitehaven, the strength of Quaker influence as at Kendal, or the existence of individual Unitarian families of whom the Ainsworths were typical, enlivened political life and pushed the Church of England and the Nonconformists into rival parties ⁷³.

71. C. Binfield So Down to Prayers (1977) deals with many important Congregational names.

72. See above pp. 534ff; see also D. Bebbington The Non-conformist Conscience pp. 1-36.

73. See above pp. 287, 346, 327ff.

Machin Politics and the Churches pp. 299-334, 335-379.

The Cumbrian constituencies were divided into those where little ever happened, such as Westmorland, and those where a great deal happened, such as Carlisle. The former had the dead hand of the Lowthers on it, the latter was too large, too urban and too full of Nonconformists to allow one man to rule it. The ill-fated attempts by the earl of Lonsdale in 1786 and 1790 to create illegal freemen and thus swamp the legitimate electors were eventually stopped by parliament ⁷⁴. In 1786 John Christian Curwen and Rowland Stephenson held the city for the whigs, and in 1790 Curwen and Wilson Braddyll were seated on petition against two Lowther men ⁷⁵. Curwen and Sir Frederick Vane held the seats against the tories in 1796 but between 1802 and 1816 there were no contests and each side returned one member ⁷⁶.

An attempt to dislodge Curwen in 1816 failed and he was returned with Sir James Graham of Kirkstall, a tory and formerly attorney for the earl of Lonsdale. After Graham's death in 1825 and Curwen's decision to sit for Cumberland the radical William James of Barrock and the independent tory Sir Philip Musgrave were returned ⁷⁷.

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74. Jollie Political History of Carlisle covers the city until 1820.
75. E.Hughes North Country Life in the Eighteenth Century vol. 2 makes Curwen the central figure in county life.
76. Ferguson Cumberland and Westmorland MPs provides facts on each member before 1867.
77. Ferguson Cumberland and Westmorland MPs pp.212-246.

After Musgrave's death in 1827 Sir James Graham of Netherby sat until 1829 when he resigned and sat for the county; their fellow members were the tories Sir William Scott of Ancrum and Sir James Lushington, son of a former canon of Carlisle cathedral ⁷⁸. At the election of 1830 Lushington was returned but Scott was defeated by the liberal Philip Howard of Corby, a Roman Catholic, who represented Carlisle from 1830 until 1852 ⁷⁹. Howard's fellow members were William James, William Marshall of Patterdale, both liberals, and then W.N. Hodgson, a tory ⁸⁰. Using the poll books for the city elections of 1847, 1852, and 1868 and correlating these with the existing membership lists or communion rolls of some of the non-Anglican churches it is possible to see how several churches voted and to discern changes in the opinions of their membership.

No list of members exists for the city's Quakers but out of their number mention has been made of their liberal leanings ⁸¹. The Roman Catholic voters were

78. Lushington and Scott were staunch Lowther men.

79. See above pp. 237ff.

80. For Marshall see above pp.197ff; he was brother in law to Myers of Keswick. For James see above pp.649ff.
for Hodgson see below p. 664.

81. See above pp. 352ff.

likely to poll for Howard, though perhaps hard put to choose between the several Anglican candidates all with evangelical leanings. In a cathedral city the Anglican clergy were bound to be a significant factor in elections and the Anglican vote was by far the largest denominational element and numbered in its ranks all but a few of the city freemen. However by 1847 the numbers of freemen had shrunk : only three hundred and fifty out of over twelve hundred electors, and the proportion declined drastically after 1867 when there were under that figure amongst not far short of five thousand voters ⁸² . With only a few exceptions the freemen were tory voters after the 1820s.

W.N. Hodgson was the tory candidate in the elections of 1847, 1852 and 1868, and ultimately sat for the city between 1847 and 1848, 1857 and 1859, 1865 and 1868, and then for East Cumberland until his death in 1876 ⁸³ . He was mayor of Carlisle in 1834, a landowner, chairman of the county sessions, director of the Lancaster and Carlisle, Preston and London, and North Western railways, and a popular figure in the city and county. Hodgson was a well known evangelical Anglican and a friend of Waldegrave's.

82. See table 51 p.665, table 48 p.627.

83. Obituary Carlisle Patriot 7 April 1876

Table 51Voting and results in the Carlisle parliamentary elections of
1847, 1852 and 1868

<u>1847:</u>	W. N. Hodgson	Tory	471
	P. H. Howard	Liberal	479
	J. Dixon	Whig	440

Note: J. B. Hanson, Weaver Chartist Candidate, withdrew at the poll.

Total electorate: 1067 or 7% of total male population

Duplicate or did not vote: 165 or 15% of the total electorate

<u>1852:</u>	W. N. Hodgson	Tory	419
	J. Ferguson	Whig	512
	Sir J. Graham	Liberal	525

Total electorate: 1136 or 7.5% of total male population

Duplicate or did not vote: 140 or 12% of the total electorate

<u>1868:</u>	W. N. Hodgson	Tory	1957
	Sir W. Lawson	Liberal	2043
	E. Potter	Liberal	1971
	W. Slater	Democrat	71

Total electorate: 4236 or 25% of total male population

Duplicate or did not vote: 585 or 13% of the total electorate

Sources: Poll Books, Jackson library.

In the election of 1847 his opponents were Philip Howard of Corby and John Dixon, a former mayor of the city, prominent industrialist, a director of the Lancaster to Carlisle, and Newcastle to Carlisle railways, and a leading anti-Corn Law Leaguer⁸⁴. The weaver chartist candidate Hanson withdrew at the start of the poll, and Hodgson and Howard were duly elected⁸⁵.

No records for the year 1847 exist for the two Presbyterian churches or for the Methodist connexions. There was just the one Congregational church and of the sixty seven male members twenty one possessed the vote. All but *four* voted for the two whig-liberals, and ^{of} these three were members of long standing who had had the vote for many years⁸⁶.

At the election of 1852 Hodgson was defeated by the Palmerstonian liberal Joseph Ferguson of Morton, founder of the large Holme Head works of Ferguson Brothers and a former mayor of the city, and by Sir James Graham of Netherby⁸⁷. Graham made a triumphant return to the city and headed the poll after having been exiled from

84. Dixon of the Knells, 1785-1857, son of Peter Dixon.

85. See table 51 p. 665.

86. See table 52 p. 667.

87. Ferguson 1788-1863, see above p.90.

Graham 1792-1861, had changed political allegiances several times and upset the Carlisle voters and the Cumberland ones; home secretary 1841-1846.

Table 52Voting pattern of Congregationalists in Carlisle elections

<u>Church</u>	<u>tory</u>	<u>liberal</u>	<u>split</u>	<u>other</u>	<u>did not vote</u>	<u>total male members</u>	<u>total members with vote (%)</u>
Lowther St							
1847	3	17	-	-	1	67	21 (31)
1852	3	19	-	-	1	43	23 (53)
1868	2*	16	-	-	1	47	19 (40)
Cecil St							
1847	1**	-	-	-	-	-	-
1852	2	8	-	-	3	15	13 (87)
1868	22	36	2	1	7	133	68 (51)
Charlotte St							
1847***	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1852	-	2	-	-	-	-	-
1868	12	28	4	1	10	106	55 (52)

* all tory voters enrolled as members before 1830

** 3 members possessed vote before foundation of church, omitted from Lowther Street returns

*** none of founding members possess vote 1848; 2 possess vote whilst at Lowther St, omitted from Lowther St returns.

male

Cumbrian constituencies for some years. The 1852 contest lacked the aftermath of the 1847 one in that a new election had had to be held in 1848 after claims of corrupt practices by and against Dixon and Hodgson, and widespread use of influence by these two men on Hanson and his supporters who worked for the two candidates ⁸⁸. In the 1848 election Hodgson and Howard were elected and Dixon rejected ⁸⁹.

At the Fisher Street Presbyterian church there was equal support for the liberals and the tory, and amongst those men who were to form ten years later the new Warwick Road church the voting was equally balanced ⁹⁰. There was a good deal of anti-Catholic feeling in the city against Howard who had withdrawn in favour of Graham, which is reflected in the voting of the Wesleyan Association members who were usually accused of being radicals but who on this occasion provided more than the usual tory vote. This anti-Catholicism made no difference to the Congregational members who remained solidly liberal with the usual three exceptions. The Wesleyans were largely tory in part because of the papal aggression of the time ⁹¹.

88. Ferguson Cumberland and Westmorland MPs pp.274-276.

89. McDouall, a chartist polled 55 votes. Both Dixon and Hodgson were unseated by the cross petition.

90. See table 54 p.675.

91. See above pp. 386ff.

Table 53Voting pattern of Methodists in Carlisle elections

<u>Circuit</u>	<u>tory</u>	<u>liberal</u>	<u>split</u>	<u>other</u>	<u>did not vote</u>	<u>total male members</u>	<u>total members with vote (%)</u>
Wesleyan							
1847	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1852	14	6	-	-	2	81	22(27)
1868	44	26	3	-	10	283	83(29)
Primitive							
1847	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1852	4	8	-	-	-	60	12(20)
1868	15	19	3	1*	2	135	40(30)
Wesleyan Assoc- iation(UMFPC)							
1847	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1852	9	12	-	-	1	65	22(34)
1868	9	8	3	9**	-	70	29(41)

*vote for democrat Slater

** 5 for Slater democrat and Hodgson tory; 2 Slater and Lawson liberal; 2 for Slater

The new Cecil Street Congregational church had only thirteen electors but eight of these polled for the liberals and showed how that congregation would develop. The few Primitive voters also had a liberal bias of two voters to each tory.

The election of 1868 was fought over one main issue: the threatened disestablishment of the Church of Ireland by the liberals and the threat this posed for the Church of England, which resulted in Anglicans being mobilised to support the tory party ⁹². In Carlisle there were four candidates. Hodgson, the sole tory, Sir Wilfrid Lawson, the second baronet of Brayton, and Edmund Potter, the Manchester industrialist, were faced with William Slater, a democrat ⁹³. Slater came a decisive bottom of the poll, but Potter only beat Hodgson by fourteen votes, with Lawson a clear winner. It was the first city election with a greatly increased electorate and people were uncertain as to how all of these new voters would poll.

92. See above pp653ff ;Machin Politics and the Churches pp.355-379. Bebbington Nonconformist Conscience pp.1ff.

93. Lawson 1829-1906, member at various times for Carlisle, Cocker-mouth, and other seats; see above pp. 419ff.
Slater, director of the family firm in the city which made biscuits and flour.

Lawson and Potter were radical liberals and rather daring choices for the city electors, and the contest was one of the closest and hardest fought which Lawson remembered ⁹⁴ . Potter and Lawson were prominent teetotal leaders, both supported votes for women and later home rule for the Irish, whilst Lawson became anti-empire and pro-Boer . The drink trade firmly supported Hodgson whilst Lawson could expect the support of temperance workers and sympathisers, and the effects on the separate churches reveal a varying state of affairs.

Amongst the Congregational churches the liberals received strong support, with Lowther Street remaining almost completely liberal although having lost many members to the Cecil Street and Charlotte Street churches. The Chapel Street Church of Scotland members had more tory voters than liberal, but the Warwick Road church was slightly balanced for the liberals. The Fisher Street

94. Russell Sir Wilfrid Lawson pp.68 ff, 79 ff; A.E.

Dingle The Campaign for Prohibition in Victorian England: the United Kingdom Alliance(1980) pp.20 ff

and throughout records the Lawson family's work; this Lawson, second baronet, gave repeated cash gifts to the UKA including £5,000; he introduced a bill on temperance and drink control annually from 1864.

members provided more tory than liberal electors and overall the balance between the two parties among all the churches was even, and must have been repeated in Anglican churches for so close a vote between tory and liberals to have taken place.

The Wesleyans remained determinedly tory although a large minority were liberals, and like the Presbyterians the Wesleyans were not over-enthusiastic teetotal or temperance supporters at that date ⁹⁵. The Wesleyans' poor showing in terms of electors for so large a membership was due to the success of the new mission in Caldewgate where a poor population crowded the mission church but did not possess the vote. Within twenty years the gaining of the franchise by so large a membership was clearly likely to have implications for the political parties.

The Primitives had rather more electors in their ranks than in 1852 and many had been enfranchised by the 1867 act. From the pro-tory majority of 1852 there was a shift to the liberals which would continue with the future elections ⁹⁶. The UMFC members were divided into a fascinating array of combinations involving all four candidates, largely because of Slater the democrat

95. See above pp. 419ff.

96. Members today who recall the societies of pre-1914 state that few Primitives of the 1900s were not liberals, although from the table 53 p.669 it can be seen that this development was recent.

having been proposed and seconded by two UMFC members, John Hargreaves and John Turner ⁹⁷. Slater may well have been a UMFC adherent, which would help to explain the way members of that church divided their votes between him, Lawson and Hodgson. It seems that railway influences were at work during this election in particular, with Hodgson promising more employment for the city stations and yards than his rivals for obvious reasons. In the Cecil Street congregation, of the twenty two who voted for Hodgson twelve are identifiable as working on the railways, though not the company concerned ⁹⁸.

The Nonconformist clergy seldom possessed the vote in Carlisle before 1852, though those that did like Henry Wight were exceptionally active in politics ⁹⁹. With regular changes of ministers the Methodists were the least likely to have the vote or a chance to vote and none are listed until Hugh Beech, the Wesleyan circuit superintendent, in 1852. Beech did something that was quite exceptional: he plumped for Ferguson, the Palmerstonian liberal, and did not use his second vote for either the tory or the Catholic, Howard. At the 1857 poll the

97. See above pp. 387ff.

98. The Cecil Street minute book records the members' occupations; see above p.293 ; Mr. B.C. Jones the county archivist suspects 'railway voting' was *important*.

99. For Wight see above pp.275ff.

Wesleyan superintendent John Bramley voted for Hodgson and Ferguson, rather than for Ferguson and Sir James Graham. Ferguson was not elected ¹⁰⁰. John Talbot, circuit superintendent in 1861, did not poll.

The first Primitive minister to vote in the city was John Watson who voted for Hodgson and Sir James Graham in 1857. At the 1861 bye-election in the city for one vacant seat William Bailey, George Dixon and Thomas Southron, the three Primitive ministers, all polled for Edmund Potter against Hodgson. The first UMFC ministers to use a vote were Joseph Martin and Benjamin Stubbs who polled in 1868 for Potter and Lawson, which suggests a liberal-radical bias amongst the Primitives and UMFC whilst the Wesleyans were pro-tory or moderate liberals.

One important sign of the changes taking place within the Nonconformist churches of Carlisle was the behaviour of the Warwick Road Presbyterians. Of the founding church members twenty three polled in 1868 for Hodgson and twenty one for the two liberals, but of the members recruited since the church's foundation eighteen polled for Hodgson and twenty seven for the liberals ¹⁰¹.

100. J.Burgess Methodist Ministers who served in Cumbria

(Carlisle 1977) provides lists of all of the ministers.

101. For the church see above pp. 303-306.

Table 54

Voting pattern of Presbyterians in Carlisle elections

<u>Church</u>	<u>tory</u>	<u>liberal</u>	<u>split</u>	<u>other</u>	<u>did not vote</u>	<u>total male members</u>	<u>total members with ^{note} vote(%)</u>
Fisher St							
1847	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1852	14	14	-	-	4	63	32(51)
1868	12	8	-	-	4	59	24(41)
Chapel St							
1847	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1852	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1868	16	6	-	-	3	61	25(41)
Warwick Rd							
1847	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1852*	9	10	-	-	2	-	-
1868**	41	48	1	-	10	230	100(43)

* all are Fisher Street members until 1861 and omitted from Fisher Street returns.

** new members enrolled after election of 1868 for three years include 21 voting for liberals and 8 for tory in 1868.

Of the two hundred and more new members enrolled at Warwick Road between 1869 and 1872 twenty one had voted for Potter and Lawson in 1868 and only nine for Hodgson, the tory, before they were members. As new members were being recruited, so the old tory bias was being shed in favour of stronger liberalism. The gradual growth of liberal support within Carlisle congregations was then a slow process of change as old members died and were replaced by new ones. Nonetheless it was rarely the case that any of the congregations mentioned had an overwhelming tory or liberal bias, except at Lowther Street Congregational church, and mixed voting patterns continued. Members and their congregations might easily change allegiance, and the complexity of denominational voting habits is shown by the UMFC membership.

Among the Methodist circuit officials, and in particular the local preachers, trustees and class leaders, the number of electors was few ¹⁰². Over the years 1852 to 1868 there was a pronounced development of liberal support with both Wesleyans and Primitives whilst the UMFC vote changed little. Here too was a significant change in party allegiance as old officials were replaced by the new who did not necessarily inherit their toryism.

102. See table 55 p.677 ; the officials of course were for the circuit but lived in the city, hence the exclusion of the many officials without a city vote.

Table 55Voting of Methodist officials in Carlisle elections

<u>Connexion</u>	<u>date</u>	<u>tory</u>	<u>liberal</u>	<u>split</u>	<u>did not</u> <u>vote</u>
Wesleyan	1852	8	1	0	0
Wesleyan	1868	5	4	2	2
Primitive	1852	5	2	0	0
Primitive	1868	3	6	0	0
Association	1852	4	4	0	0
UMFPC	1868	3	4	1	0

Table 56Voting of Methodist officials in other elections

<u>Westmorland 1818</u>					
Wesleyan	1	9	0	0	0
<u>Whitthaven 1832</u>					
Wesleyan	6	5	0	0	0

Nonconformist clergy, and especially the Methodists, did not possess the franchise before 1832 because it was restricted to the freemen of the borough who were members of the guilds, and after 1832 the rating system on property denied the vote to many ministers. As late as the 1860s Primitive Methodist ministers might inhabit the tiny cottage behind the Cecil Street chapel which was rated in shillings for the year and thus deprived the men of the vote.

How many of the non-Anglicans formed part of the mobs at hustings in Carlisle which made elections there violent into the 1860s is impossible to know. The amount of involvement by members of the various congregations may well have been less than that of the majority of the population who claimed allegiance to Anglicanism but in fact rarely if ever attended places of worship. The active participation of working men in elections was first noticeable in the more urban and industrial seats of Barrow and Whitehaven.

Barrow in Furness liberals had been decimated by the home rule crisis of 1886 when W.S. Caine, the Baptist mining director of Millom and Liverpool, won the new seat as a liberal unionist ¹⁰³. In a particularly unpleasant contest in 1890 Caine lost to the official Gladstonian candidate, although in 1892 Caine rejoined the main liberal party once he had settled his differences.

103. Newton Caine pp.136-232; Caine was chief lieutenant to Chamberlain in the 1880s.

The liberals eventually ended by supporting the labour candidate Charles Duncan at the election of 1906 because of disarray in their own ranks. The unions, the liberals, the Irish and the temperance lobby turned to Duncan against the tories and he was the first labour member in Cumbria's political history ¹⁰⁴ .

Parliamentary success for labour at Barrow had been preceded by the formation of a town labour party in 1892 and a number of successes in council elections in the 1890s and 1900s. Barrow had a traditional liberal bias that easily developed into sympathy for the labour party, but at Whitehaven the liberals had always suffered at the hands of the Lowthers and their popular support ¹⁰⁵ . The miners in particular were pro-Lowther but the abandoning of the miners and of the Lowther paternalism in the 1880s did not encourage the voters into liberal ranks ultimately. Sir James Bain, the lessee of all the Lowther collieries and of six hundred mining cottages stood as tory candidate in 1892, but he had just cut miners' wages and precipitated a rare all-out strike. The result was a liberal success ¹⁰⁶ .

However the lack of traditional liberalism among the miners eventually allowed in the labour party at the

104. D.Stark 'The Origin and Growth of a Single Industry town:Barrow in Furness 1890-1910' University of Lancaster M.A. 1972,; chapter 1.

105. Tufft, thesis ,pp. 9-27, 56-73.

106. Yet the local elections remained in favour of the tories.

general election of 1910. The intervention of labour candidates at Whitehaven and Cockermouth had split the liberal vote and allowed in the tories in 1906 at both seats, so an agreement was clearly a sensible thing. The result was the liberal success of Sir Wilfrid Lawson, third baronet, at Cockermouth, and Tom Richardson taking Whitehaven for the labour party ¹⁰⁷. In the other Cumbrian constituencies the labour party remained weak and poorly organised until after 1918.

The rise of labour and of the trade unions in Cumbria do not show clear links with a particular church or denomination. There had been a labour church at Barrow in the 1890s which attracted members of the sole Cumbrian free thought society, but in general the denominations did not look approvingly on labour or the unions ¹⁰⁸. In Carlisle the small group of powerful industrialist families opposed unions and labour. The Chances regarded poor employers as the cause of the growth of both, and felt that increased employer concern for the welfare of their employees would reduce the influence of each ¹⁰⁹. Carrs, Laings and Hudson Scott all multiplied

107. Gregory The Miners and British Politics
(1968) pp.88ff.

108. J.Mowat and A Power Fifty Years' Anniversary of the Labour Party in Barrow(Barrow 1949)no pagination.

109. I am grateful to Miss Chance for this information.
Ferguson Brothers centenary pp.23ff.

their recreational and social benefits for employees which included sports grounds, pavilions, clubs, reading and other rooms, dances and parties, improved friendly society and pension schemes.

Nonconformists involved in political life in the 1900s remained firmly in the radical or liberal camps as did the Sharpe family of Whitehaven. Andrew Sharpe was the fourth generation of Primitive local preachers in the circuit and of miners, and became leader of the Cumberland miners' federation in 1906 ¹¹⁰. He was a liberal and was passed over as candidate for Cockermouth in 1910. In Carlisle there was a labour group attending the Carlisle Salvation Army citadel in the 1890s and 1900s, most of whom were connected with Carrs' biscuits where the directors tolerated union activity because of their Christian charity, as they made quite clear ¹¹¹. John Sowerby was one of the labour workers at Carrs at that date but he later abandoned the Army for more involvement in the political life of the city.

The Methodists of the city seem to have been largely liberal with a strong tory rump into the 1900s, whilst the Congregational churches were almost exclusively liberals in the 1900s. James Taylor was a member at the Charlotte Street church and an engine driver; at local and

110. Gregory Miners and British Politics pp.88.ff

111. I am grateful to Mr. J. Sowerby of Carlisle for this information.

parliamentary elections before 1914 the labour party canvassers and supporters used to meet in the front room of his terraced house in Head Street to plan their campaign. It was always believed by his family and the more open church members that his political opinions cost him the post of deacon at Charlotte Street ¹¹². Taylor was the sole self-confessed supporter of the unions and of labour at Charlotte Street and something of a religious pariah in consequence, and on the outbreak of war in 1914 he refused to attend church because the minister was so enthusiastic in his support of the war.

Charlotte Street remained liberal during the inter-war years, as did the Presbyterian churches of Carlisle. When the first avowed socialist minister preached at Warwick Road Presbyterian church in 1920 there was an uproar afterwards and people walked out of the service in protest ¹¹³. The Congregational influence in local politics was quite striking in the period 1880 to 1932 with Charlotte Street providing eight Carlisle mayors from among its members ¹¹⁴. It was a pattern of local

112. I am grateful to Mrs Little of Carlisle for this information about her father, James Taylor.

113. I am grateful to Mr. J. Middleton for this information *about* the service and meeting he attended.

114. W.Maxwell 1886, W.B.Maxwell 1908, M.Johnstone 1911, J.P.Buck 1916, A.Creighton 1921 and 1926, J. Henderson 1927, H.Atkinson 1932.

denominational political affiliation to be found all over the county, for example in Whitehaven where the Congregational church provided several mayors between 1900 and 1921¹¹⁵. The gradual conversion of Nonconformity to liberal politics was slow and irregular between 1868 and 1900, but its effects were long-lasting in Cumbria where politics and religion remained closely linked in the twentieth century.



Lowther Street, Carlisle, Congregational church

115. J. Davies 1900 and 1901, W. Oldfield 1911,
W.H. Wandless 1921.

Religion and Cumbria in the twentieth century

During December 1902 agents acting for the West Cumberland Times carried out a census of attendance at places of worship in the area between Wigton and St. Bees. In spite of poor weather and a trade depression it was reported that attendances were good and that religion was in a healthy state in West Cumberland, but the superficial analysis of inexpertly gathered information was incorrect¹; religion in twentieth century Cumbria encountered similar predicaments to those existing in the rest of England.

The religious census of 1851 had recorded that forty per cent of the Cumbrian population attended a place of worship on census Sunday in the area covered by the census of 1902². Fifty one years later the population of the West Cumberland census had grown from under one hundred thousand to nearly one hundred and forty thousand, and the percentage of attenders at places of worship had dropped from forty to twenty. For unexplained reasons there were less places of worship open in 1902 than in 1851 whilst several denominations recorded a decrease of fifty per cent in their attendances.

1. See table 58 p. 687 ; West Cumberland Times 20 December 1902.

2. See table 57 p. 685 ; see Burgess, thesis, pp.302-318 for further details on the religious census of Cumbria.

Table 57Religious Census of 1851 for Cumbria:

<u>Denomination</u>	<u>attendances</u> (all)	<u>places of</u> <u>worship open</u>	<u>percentage</u> <u>of total</u> <u>population</u>
Roman Catholic	4784	10	1.6
Congregational	7302	37	2.5
Baptist	1508	18	0.5
Presbyterian	3930	20	1.3
Quaker	998	31	0.3
Wesleyan	16637	134	5.8
Primitive	6050	41	2.1
other Methodist	8968	32	3.0
Church of England	70763	282	24.5
Total	120913	602	41.8

Note: some places of worship were not open on the census Sunday including a number of Primitive and Quaker places. However numerous small Methodist house meetings were omitted simply because enumerators were not aware of their existence.

The only denominations to appear in the 1902 returns as doing modestly well in terms of numbers were the Methodists and the Roman Catholics. The latter were the largest denomination after the Church of England and used their places of worship most intensively; this state of affairs worried other denominations and in particular the Wesleyans who had only managed to keep pace with population increases and maintained their 1851 figures. The Primitives were doing rather better and accounted for most of the Methodist gains in attendances and places of worship since 1851.

The Anglicans, the Presbyterians and the Congregationalists had suffered drastic decreases in attendances since 1851 and the Quakers were reduced to tiny figures. The Brethren, Baptists and UMFC were not much larger in their figures for the census Sunday ³. There could be no optimism for the denominations in the figures of 1902.

The various denominations retained their importance into the twentieth century, yet the obvious decline in attendance at worship dates from the 1880s according to the Whitehaven census of 1881 ⁴. This latter census in the town revealed almost identical figures with the one of 1851 but provided a great contrast with the 1902 census. It was not only in Whitehaven that church attendance was in decline for down the

3. See table 58 p. 687

4. See table 59 p. 689 ; it has not been possible to find the original census figures of 1881 but they were repeated with the 1902 figures.

Table 58Comparison between the Religious Censuses of 1851 and 1902

<u>Denomination</u>	<u>attendances</u>		<u>places of worship</u>	
	<u>1851</u>	<u>1902</u>	<u>open</u>	<u>open</u>
			<u>1851</u>	<u>1902</u>
Church of England	23380	9475	76	53
Roman Catholic	1946	5577	5	11
Quaker	377	107	10	5
Congregational	3256	1670	14	12
Presbyterian	1891	922	6	7
Wesleyan	4844	4854	34	36
Primitive	1795	2311	11	28
UMFC	908	509	4	5
Brethren	230	464	1	7
Baptist	425	407	6	3

Total population of survey area comprising registration

districts of Wigton, Cockermouth and Whitehaven: 1851 98000
1902 130000

Attendances as a percentage of total population: 1851 40
1902 20.6

Note: the census returners for 1902 noted a number of rural places of worship closed.

Eden valley the Methodists were experiencing a general rural decline which alarmed circuit authorities and encouraged the turning of hearers into members in order to bolster returns ⁵. The Appleby UMFC circuit schedules for 1881 and 1919 show how rural circuit might lose two thirds of their worshippers and local preachers and it was a situation which afflicted every Cumbrian circuit ⁶.

Numerical decline amongst Methodist circuits might have been temporary and was to an extent ameliorated by the continuing importance of individual members or congregations for several decades. Nonetheless the economic and demographic changes which had brought into being the denominational enterprises of the period 1780-1860 were no longer relevant after and often before the end of queen Victoria's reign. The agricultural depression affected even the pastoral Eden valley whilst the cyclical trade depressions in West Cumberland, Barrow and Millom ruined denominational finances and therefore their work. Above all it was the reaction of the off-comers which affected Cumbrian religious history.

At root the denominations required migrants both to inaugurate and to consolidate their work, whether they were one of the Methodist connexions, Roman Catholics or Anglicans.

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5. See for instance Kirkby Stephen, Appleby and Brough Wesleyan circuit statistical summary books and quarterly meeting minutes after 1890, KRO WDPC/M1.
6. See above p. 392 ;circuit preaching plans show similar problems for circuits ; they have been collected in the CRO.

Table 59

Comparison between the Religious Censuses of 1881 and 1902
in Whitehaven

<u>Denomination</u>	<u>attendances</u>	
	<u>1881</u>	<u>1902</u>
Church of England	2186	900
Roman Catholic	1416	1047
Quaker	27	0
Brethren	50	93
Congregational	676	401
Presbyterian	619	285
Baptist	90	44
Wesleyan	668	815
Primitive	245	245
UMFC	467	130

Note: Wesleyans opened two missions, the Hogarth and the Kirk, between 1881 and 1902 and thus doubled their places of worship.

The Church of England needed off-comer initiative and energy quite as much as did other denominations ⁷ . These off-comers were however precisely those most given to migration out of the district once work and prosperity ended, so that the threatened economic dislocation in Millom and Dalton which spread to other areas left a quarter of all the houses vacant during 1911 ⁸ . Families who lost their livelihood simply packed up and often emigrated to the colonies rather than search in Britain for jobs. Denominational advance depended upon a mobile, flexible and changing society, the type produced between 1780 and 1860 in Cumbria; once there was a crisis of confidence in the future work of a district then people left and abandoned their church and its ties locally.

Short-distance migration obscured the fact of religious decline for a time since people tended to move from Inglewood forest to Penrith, from the Eden valley to Carlisle or the market towns, or from the western lakes to Whitehaven and Workington. The effects of this process were that urban congregations were granted a bonus and rural ones were starved of talent, worshippers and money ⁹ . It was then tempting for town churches to embark on ambitious rebuilding schemes for their places of worship when rural congregations could not afford their clergy or their village schools. All denominations suffered:

7. See above p. 197.

8. Barrow, Dalton and Millom FM annual reports BRO BDFC/M/1,M/U.

9. See above p.405.

Anglicans desperately clung to their parish schools in spite of rising costs and state rivalry, Nonconformists could not afford the luxury of too many preaching places or places of worship. The Penrith Presbyterians and Congregationalists found that by the 1880s they had to take charge of the churches at Salkeld, Penruddock, Kirkoswald and Gamblesby because members were moving and there was no recruitment of new adherents or natural regeneration ¹⁰. Penrith Wesleyan and Primitive congregations discovered that the energy of the rural societies had gone with the migrants and a succession of circuit stewards, ministers and local preachers struggled to maintain forty village churches ¹¹. The diocesan authorities found that Anglican schools were increasingly beyond the means of a poor diocese in which educational responsibilities had been expanded beyond the means of the clergy and parishioners ¹².

The gradual decay of rural churches and congregations was a slow process which might be reversed should the circumstances which brought it about alter: a new housing estate, a retired clergyman, new business life might boost religious life locally. In the long term though religious life tended increasingly to centre on towns and their dormitory suburbs.

10. See above pp. 306-307.

11. See above pp. 403ff.

12. See above pp. 468ff.

One theme of nineteenth century denominational history had been the rise of a full-time professional ministry within most denominations. Even within Primitive Methodist ranks there was an adoption of the word reverend to differentiate between pastor and flock in the 1900s, a differentiation that was frowned upon in the 1860s. There were always the active lay members of the churches but their role gradually became one of support for the clergy and in particular the raising of funds rather than the aggressive front-line evangelistic endeavours which had once characterised Wesleyans, Primitives and others ¹³. The paradox was that whilst the clergy expected their layworkers to devote themselves enthusiastically to church labour the actual leadership and decision-making authority was concentrated in clerical hands.

The difficulty in mobilising lay people to help the Church of England was no new one when the Torpenhow church warden, Jonathan Ashburner, wrote in 1910 that

I have given up trying to get people interested in the church repairs and redecoration ... it is a thankless task and I will just do my best and leave the money raising to others ... The vicar has no idea of the work involved in raising the money ¹⁴.

13. See above pp. 252ff.

14. I am grateful to Miss L. Nicholson of Bothel for the details on Ashburner's diaries in her hands.

The Church of England had traditionally relied on the wealthier classes to finance its work but the twentieth century was a great leveller of incomes and of people as the First World War illustrated. By 1914 few villages or centres did not possess places of worship which they more or less required or could support and Cumbrians were invariably more eager to build new churches rather than to maintain existing ones, partly because of generous benefactors. The processes at work in the 1900s were accelerated, sometimes with brutal rapidity, by the war.

For a start there was the obvious problem of deaths of prominent people. The Chance brothers used to sit with their family and their workers' families in St. James' church in Carlisle until two of the three brothers were killed in the war and the third purchased a home in Grasmere and spent increasing amounts of time there ¹⁵. The decline of the Lowther and Howard influence has been mentioned but it was a condition which affected industrialist families too ¹⁶. Other prominent families left their Cumbrian roots and expanded their businesses: a move to London was a logical step. John Laing moved to London with most of his family in the early 1920s because he sensed that the south east held the opportunities lacking in Carlisle; Carrs' factory

15. See above p. 445.

16. See above pp. 633ff.

remained in Carlisle but it eventually became part of United Biscuits and after the war many of the family had moved to the Lake District. Hudson Scott's family had also removed there and the firm became part of Metal Box in the 1920s after wartime expansion. The denominations with whom these families were involved suffered substantially.

The vagaries of birth and death contributed to the effects of the war on important families. Noble families such as the Lowthers and Cavendish dukes of Devonshire allowed their Cumbrian estates and seats to mark time and spent increasing time at their more convenient London residences or at favored Rutland and Chatsworth homes. The ninth earl of Carlisle had died in 1910, his successor the tenth earl survived only one year, and the eleventh was impoverished by the terms of his grandparents' wills ¹⁷ . A social presence remained with these families in Cumbria but their economic circumstances had drastically suffered. Even an old established family such as the Flemings of Rydal and Grasmere lost their influence when the baronetcy was parted from their estates and went to an Australian ¹⁸ .

17. Roberts Radical Countess pp.156ff

18. The Fleming title continues with the eleventh baronet in New Zealand; the head of the Dixons of Carlisle was an Australian between the two wars and there were other such instances.

The effects of the war on congregations varied. After early misgivings most Nonconformists came eagerly ^{to} support the war in spite of the deaths amongst the future generation of workers although there were some pockets of resistance to a war amongst labour supporters ¹⁹. The war not only reduced the core of future members and church workers amongst the Nonconformists, but put into doubt the previously firm commitments of young men who could not take up their pre-wartime position in their churches and became only occasional attenders ²⁰. War losses too further accentuated the longstanding imbalance of the sexes and emphasised the excess of females over males. The Anglicans had relied on the nominal membership of a majority of people and thus suffered less from disaffection such as that which afflicted the Nonconformists who relied upon commitment from a minority.

Between the two wars the parts of Cumbria suffering from economic dislocation and depression, most notably West Cumberland, Barrow and Millom, lost their active members by emigration to the colonies. Those who remained endured unemployment on a hitherto unknown scale throughout the 1920s and 1930s so that in the Workington Primitive circuit during 1929 only two of the one hundred and fifty male adherents possessed fulltime jobs ²¹. Congregations at many churches

19. See above p. 691.

20. I am grateful to Mr. Middleton and Mr. Little for their information on the Carlisle churches.

21. I am grateful to the Rev. James Wilkinson for this information; he was minister in charge at that date.

aged as their younger members left Cumbria, and an elderly set of officials augured ill for the future.

The twentieth century religious history of Cumbria was not wholly one of vicissitudes and there were areas of growth. Carlisle and Penrith remained economically stable and had none of the poverty to be found in Barrow and Whitehaven, so that their churches maintained their fortunes in income and membership. Much of Westmorland had already lost its excess population in the last century and there remained a fairly buoyant gentry. Above all the Lake District prospered: comparison between maps of 1900 and 1930 reveal a doubling of the houses around Windermere's shores, and the cottages that regularly appeared on the lakeside had disappeared by 1920. Not only the Anglicans flourished with increasing off-comer influence, but Roman Catholic communities came to Windermere and Grasmere.

Existing Methodist societies which had only just survived the nineteenth century intact welcomed the influx of retiring off-comer members between the two wars who brought new life to Hawkshead and Grasmere²². The Second World War provided further opportunities with the evacuation for the entirety of the war years of several schools and the Royal College of Art to the lakes. Kent and Newcastle

22. Hawkshead and Grasmere centenaries 1962 and 1974 respectively.

evacuees swelled small Sunday schools in the lakeland towns and villages and after the war some stayed behind and were joined by their parents. The arrival of just one man might revitalise a church and congregation: the retirement of the Rev. Dr. George Jackson in 1926 to Grasmere invigorated the Ambleside Wesleyan circuit . Small and select resorts also benefited from the retirement of the religious from London, the industrial midlands or north, and Grange, Arncliffe and Sandside provided the small intimate and friendly congregations that proved so attractive to off-comers who in their earlier lives had had little time for denominational allegiances.

After the Second World War the growth areas of the county, in particular the lakes, Kendal, Penrith and Carlisle, continued to show a pattern of religious activity in keeping with national trends: where the economy prospered, where the off-comers stimulated worship and innovation, then religious history was happier than in the blighted West Cumberland towns and villages. The problems of recruiting clergy for rural Anglican livings meant that two or three were commonly lumped together under one parson and country parishes find it difficult to attract active younger men. The Methodist union of 1932 was having some effects during the period 1958 to 1970 when a number of places of worship surplus to requirements were closed often in the face of hostile but small congregations who clung more to their buildings than to their circuit

ministers ²³ . The formation of the URC out of the Presbyterians and some of the Congregational churches meant that in Cumbria ministers were usually of the former denomination and decreasingly trained by the latter ²⁴ . Congregational churches like Keswick and Lowther Street, Carlisle, remained outside the URC but could not attract ministers to small communities with low stipends. Enclaves of Baptists and Brethren, with a residual Quakerism, continued in parts of Cumbria and issues of war and peace periodically brought in extra hearers to services.

There continue to be modern success stories amongst the churches. A variety of free evangelical congregations, Mormons, Christadelphians and Jehovah's Witnesses flourish in some towns whilst the Roman Catholics amongst the major denominations expanded their congregations, churches and schools. The older pattern of Catholic work has constantly declined over the course of the twentieth century, so that whilst urban parishes do well, the Orders have found it impossible to recruit or to pay for their buildings ²⁵ . All of the denominations were forced to readjust in the face of rapid change to which they were not accustomed.

23. See Burgess Cumbrian Methodism pp.141-147.

24. In 1982 there were four ex-Congregational and fourteen ex-Presbyterian ministers at work in Cumbria.

25. Wigton convent closed in 1983, Holme Eden convent in 1983 and St. Joseph's Carlisle in 1972.

Old central congregations lost out to new suburban development and the arrival and departure of off-comers with a rapidity previously unknown.

Carlisle continues to serve as an example of what happens in church history. For the Anglicans St. Herbert has been combined with St. Stephen and St. Paul's church has closed; however the development of Stanwix and building of over one thousand new houses since 1965 has necessitated the expansion of Kingmoor chapel, part of Houghton parish, and increase of Stanwix premises in the form of a church centre. The Roman Catholics quickly tapped the Stanwix potential and have a five-year-old church there, but the Quaker meetings have centralised on Carlisle and the rural meetings are largely discontinued.

Methodist union in Carlisle was only effected in 1958 when the three circuits finally agreed to amalgamate which resulted in the closure of the Cecil Street Primitive church and its subsequent demolition, and the turning of the United Methodist premises into a carpet warehouse. The Wesleyan buildings continued to function. Charlotte Street Congregational church closed in 1974 and is now occupied by the Jehovah's Witnesses, whilst Cecil Street Evangelical Union church is now an electrical goods centre. Off-comer influence remains strong and Scottish workers pour over the border each morning into the city, whilst large numbers of Scots come from further north and maintain a strong Church of Scotland cause in Chapel Street.

With the gradual but irreversible erosion of many functions of the denominations over the course of the twentieth century the places of worship retain solely the religious role as their own. The rise of social workers, of state education, state welfare and the like the churches found their scope for action curtailed. The provision of secular entertainments, and not solely based on public houses, was too a threat to denominational work . In a large county such as Cumbria nonetheless the churches retain in the 1980s an important place as social and recreation centre for all of the age groups, whilst it might be argued that redundant churches perform most useful duties as social and day centres. The traditional problems which have faced the denominations since, and often before, 1780 remain: the diocese of Carlisle is isolated even today from the more progressive dioceses, Methodist circuits continue to have a dozen or more small chapels to each minister, all churches fail to raise sufficient money to pay for the ministry, and the Lake District retains the allure for off-comers that has traditionally threatened the region's way of life. Above all the denominations remain unresolved as to their aims and roles in a largely secular society.

However pessimistic might be an appraisal of religion in modern Cumbria there exists a strong residual Christianity which given propitious circumstances comes to life. In the parish of Torpenhow a number of seemingly insignificant changes when seen individually have effected a dramatic change.

By 1977 there had been no services at the old Blennerhasset Congregational church for some years, the remaining Methodist chapel in Bothel was attended by elderly members, and the retiring vicar joined another denomination. In that year the new and more active vicar after a promising start dropped dead after only a year and one of the more active families left the parish. This family's home was sold and a dozen new homes built in its garth. Locals complained about off-comers. The scene was set for transformation when amongst the off-comers were two north eastern families, already Methodists who settled in Bothel. At the same time an active couple from south Lancashire retired early to Torpenhow and attended both Bothel Methodist and Torpenhow parish churches. A young vicar was recruited from London to take charge of Torpenhow and of the neighbouring Allhallows parish, and the upsurge of interest spread to Blennerhasset where the owner of the old Congregational chapel opened a room for occasional preaching. Attempts to close the Bothel school were prevented by a combination of native and off-coming opposition since the birth rate locally had doubled as had the number of children under eleven, and a Sunday school was started at the Methodist chapel supervised by a local deputy headmistress.

It was a familiar pattern at Torpenhow of off-comers revitalising the religious community, families attracted by the expanding work in Aspatria and by the beauty of the district, and native churches given new life and direction.

Conclusions

The isolation and poverty of Cumbria affected the way in which the denominations coped with their mission to the population between 1780 and 1920. A poor diocese and people provided low stipends for all clergy and yet the population and economic changes of the nineteenth century brought in new money with the off-comers; the two drastically affected the subsequent religious history of the region.

The earls of Lonsdale, those most traditional and conservative of landowners in many ways, were the unwitting agents of religious change by their exploitation of West Cumberland which attracted the off-comers, Manx and north easterner as well as Irish and Scots. Religious diversity was inevitable and with the growth of Carlisle, the railways, Barrow, Millom, Workington and mining there was a flow of off-comers who in some areas over ^{-ra ^} the native population.

Religious history proved to be the interaction between these off-comers and the native Cumbrians and its outcome. Of course it was not simply this but at root the relationships between the two figured prominently in the life of the denominations. The Scots revived or took over or refounded Presbyterianism, added zest and diversity to the Congregational churches, affected the Baptists and played their part within the Churches of Christ. The Irish turned Roman Catholicism from a gentry-based religion into a popular expression of their national inheritance. The Welsh brought their own brand of Methodism although of these three ethnic groups they were weakest.

The Nonconformist ministers were more often than not drawn from beyond the region which at once made them strangers to their congregations made up of Cumbrians as well as off-comers. Part of those antagonisms which did arise were caused by this conflict between off-comer and native. The energy for new denominations was provided by the outsiders who came for work to Cumbria and who either brought their new beliefs with them or proved easy subjects for enterprising missionaries.

It was not solely within non-Anglicanism that the off-comers played a major role: the agents of change within the Church of England were precisely those deans, bishops and incumbents sent or attracted to the diocese by those who wished for change. The disputes over ritualistic innovation were so many battles fought between zealous off-comers like Waldegrave, Close, Barrett and Pixell which little involved native Cumbrians. It was the same in the lakes where the local people took no part in the evangelical upsurge of the Keswick convention. Religious activism or extremism left the Cumbrians cold; like the Lowthers the Cumbrians preferred an integrated establishment which caused little trouble either way.

Those Cumbrians who were important for their religious roles, like George and Rosalind Howard, if they might be called Cumbrian by adoption and inclination, and the Lawsons, were usually individuals of a wider experience: the Howards knew fashionable London and the upper class world whilst few ^{eminent} Cumbrians were exposed to the religious conversion undergone by Lawson. Howard and his wife brought in Henry Whitehead to Brampton and had a *Pre-Raphaelite* church and parsonage constructed; Lawson financed teetotalism and the Evangelical Union.

The effect of native with off-comer can be seen in the drink question. The Lawsons were unusual for Cumbrians in being teetotal but they found allies in the Chance and Morton families of Carlisle, recent off-comers and teetotal. Their moment of triumph came with the State Management Scheme of 1916 which was a defence against other off-comers, the Gretna workforce. The impact of off-comers on Barrow and Ravenstonedale was not merely a matter of stranger and native; it was a question of the subtle influence of families like the Carvers and the Fells who combined both sorts, off-comer and native. There was too the effect on off-comers when exposed to native congregations; William Nicholls and the Manning family found Ravenstonedale so precious that they could never leave it permanently.

Even within architectural expression there was a similar reaction: the native Ferguson, experienced in national work, face to face with an off-comer, Street, over the rebuilding of the Fraternity. When local builders constructed their outsized Victorian parsonages they must have been aware that the clergy sent to occupy them were hand-picked off-comers selected by an off-coming dean or bishop or other patron because of their wealth or education.

The off-comers too encouraged movement between denominations or within the same one. Anglican evangelicals encouraged like-mindedness amongst other off-comers who had settled in the lakes; tepid Anglicans might become enthusiastic Inghamites or devoted Sandemanians under the impact of outside preachers. Quakers decided to establish Brethren meetings, Wesleyans turned into

Primitives, United Methodists and later Salvation Army supporters. An off-comer, and particularly a Scot, might undergo radical religious changes in Cumbria: Reid, the successful Presbyterian preacher in Scotland, became the Brethren founder once in Carlisle.

The off-comers brought extra money to Cumbria when they invested in the denominations. Waldegrave, Villiers and Goodwin encouraged outsiders to augment stipends, build parsonages or provide new churches. The problem was that such off-coming money was used for purposes not always or mainly supported by natives who preferred a parson to live in a humble dwelling surrounded by his equally humble parishioners rather than in a fine gentleman's residence surrounded by two or three acres of grounds. A community appreciated Robert Walker's involvement in their everyday lives partly because he wanted the extra money which he earned from farm work and helping out when needed ; it was a different world for Cumbrians when their parson became a learned gentleman of independent means.

The off-comer, Scottish or otherwise, and the native-born inhabitant, figure as the key participants in the religious history of Cumbria. The relationships between them not only affected denominationalism but also popular religion and the history of education in the region. It continues to be true that the attitudes of these two groups determine what happens in the religious life of Cumbria today.

Bibliography

Bibliography

The following list is divided into denominational holdings both MS and printed, and where this is not possible because several denominations are together, this is stated. The main material is divided between the CRO, KRO and BRO, with pre-1856 holdings occasionally at Preston or Chester ROs. Recently much of value has been copied and deposited in the CRO from these latter two ROs. The copious holdings of the Carlisle dean and chapter are mainly at the CRO apart from its extensive library.

The diocese of Carlisle archives suffered damage this century and are notably weak for the years 1780-1850. In this source list the holdings are briefly itemised unless of particular importance and attention is drawn to this fact. The main body of the textual footnotes contain further breakdown.

The non-Anglicans presented a variety of problems from denomination to denomination. For the Roman Catholics there are many single items in the county ROs but their church records are elusive. The help of the Warwick Bridge Benedictines was appreciated.

The Methodist archives are especially full after some years of concentration in this field. Thousands of items have been prized out of wholly unsuitable places and these are fully listed in Burgess, thesis, 'Methodism in Cumbria' vol. 2.

What exists for the Inghamites of Kendal is in the following list but the Sandemanians and Countess of Huntingdon's connexion have left little.

At the union of 1972 former Congregational churches were instructed to deposit their records in their county ROs but in Cumbria this has not always happened. The large number of items in private or church hands are listed below and clearly differentiated from the RO holdings.

The former Presbyterian churches were instructed to deposit their out-of-date records with the London headquarters, but churches with a tradition back to the seventeenth century often retained them in the county.

The Unitarian chapel at Kendal placed its records in the KRO and there are scattered items in the CRO for the Carlisle congregation. The Baptists have shown a reluctance to allow access to their material, but there are extensive sets of records belonging to the Quakers deposited in the county ROs and the Brethren at Kendal have placed some items in the KRO.

The Jackson library has provided the most important county source for printed and some MS sources. It was originally given to Carlisle public library by William Jackson of St. Bees, and includes thousands of items of porcelain as well as books, articles and MSS relating to all aspects of Cumbrian history and culture, including the original fourteen thousand entries in the first printed catalogue of 1909. It remains the prime research and reference library in the region.

County newspapers and directories have been listed separately, as have the biographical volumes of Henry Lonsdale. The variations in newspaper editions means that the practice of printing at least two editions of the same weekly newspaper on the same day leads to letters and other items being changed at the whim of the editor, and this needs careful attention.

Individual articles in transactions are not listed here but in the textual footnotes unless the rest of the transactions have not been consulted. Printed books have been listed according to several headings suggested by the arrangement of the main text.

Church of EnglandCRO

DRC1 and DRC2: extensive sets of diocesan accounts, administrative details and information on the properties of successive bishops of Carlisle from c.1400 to c. 1700 and including the manors of Barrow on Trent, Penrith, Dalston, Linstock and Melbourne. Separate items include

2/171 address of the West Cumberland clergy on Romanism to the bishop of Carlisle 1866.

2/174 correspondence between bishop Goodwin and the Rev. T.S. Barrett of Barrow concerning the Public Worship Act, 1874-1877.

2/177 papers relating to the dispute over the sale of pews at St. Nicholas, Whitehaven 1884.

2/189 correspondence between several clergy over the nature and extent of the authority of rural deans 1913.

2/226 return of livings of the diocese of Carlisle valued at under £150.

There are also a number of documents from c.1300 concerning the possessions of the Carlisle dean and chapter.

DRC3: /1-63 are the consistory court records dating from 1571.

3/54 ritual case between the rector of Wetheral and the churchwardens 1874.

There are many unlisted items here including the licensing of curates, issue of faculties, modern legal matters, and a list of Leeds RO holdings concerning the archdeaconry of Richmond.

- DRC4: convocation records, mainly monitions to attend synods and lists of representatives.
- DRC5: visitation records for the diocese of Carlisle, largely call books only with some lists of clergy, schoolmasters and presentments.
- DRC6: bishops' transcripts, being copies of the parish registers for births, marriages and burials, with some terriers, standard replies to visitation questions and occasional documents such as clerical testimonials. There is a complete list of parish registers and their location.
- DRC7: calendars of marriage bonds 1668 onwards.
- DRC8: tithe apportionments and tithe maps relating to Cumberland.
- DRC9: terriers for some of the parishes under Chester, 1698-1825.
- DRC10: miscellaneous bundles of documents, papers, consecrations, nominations and similar, transferred to the CRO from Chester and relating to former diocese of Chester parishes c.1560-1820.
- DRC11: records of the rural deaneries of Brampton, Wigton, Keswick, Cockermouth and Workington, Whitehaven, Penrith, and Kirkoswald formerly Penrith east.
- DRC12: this includes a large number of plans of parsonages.
- DRC13: 1-2 graveyard plans and tombstone transcripts.
- DRC14: indexes to the bishops' transcripts.
- D&C: dean and chapter holdings transferred to the CRO and include first editions of the ordnance survey with dean and chapter properties and boundaries.

Tithe maps are included.

D&C 2:boxed maps and plans of dean and chapter properties.

KRO

DRC/1-110 parish bundles relating to Westmorland parishes formerly under the diocese of Chester; many items are presentations, nominations, bonds and letters.

Chester RO

EDV/7/ onwards: articles of enquiry preparatory to episcopal visitations for the deaneries of Copeland , Kendal and Furness and transferred to the diocese of Carlisle in 1856. There are a number of omissions, for instance there is nothing on Copeland for 1778, but otherwise these are entertaining reading:

1778	4 vols.	1789	5 vols.	1804	3 vols.
1811	6 vols.	1814	1 vol.	1821	3 vols.
1825	3 vols.				

The 'Notitia Cestriensis' compiled by bishop Gastrell of Chester 1714-1725 is at Chester.

Roman Catholic

Our Lady and St. Wilfrid church, Warwick Bridge, log book of the priests including correspondence concerning the restoration and building of the church, and a history of the church and of the Benedictine priory at Wetheral; c.1100-1983.

CRO

Protestation returns 1641.

DRC6/16/1: list of Catholics in Bolton parish 1685-1686.

D/MH/2/78: return of papists in Wetheral, Warwick Bridge, and Walton 1705-1706; return of papists in the diocese of Carlisle 1767.

D/MH: copy of bishop Nicolson's primary visitation of the diocese of Carlisle 1703-1704 with annotations by archdeacon Waugh in 1747 concerning the non-Anglicans and their numbers.

D/Lons/L /Corr/J.Butler : letters and pamphlets on Roman Catholic emancipation from Joseph Butler to viscount Lowther 1829-1830.

RR/1-28: lists of county Catholics, oaths of allegiance, and returns of papists' estates in the diocese of Carlisle 1716-1717.

QRR/12/28/2-15: returns of papists and their estates and wills pre-1800.

Methodist

For Whitehaven Wesleyan records and Ambleside Wesleyan material there exists some confusion. They were in 1982 with the respective circuit superintendents and have been in the process of being sent to the county ROs. This process is not complete, but there is a full list in Burgess, thesis, ^{'Methodism, in} Cumbria'. The Ambleside material starts in 1878 and items before that date are to be found in the Kendal circuit records. Whitehaven Wesleyan are the earliest in Cumbrian Methodist history and the sole one to have pre-1800 material.

Wigton and Maryport Primitive circuit records are listed in Burgess, thesis, and amount to several trunks in the Aspatria and Wigton Methodist church lofts and manses. A few of the important Wesleyan items for Wigton and Maryport remain in the Wigton manse, largely trust, deed and conveyance details.

Whitehaven Primitive circuit records are with the Whitehaven Wesleyan ones. All are listed FC/M in the CRO by Burgess.

CRO

FCM/1/1/1-102: Carlisle Primitive from the start of the movement in Cumbria and particularly detailed and well kept.

FCM/1/2/1-120: Carlisle Wesleyan but disappointing and only well documented for after 1850.

FCM/1/3/1-42: Carlisle United Methodist with little before 1870.

FCM/4/1-26: Carlisle united circuit 1958 to date.

FCM/1/5/1-23: miscellaneous modern bundles.

FCM/1/6/1-3: additional Carlisle Primitive.

FCM/1/7/1 onwards: Dumfries Wesleyan 1900 to date after
it came under Carlisle's care.

FCM/1/8/1-3: miscellaneous Carlisle United Methodist.

FCM/1/9/1-3: additional Carlisle united circuit records.

FCM/1/10/ : one mislaid United Methodist ledger.

FCM/2/1-215: extensive array of Maryport and Wigton
Wesleyan records valuable for post-1860.

FCM/3/1/1-160: Penrith Wesleyan well preserved and
documented from the 1820s.

FCM/3/2/1-26: Penrith Primitive.

FCM/4/1/1-99: Kirkoswald Wesleyan from its foundation in
1871 and well documented. Pre-1871 are in the
Penrith Wesleyan.

FCM/4/2/1-5: Kirkoswald Wesleyan additional.

FCM/5/1-44: items from the former Methodist archives and
research centre in London deposited by the Rev. Dr.
John Bowmer and including unsorted material on the
West Cumberland circuits, in particular Wigton and
Maryport and their chapel closures.

FCM/6/1/1-158: Cockermouth and Keswick Wesleyan, detailed
for post-1850 but little earlier.

FCM/6/2/1-19: Cockermouth Primitive covering Keswick too.

FCM/7/1/1-274: Workington Wesleyan and full for post-
1870 but nothing before the circuit's 1840 origins.

FCM/7/2/1-25: Workington Primitive, a small number.

FCM/7/3/1-3: Workington United Methodist but a tiny amount has been unearthed.

KRO

WDFC/M1: Appleby United Methodist, by far the best set of UM records for the region and comprehensive from 1835.

Kirkby Stephen, Brough and Appleby Wesleyan, one of the few to have preserved pre-1850 and pre-1835 items which are thus of value.

Brough Primitive, comprehensive from its foundation in 1848.

WDFC/M2: Kendal Wesleyan and Primitive , recently augmented with substantial numbers of records.

KRO arrangement of material provides more challenge for the researcher.

BRO

BDFC/M1: Barrow in Furness Primitive, Wesleyan and New Connexion records, reasonably full from the 1860s.

BDFC/M/U: Ulverston Wesleyan but only from the 1860s.

BDFC/M/U: Dalton and Millom Primitive, Wesleyan and Bible Christian from c.1870, recently augmented by BDFC/M/M.

InghamiteKRO

WDFC/I/1: Pear Tree Inghamite chapel records, Kendal, described as Independent Calvinistic Methodists in the KRO lists which can cause confusion. Holdings include registers of members, elders and church meeting minutes, hymn books and information on the Sands mission room run by the chapel. Also boxed here for an unknown reason are the twentieth century records of the Congregational churches at Dent and Gawthrop

Inghamite and Sandemanian

Mr. F.W. Parrott of Kirkby Stephen has extensive notes on these churches in the Westmorland parishes.

Congregational

Charlotte Street Carlisle: in the hands of Mr. J. Little but these may well come to the CRO shortly. They include minutes of the following meetings: young men's mutual improvement society, sunday school teachers and committee, day school committee, church meetings, plus account books and members' rolls from the start of the church in 1858. Also: reports on work for Belgian refugees in the city paid for by the members, miscellaneous letters and bills, annual reports and accounts, broadsheets, photographs and other items.

Cecil Street Carlisle: one volume of minutes of church and deacons' meetings 1855-1871 with members' roll and other items in Mr. J. Barton's hands.

Lowther Street Carlisle: in the hands of Mr. J. Barton but hopefully will shortly be placed in the CRO with the church items placed there by Mr. Barton some years ago. Still in his hands are: communion rolls, membership ledgers, deacons' and church meeting minutes, annual reports, trust and other legal documents, MS history of the church and of Charlotte Street (Mr. Little has another MS copy) all twentieth century records, hymn books, miscellaneous letters including ones regarding the history of the church in 1853 for Cheshunt college, Hertfordshire, which gives a disjointed 12 pp. history. Calls to ministers

are included. A variety of trust deeds involving Sir Wilfrid Lawson of Brayton are in Mr. Barton's hands as follows: 1842 guarantee of £467 for the Lowther Street site by Lawson and others. 1843 deed of mortgage given by Lawson to trustees, with note of repayment 1853. 1845 mortgage from Joseph Addison to Lawson and others for £1,000 and a second copy of this with differing contents. New trustees 1891. 1858 transfer of mortgages to new trustees and including note of repayments. 1857 mortgage to Lawson and others by James Simonds.

Wigton : extensive minute books, accounts etc. for the church from 1877 but nothing earlier. In the hands of Mr. S.R. James of Wigton but soon to be deposited in the CRO. A note c.1900 states that the pre-1877 records have been lent to a Mr. Redmayne of Carlisle, formerly of Wigton, and never returned.

Kirkby Stephen: three minute books of church and other meetings, rolls of members, baptisms, marriages, to 1946 in the hands of Mr. Parrott. These will shortly be placed in the KRO.

Ravenstonedale: these are in the chapel in the village and in the hands of Mr. R. Hayton there. They are the most complete set of records for any Cumbrian non-Anglican church and a credit to their owners over the centuries. The entire records from c.1670 have been

transcribed by Cecil Woodger including MSS from London ROs. There are two main books, 1774-1837 and 1840- to date for the modern period plus correspondence and legal documents. Mr. Woodger was married to the daughter of George Manning, the minister, and had a house in the parish. Of special interest are list of deeds and trust documents, accounts books c.1900 onwards, baptisms, marriages and burials registers, church meeting minutes 1774-1940, and court cases involving the chapel. There is as complete a list as possible of ministers.

CRO

DFC/CL/1/1-110: Whitehaven Congregational church records from 1818 until its closure in 1969 when it merged with the Presbyterian congregation. It was founded in 1818 and church meeting and deacons' minutes are full, as are membership rolls, baptisms and burials.

DFC/CL/2/1-17: Parton church founded in 1862 with full records from 1876 until its merger with the Whitehaven church in 1941.

DFC/CL/4/1: Little Asby church, a single minute and roll book from its foundation in 1889 until closure in 1914.

DFC/CL/5/1-6: Alston and Garrigill (Redwing) church with one important book for 1799-1822 but little else. Alston was the new church founded out of Garrigill.

DFC/CL/6/1-6: Cockermonth church including the first minute book from 1651. Later sources are entered indiscriminately and are confusing.

DFC/CL/7/1-4: Lowther Street Carlisle including the first minute book of 1787 and many applications for membership from Scotland. Mostly to 1840, the rest being in Mr. Barton's hands as above.

DFC/CL2/1-31: items from the Lancashire Congregational Union filed as Cumberland District:

1-5: printed annual reports of the union 1872-1928, and returns of membership and finances in 1896 for Alston, Anthorn, Aspatria, Blennerhasset, Bootle, Brampton, Cleator Moor, Maryport, Park Head, Parton, Silloth, and Wigton churches.

11-15: 1847-1928 items on Park Head and Gamblesby.

16-19: Aspatria church 1852-1968 and covering Hayton, Allonby and Plumbland congregations.

20-31: Silloth church records 1862 until its closure in 1950 when the Salvation Army bought the building.

A full account of the church except for one item

DFC/CL/3/1: Silloth church meeting and roll book 1871-1930.

KRO

WDFC/C/1: Zion church Kendal including church meetings, elders' meetings, full account and roll books, church committee books, baptismal and marriage ledgers, from its inception in 1843. Well kept, and including annual reports and magazines.

WDFC/C/2: Zion church Kendal sales of work accounts,
annual reports bound in 2 volumes, trustee roll and
accounts, and bundles of miscellaneous papers.

WDFC/C2: Dent and Gawthrop church items.

For the centenaries and histories of chapels and areas
see below in the bibliography.

Presbyterian

Bewcastle: the Knowe church records are in the hands of Mrs A. Telford of Bewcastle. Kirk session minutes and baptismal, burial and marriage registers provide a full history of this church.

St. George's, Warwick Road Carlisle: these are in the hands of Mr. I. Moonie of Carlisle and date from 1861 and the foundation of the church. Burials, marriages and baptisms, kirk session minutes and other meetings are fully listed and detailed, together with trust and legal items, church magazines, and minutes of the Cumberland presbytery 1866-1873 covering the pastorate of William Reid, the local Brethren founder.

CRO

DFC/P/1/1-16: Brampton church from 1712-1971, detailed and well kept, and including an extensive set of communion plate.

DFC/P/2/1-13: Bewcastle items of minor importance.

DFC/P/3/1-2: Fisher Street Carlisle, just two items but there is a microfilm in the CRO of other major church records JAC 103-109 and 131. The films are not complete and clearly a good deal is missing. Permission to view the originals and others omitted from the CRO was not granted.

BRO

BDFC/P/B: Trinity church Barrow in Furness, a fairly complete record from 1866 and including annual reports, session minutes and church building accounts.

The following churches placed their records in the United Reformed Church Historical Society library, Tavistock Square, London:

- Penrith : largely baptismal material.
- Kendal : detailed records including the session minutes 1824 onwards.
- Crook : session, managers and other ledgers 1862 onwards.
- Whitehaven : a number of minute books.

UnitarianCRO

A few items of little importance listed in the text and referring to the chapel *in Carlisle*.

KRO

WDFC/U: Unitarian chapel Kendal, a complete set from c. 1700 to 1900 and especially full for 1800-1900.

QuakerCRO

DFC/F/1/1-164: Pardshaw monthly meeting covering Bewaldeth, Birker, Broughton, Cockermouth, Crosfield, Greysouthen, Isel, Keswick, Pardshaw, Portinscale, Setmurthy, Whitehaven and Workington meetings from 1664. As with other Quaker records these are well maintained and detailed.

DFC/F/2/1-83: Carlisle monthly meeting covering Carlisle, Burgh by Sands, Moorhouse, Scotby, Solport and Kirkclinton meetings, and after 1831 Caldbeck, monthly meeting including Caldbeck or Whelpo, Gillfoot and Mosedale. Whelpo's extensive library of Quaker books printed between c.1660 and 1800 in the CRO.

DFC/F/3/1-100: Holm monthly meeting comprised of Allonby, Bolton, Holm or Beckfoot, Kirkbride, Maryport and Wigton.

DFC/F/4/1-8: Alston records formerly under Allendale monthly meeting as was

DFC/F/4/9-23: Coanwood preparative meeting, formerly under Allendale monthly meeting.

DFC/F/5/1-11: Cumberland quarterly meeting minutes and other meetings, 1672-1929.

KRO

WDFC/F: for Westmorland Quakers detailed records in the KRO cover the meetings at Crook, Grayrigg, Windermere, Preston Patrick and Kendal, and the Westmorland quarterly meeting, from c.1664 to the twentieth century. KRO has copies and details but the originals are in the strong room of the Stramongate meeting in Kendal.

At the KRO there is a catalogue of the records of the meetings at Briggflatts, Ravenstonedale, Sedbergh and Garsdale.

Also unlisted in the KRO are the Strickland meeting records for 1675-1967.

BrethrenKRO

WDFC/PB/1: records of the Kendal Brethren recently deposited including minute books.

WDFC/PB/2: Kendal Brethren records for the Fellside Sunday school including MS history.

Most of the above refers to the twentieth century.

Preston RO

QDV/4: register of Dissenting meeting houses 1689-1852.

QDV/9/1: return of sectaries 1829 for Lancashire North
of the Sands.

Biography

A note on the subject matter is given with each entry.

- Abbott E. and Campbell L. Life and Letters of Benjamin Jowett 2 vols. (1897)
(Benjamin Jowett)
- Appleyard R. A Tribute to Michael Faraday (1931)
(Michael Faraday, Sandemanian scientist)
- Armstrong C. Pilgrimage from Nenthead (1938)
(autobiographical, set on Alston Moor)
- Ashburner J. MS Diaries 1908-1914 in the hands of Miss L. Nicholson of Bothel.
(Ashburner 1840-1926 was Torpenhow church warden, a builder and active tory)
- Ashwell A. and Wilberforce. Life of the Rev. Samuel Wilberforce 3 vols. (1880, 1881, 1882)
(bishop Wilberforce)
- Atkinson G. The Worthies of Westmorland 2 vols. (1849, 1851)
(largely pre-1750)
- Backhouse J. A Short Record of the Life and Experiences of Thomas Bulman of Irthington (1851)
(Thomas Bulman was by turn Anglican, Quaker and Wesleyan Methodist)
- Bailey J. ed. The Diary of Lady Frederick Cavendish 2 vols. (1927)
(Lady Cavendish wife of the murdered Irish secretary)

- Battersby T.D. Harford and Elliott H.V. Two Sermons on the Death of the Reverend Frederick Myers (1851)
(Myers of Keswick, brother in law to Elliott and succeeded by Battersby)
- Battersby Memoir of the Rev. T.D. Harford Battersby by his two sons (1890)
(founder of the Keswick convention)
- Beaven A.B. The Aldermen of the City of London
2 vols. (1908)
(includes many Cumbrians)
- Bickley F. The Cavendish Family (1911)
(a general survey of the dukes of Devonshire and their families)
- Biographical Notes on County Families compiled by William Jackson in MS in the Jackson library
182A and 225B; also MS details on Cumbrian families compiled from letters, newspapers etc. in a number of volumes 98B.
- Boumphrey R.S., Hudleston C.R., Hughes J. An Armorial for Westmorland and Lonsdale (Kendal 1975)
(essential biographical details on county families and their pedigrees)
- Boumphrey R.S., Hudleston C.R., Hughes J. Cumberland Families and Heraldry (Kendal 1978)
(partner for the last named)

- Boutflower D.S. The Boutflower Book:the Complete history of a Family (Newcastle 1930)
(including several Cumbrian clergy)
- Brockbank Richard Bowman Brockbank: a Memoir (1912)
(a Carlisle Quaker)
- Braithwaite J.B. Braithwaite: a Friend of the Nineteenth Century by his children (1909)
(a Kendal Quaker)
- Braithwaite R. The Life and Letters of the Rev. William Pennefather (1878)
(founder of a convention uniting evangelicals with Lake District links)
- Brennan G. and Statham E.P. The House of Howard 2vols. 1907
(a confusing book about the family)
- Brunskill Life of Stephen Brunskill of Orton, 60 Years a Wesleyan Methodist Local Preacher, written by himself (Kendal 1837)
(the founder of Kendal Methodism)
- Burgess J. and Burgess C. Carrs:the Family and the Enterprise (MS 1981)
(concerning the Carlisle Quaker family, originally commissioned but not now to be published)
- Butt J. Memoir of the Late Anthony Metcalfe-Gibson
(Kendal 1903)
(the Ravenstonedale squire written by the parish school master his friend)

- Chance F.W. Some Notable Cumbrians (Carlisle 1931)
(a rare little book about people known to
Chance including the Dixons and Lawsons)
- Churton E. Memoir of Joshua Watson 2 vols. (1861)
(Watson was born at Dundraw near Carlisle
and made his fortune in London; he was a
prominent SPCK supporter)
- Clark J.W. and Hughes T.M. The Life and Letters of the
Rev. Adam Sedgwick 2 vols. (Cambridge
1890)
(the Dentdale and Lake District geologist)
- Clarke M.L. Paley: Evidences of the Man (1974)
(the chancellor and archdeacon of Carlisle
and distinguished writer)
- Close Memorials of Dean Close by one who knew him
(Carlisle 1885)
(the formidable dean of Carlisle)
- Coad R. Laing: the Biography of Sir John W. Laing
(1979)
(the Carlisle builder and supporter of the
Brethren)
- Crewdson A Short Memorial of W.D. Crewdson by his wife
and Friends (Kendal 1878)
(the distinguished Kendal Quaker and member of
the Brethren)
- Dale B. The Good Lord Wharton, his Family, Life and
Bible Charity (1906)
(a long explanation of why the Wharton charity
was illegally run by Anglicans)

- Davidson R.T. and Benham W. Life of Archibald Campbell
Tait 2 vols. (1891)
 (the former dean of Carlisle and archbishop
 of Canterbury)
- Dawson L. Lonsdale: the Authorised Life of Hugh
Lowther Fifth Earl of Lonsdale (1946)
 (the great sporting character and play-
 boy earl)
- Deans Memoir of the Life of Mrs Charlotte Deans
... being a Journal of a 70 year Pilgrimage
 (Wigton 1837)
 (a Wigton girl who became an actress and
 toured the country, mentioning great details
 on the attitudes of Cumbrian figures of the
 day)
- Denton J. An Account of the Most Considerable Estates
and Families in the County of Cumberland
since the conquest to the year 1610 (MS
dated 1749) in the Jackson library.
- Dickinson A Journal of the Life, Travels and Labour
of Love in the Work of the Ministry ...
of James Dickinson (1745)
 (a West Cumberland Quaker)
- Dickinson R. Life of the Rev. John Braithwaite (1825)
 (a Whitehaven Wesleyan minister and the
 town's Methodism)
- Donald J.B. The Carver Family (Halifax 1971)

- Farish The Autobiography of William Farish: the Struggles of a Handloom Weaver (1889)
 (Farish recounts the life of Carlisle 1815-1850 and his later life in Chester where he was mayor; interesting because of his never attending places of worship)
- Fitzmaurice E. Life of Granville George Leveson Gower second Earl of Granville 2 vols. (1906)
 (the liberal leader)
- Gilpin S. Sam Bough RSA: some account of his Life and Works (1905)
 (the Carlisle artist)
- Gladstone J.H. Michael Faraday (1872)
 (the scientist and Sandemanian)
- Harrison G. Life and Belief in the Experience of John W. Laing (1954)
 (the Carlisle builder and member of the Brethren)
- Henley D. Rosalind Howard Countess of Carlisle (1958)
 (the famous countess, liberal and TT campaigner by her daughter)
- Hough J Memoir of an Indian Chaplain: the Rev. Charles Church MA (1859)
 (incumbent of Hensingham, son of the vicar of Holy Trinity Whitehaven, who became a convert to evangelical religion)

- How F.D. Bishop Walsham How: a Memoir (1898)
(of Cumbrian stock)
- Howard Howard Family Documents ... relating to
Cumberland formerly at Naworth now deposited
at Durham (MS 1968) Jackson library.
Important for estate accounts, political
accounts etc.
- Howarth J.P. and Taylor A. The Websters of Kendal
(Kendal 1973)
(the firm of architects and masons)
- Hunter ? Memoir of the Life of Martha Fowler (no
date or place but c.1840)
(a Carlisle Presbyterian)
- Jack A. Sermon on the Death of the Rev. Charles Church
(Whitehaven 1822)
(see Hough above; by the Congregational
minister)
- Jackson J.O. The Gardener's Wife: a Memoir of Eleanor
Elliott ... (Carlisle 1844)
(by the Brayton chaplain about one of the
Brayton estate workers)
- James F.G. North Country Bishop: a biography of William
Nicolson (Yale 1956)
(bishop of Carlisle; his MS diaries are in
the Jackson library)
- James H.E. and James W.A. Pedigrees of the Family of
James of Culgaith, West Aukland and Barrock
(Exeter 1913)
(a family with extensive Cumbrian links and
provided with excellent family trees)

- Jones B. The Life and Letters of Faraday (1870)
- Jones C. John Bolton of Storrs 1756-1837 (1959)
 (the Windermere squire)
- Jones G.B. Memorials of Edward Burne-Jones 2 vols. (1904)
 (the pre-raphaelite leader)
- Kinghorn J. Sketch of the Life of the Rev. Isaac Slee (1827)
 (curate of Plumpton who turned Baptist)
- Law E. Considerations on the Theory of Religion
to which is prefixed a life of the author
by the late William Paley ed. G.H. Law
 (1820)
 (the bishop of Carlisle)
- Leach H. The Duke of Devonshire: a Personal and
Political Biography (1904)
 (the former marquess of Hartington)
- Lloyd S. The Lloyds of Birmingham (Birmingham 1907)
 (the bankers, Quakers and Lake District
 residents)
- Lonsdale H. The Life of John Heysham M.D. (1870)
 (the pioneer Carlisle physician)
- Lonsdale H. The Life and Work of Musgrave Lewthwaite
Watson (1866)
 (the Cumbrian sculptor)
- Lonsdale H. The Worthies of Cumberland: see below
 p. 744
- Lorimer P. Memoir of ... the Rev. Archibald Jack (1871)
 (the Whitehaven Congregational minister)

- Lowther J.W. A Speaker's Commentary 2 vols. (1925)
(viscount Ullswater, Cumbrian politician
and one time resident)
- Luke W.B. Sir Wilfrid Lawson (1900)
(second baronet of Brayton, the politician)
- MacInnes A.G. Recollections of the Life of Miles MacInnes (1911)
(Carlisle banker, politician and evangelical)
- Matheson P.E. The Life of Hastings Rashdall (Oxford 1928)
(the historian, dean of Carlisle and broad
church man)
- Mawson The Life and Work of an English Landscape
Gardener: the autobiography of Thomas H.
Mawson (1927)
(maker of many lakes gardens and a Congre-
gationalist)
- Meadley G.W. Memoirs of William Paley second edition
(Edinburgh 1810)
(the chancellor and archdeacon of Carlisle)
- Metcalfe-Gibson Letters and Memories of the Metcalfe-
Gibson family of Ravenstonedale (MSS
1860-1920)
- Metcalfe-Gibson M.A. Family Notes and Reminiscences
(Kendal 1899)
- Milner M. Life of Isaac Milner second edition,
abridged (1844)
(the dean of Carlisle)

- New C.W. The Life of Henry Brougham to 1830 (Oxford 1961)
(the member of parliament who tried to dislodge the Lowthers in Westmorland)
- Newton J. W.S. Caine MP: a biography (1907)
(the Barrow MP and Baptist)
- Nicholls W. The History and Traditions of Ravenstonedale
2 vols. (Manchester 1877 and 1912)
- Nicholls W. The History and Traditions of Mallerstang Forest and Pendragon Castle (Manchester 1883)
(all three books by the Ravenstonedale High Chapel minister and full of biographical information)
- Parker C.S. Life and Letters of Sir James Graham 1792-1861 2 vols. (1907)
(the Netherby politician)
- Parkinson R. The Old Church Clock 5 th edition (Manchester 1880)
(the biography of Robert Walker the Cumbrian clergymen eulogised by Wordsworth)
- Pearson Memoir of the Life and Religious Experiences of Jane Pearson 3rd edition(1839)
(a Pardshaw Quaker)
- Pearson Papers, Letters and Journals of William Pearson edited by his widow (1863)
(the Kendal writer and grocer, friend of the Wordsworths)

- Pilkington W. A Life Sketch of the Rev. Walter Briscoe
(Preston 1891)
(Wesleyan minister in Barrow, Ulverston and
Ambleside)
- Ponsonby J. The Ponsonby Family (1929)
- Pool J.J. The Life Story of a Village Pastor (1897)
(Robert Pool minister of the High Chapel,
Ravenstonedale, Parton and Sedbergh)
- Portfolios 10 Portfolios of Documents and Portraits of
eminent Cumbrians compiled in MS by William
Jackson. Jackson library i-x BS.
- Quennell P. John Ruskin: the Portrait of a Prophet (1949)
- Rawnsley H.D. Harvey Goodwin Bishop of Carlisle (1896)
- Rawnsley H.D. Henry Whitehead 1825-1896: a Memorial
Sketch (Glasgow 1898)
(the vicar of Brampton, Lanercost, Newlands
and Newton Reigny, and artistic incumbent
of the ~~P~~re-Raphaelite church)
- Rawnsley E.F. Canon Rawnsley (Glasgow 1923)
- Rickards E.C. Zoe Thomson of Bishopsthorpe (1916)
(wife of archbishop Thomson, a Cumbrian)
- Riley J.F. The Hammer and the Anvil: a background to
Michael Faraday (Clapham 1954)
(the Sandemanians and Inghamites of
Westmorland)
- Roberts C.H. Radical Countess: the History of the Life
of Rosalind Countess of Carlisle (Carlisle
1962)
(the Howards of Naworth c.1870-1920)

- Robertson Scott J.W. The Day Before Yesterday (1951)
 (member of the Evangelical Union, brought
 up at Wigton and Carlisle)
- Robinson J.R. Philip Duke of Wharton (1896)
 (the last of the Whartons)
- Russell G.W.E. Sir Wilfrid Lawson: a Memoir (1909)
 (the second baronet of Brayton and prominent
 political figure)
- Scott G.G. Personal and Professional Recollections of
 Sir George Gilbert Scott (1879)
 (the architect who found so much to inspire
 him in the lakes)
- Smiles S. George Moore, Merchant and Philanthropist
 (1878)
 (the Mealsgate and London evangelical and
 benevolent gentleman)
- Smith F. Life and Work of Sir James Kay-Shuttleworth
 (1923)
 (the family had many Cumbrian links and
 a country estate at Barbon)
- Smith H.Kirk William Thomson, Archbishop of York (1958)
 (a native of Whitehaven)
- Smith The Autobiography of Mary Smith, school-
 mistress and Nonconformist (Carlisle 1892)
 (companion of the Baptist minister's wife at
 Brough and Carlisle for many years)
- Somervell J. Isaac and Rachel Wilson, Quakers of Kendal
 (1924)

- Somervell Robert Somervell: Chapters of Autobiography
(1935)
(Kendal Evangelical Union member)
- Spedding J.C.D. The Spedding Family (Dublin 1909)
(the Cumbrian gentry)
- Steele A. Christianity in Earnest as Exemplified in the
Life and Labours of the Rev. Hodgson Casson
(1853)
(the Cumbrian Wesleyan minister and revivalist
nationwide)
- Steele Sketch of the Life of John Steele (1868)
(Cockermouth liberal)
- Stephenson Memoirs of the Life and Travels in the Service
of the Gospel of Sarah Stephenson (1807)
(a Quaker minister working in Cumbria)
- Street A.E. Memoir of George Edmund Street 1824-1881
(1888)
(architect doing some work in Cumbria)
- Sutherland D. The Yellow Earl: the Life of Hugh Lowther
5th Earl of Lonsdale 1857-1944 (1965)
- Terrot C.H. Sermon on the ... Death of the Rev. John
Fawcett ... (Carlisle 1851)
(evangelical leader in Carlisle)
- Thompson S.P. Michael Faraday: his Life and Work (1898)
- Trevelyan J.P. The Life of Mrs Humphrey Ward (1923)
(the Arnold family)
- Vallance A. William Morris: his Art, his Writings and his
Public Life (1897)
(the ~~pre~~-Raphaelite)

- Wakefield In Memory of W.H. Wakefield of Sedgwick
 (Kendal 1889)
 (former Quaker and later Anglican)
- Ward J.T. Sir James Graham: a Biography (1967)
 (the politician and owner of Netherby)
- Watson R. Anecdotes of the Life of Richard Watson,
Bishop of Llandaff, written by himself at
different intervals and revised in 1814
 2 vols. (1818)
 (Watson lived at Calgarth, Windermere, for
 many years; the Jackson library has a
 large collection of his works)
Westmorland and Cumberland Leaders Social and
Political (no date or place but c.1906)
- Wray C. Four Years of Pastoral Work: the Ministerial
Labours of the Rev. E.J.R. Hughes (1854)
 (a St. Bees student and clergyman in
 Whitehaven, as well as a tractarian)
- Wyndham H.A. A Family History 1688-1837: the Wyndhams of
Somerset, Sussex and Wiltshire (1950)
 (the earls of Egremont and their estates in
 Cumbria)

Lonsdale Henry The Worthies of Cumberland

This is a series of five biographical books on the eminent figures in the county's history and are identified by date only:

1867:	John Christian Curwen	William Blamire
1868:	Sir J.R.G. Graham	
1872:	Howard family	Lord William Howard
	Henry Howard of Corby	John Rooke
	Charles 11th Duke of Norfolk	7th Earl of Carlisle
	Rev. Richard Matthews	Joseph Huddart
1873:	William Wordsworth	Susanna Blamire
	Thomas Tickell	Jane Christian Blamire
	Dr. Thomas Addison	Hugh L. Pattinson
	Losh family of Woodside	
1875:	George Graham	Robert Rigg
	Abraham Fletcher	John F. Miller
	William Brownrigg	Edward Troughton
	Sir Joseph Williamson	John Walker
	Rev. Fearon Fallows	William Woodville
	Robley Dunghinson	Rev. W. Pearson
	Musgrave Lewthwaite Watson	

All 5 volumes are about 300 pages so that the space devoted to each person varies greatly.

Theses

- Addy J. Two Eighteenth Century Bishops of Chester and their Diocese 1771-1787, University of Leeds Ph.D. 1972.
- Anderson A. Lancashire Quakers and Persecution 1652-1690, University of Lancaster M.A. 1971.
- Bonsall B. Cumberland and Westmorland Elections 1754-1775, University of Manchester M.A. 1954.
- Brown S. The Growth of Middle Class Leadership in Kendal Society and its Influence on Politics 1790-1850, University of Lancaster M.A. 1971.
- Burgess J. The Growth and Development of Methodism in Cumbria, University of Durham M.Litt. 1979.
- Duxbury A. The Formation and Early Years of the Penrith Board of Health, University of Lancaster M.A. 1974.
- Eaglesham A. The Growth and Influence of the West Cumberland Shipping Industry 1660-1800, University of Lancaster Ph.D.
- McGloin P.R. The Impact of the Railway on the Development of Keswick as a Tourist Resort 1860-1914, University of Lancaster M.A. 1977.
- Makey W.H. The Place of Whitehaven in the Irish Coal Trade 1600-1750, University of London M.A. 1952.

- Marshall J.D. The Economic and Social History of the Furness Area 1711-1875, University of London Ph.D. 1956.
- O'Neill C.F.B. The Progress of Paternalism in Whitehaven 1830-1890: a Study in Control and Conflict, University of Lancaster M.A. 1977.
- Palmer A. Local Government and Social Problems in Kendal 1760-1860, University of Lancaster M.A. 1972.
- Stark D. The Origins and Development of a Single Industry Town: Barrow in Furness 1890-1910, University of Lancaster M.A. 1972.
- Tate D.S. The Kendal Elite: their Cohesiveness and their Challengers 1855-1885, University of Lancaster M.A. 1976.
- Tufft R. The Social and Political Composition of the Early Cumberland County Councils 1889-1914, University of Lancaster M.A. 1976.
- Thompson R.N. The New Poor Law in Cumberland and Westmorland 1834-1871, University of Newcastle Ph.D. 1976.
- Weston G.A. The Baptists of North West England 1750-1850, University of Sheffield Ph.D. 1969.
- Wood O. The Development of the Coal, Iron and Ship Building Industries of West Cumberland 1750-1914, University of London Ph.D. 1952.

Newspapers

Carlisle Journal 1798-1920 in the Jackson library and the
CRO with some omissions , covering north
Cumberland. *Pro-Reform.*

Carlisle Patriot 1815-1920 in the Jackson library and the
CRO with omissions, and the Journal's rival. *Pro-Tory.*

Westmorland Advertiser/Kendal Chronicle/Kendal Mercury 1811-1914
in the Kendal library and Westmorland
Gazette offices, Kendal. *Pro-Reform.*

Westmorland Gazette and Kendal Advertiser 1818-1914
rival to the above and in the same locations. *Pro-Tory.*

Cumberland Pacquet/Whitehaven Advertiser 1774-1914 in the
Whitehaven library and CRO with a number of
omissions. *Pro-Tory.*

Whitehaven Herald and Cumberland Advertiser 1834-1877
in the Whitehaven library, rival to the above.
Pro-Reform.

These were the main newspapers of the region but there were
many more published for varying lengths of time at Appleby,
Alston (with Hexham), Ambleside, Barrow, Bowness, Cockermouth,
Dalton, Grange, Keswick, Maryport, Millom, Penrith,
Ulverston, Wigton, Windermere and Workington as well as
unsuccessful ventures in Carlisle, Whitehaven and Kendal.

Directories and Guides

Carlisle:

Picture of Carlisle and Directory (1810)Directory (1837, 1858, 1880 and 1894)

Lancashire North of the Sands:

Baines History, Directory and Gazetteer of the
County Palatine of Lancaster 2 vols (1824)Barrow in Furness District Directory (1887)Bulmer's History and Directory of Furness and
Cartmel (1910)

Cumberland:

F.Jollie Cumberland Guide and Directory (1811)Parson and White History and Directory of
Cumberland and Westmorland (1829)Mannix and Whellan History and Directory (1847)Kelly's Directory (1873 and 1894)Bulmer's History and Directory of West Cumberland
(1883) and of East Cumberland (1884)

Westmorland:

Mannex History, Topography and Directory of
Westmorland and Lonsdale North of the Sands (1849)Kelly's Directory (1858 and 1873)Bulmer's History and Directory (1885, and the
edition of 1904 covers Sedbergh, Dent and
Garsdale too)

Lake District:

T. West Guide to the Lakes (1778 onwards)

W. Green Lakes, Mountains and Scenery 2 vols.

(1819)

J. Otley The English Lakes (1823)

F. Evans Furness and Furness Abbey (1842)

H. Martineau The English Lakes (1855)

W. Wordsworth Description of the Scenery of the
Lakes (1822 onwards)

The Jackson library contains 116 different directories for
the period 1780-1900 on Cumbria.

The Church of England

- Addison W. The English Country Parson (1947)
- Balleine G.R. A History of the Evangelical Party in the Church of England (1933)
- Best G.F.A. 'The Evangelicals and the Established Church in the early nineteenth century' Journal of Theological Studies ns ix 1958 pp.63-78.
- Best G.F.A. Temporal Pillars: Queen Anne's Bounty, the Ecclesiastical Commissioners and the Church of England (Cambridge 1964)
- Bennet G.V. and Walsh J.D. editors Essays in Modern English Church History (1966)
- Bowen D. The Idea of the Victorian Church: a study of the Church of England 1833-1889 (Montreal 1968)
- Brown H.M. The Church in Cornwall (1964)
- Carpenter S.C. Church and People 1789-1889: a History of the Church of England from William Wilberforce to Lux Mundi (1933)
- Chadwick O, The Victorian Church 2 vols. (1966 and 1970)
- Clark G.Kitson Churchmen and the Condition of England 1832-1885 (1973)
- Clarke B.F.L. Church Builders of the Nineteenth Century (Newton Abbot 1969)
- Coleman B.I. The Church of England in the mid-nineteenth century: a Social Geography (1980)

- Cornish F. Warre The English Church in the Nineteenth Century 2 vols. (1910)
- Crowther M.A. Church Embattled: Religious Controversy in Mid-Victorian England (Newton Abbot 1970)
- Dell R.S. 'Social and Economic Theories and Pastoral Concerns of a Victorian Archbishop' Journal of Ecclesiastical History xvi 1965 pp.196-208.
- Hart A. Tindal The Eighteenth Century Country Parson (1955)
- Hughes E. 'The Bishops and Reform 1831-1833: some fresh correspondence' English Historical Review lvi 1941 pp.459-490.
- Inglis K. Churches and the Working Classes in Victorian England (1963)
- Lloyd R. The Church of England 1900-1965 (1966)
- Marsh P.T. The Victorian Church in Decline: Archbishop Tait and the Church of England (1969)
- Meacham S. 'The Church in the Victorian City' Victorian Studies March 1968 pp.359-378.
- Norman E.R. Church and Society in England (1979)
- Ollard S., Crosse G., Bond M., A Dictionary of Church History (New York 1948)
- Ollard S. The Oxford Movement (1909)
- Rowdon H.H. 'Secession from the Established Church in the Early Nineteenth Century' Vox Evangelica iii 1964 pp.76-88.

- Smyth C. 'The Evangelical Movement in Perspective'
Cambridge Historical Journal vii 1941-1943
pp. 160-174.
- Soloway R.A. Prelates and People: Ecclesiastical Social
Thought in England 1783-1852 (1969)
- Spring D. 'The Clapham Sect: some Social and Political
Aspects' Victorian Studies v 1961-1962
pp.35-48.
- Warne A. Church and Society in Eighteenth Century
Devon (Newton Abbot 1969)
- Ward W.R. 'The Tithe Question in England in the Early
Nineteenth Century' Journal of Ecclesiastical
History xvi 1965 pp.67-81.
- Welch P.J. 'The Revival of an Active Convocation of
Canterbury' Journal of Ecclesiastical
History x 1959 pp.188-197.
- Welch P.J. 'Blomfield and Peel: a study in Cooperation
between Church and State 1841-1846' Journal
of Ecclesiastical History xii 1961 pp.
71-84.
- Wickham E.R. Church and People in an Industrial City
(1957)
- Wills W.D. 'The Established Church in the Diocese of
Llandaff 1850-1870' Welsh Historical Journal
iv part 3 1969 pp.235-267.
- Windle B.C.A. Who's Who of the Oxford Movement (1926)

The Church of England and Cumbria

- Bailey J.B. History of the Churches in the Rural Deanery of Maryport (Cockermouth 1920)
- Bellasis E. Westmorland Church Notes (Kendal 1889)
- Blyth S. Letters to the Evangelical Clergy of the Church of England (Whitehaven 1835)
- Bouch C.M.L. Prelates and People of the Lake Counties (Kendal 1948)
- Burgess J. Christians in Cumbria (Kendal 1982)
(850th anniversary history of the diocese of Carlisle)
- Burn R. Justice of the Peace and Parish Officer 2 vols. (1755)
- Burn R. Ecclesiastical Law 2 vols. (1763)
- Burton C.J. Charges as chancellor of the diocese of Carlisle 1858, 1863, 1865, 1866, 1868, 1869, 1870, 1874, 1876, 1879, 1883, 1885, 1886.
Carlisle Diocesan Calendars 1868-1920
- Close F. The Cattle Plague: a Sermon (Carlisle 1865)
- Cockette W. The Union of Church and State scripturally considered in a sermon preached in consequence of an agitation made in Carlisle by the Anti-State Church Association (Carlisle 1848)
- Cockett W. The Anglican and Romish Churches, their origins and merits (Carlisle 1850)
(Cockett was incumbent of Upperby, Carlisle)
- Cox J.C. County Churches: Cumberland and Westmorland (1913)

- Ferguson R.S. MS particulars about parishes and churches in the diocese of Carlisle, Jackson library 442A.
- Ferguson R.S. Miscellany Accounts of the Diocese of Carlisle with the Terriers delivered to me at my Primary Visitation 1703-1704 by William Nicolson late bishop of Carlisle (1877)
- Ferguson R.S. The Lectureships and Lecturers at St. Cuthbert's Church Carlisle (1883)
- Ferguson R.S. Diocesan Histories: Carlisle (1889)
- Goodwin Harvey Visitation Charges 1872, 1884, 1887, 1890; others were not published.
Pastoral Letter to the Clergy 1869-1891.
(Jackson library contains many of his MSS and printed items)
- Harford C.F. (editor) The Keswick Convention, its Message, its Method and its Men (1907)
- Headlam J. Charge delivered to the clergy of the Archdeaconry of Richmond (1827)
- Holtby R.T. Carlisle Cathedral (1969)
- Keswick 100 Years of the Keswick Convention (1975)
- Livingston Rev. T.G. Livingston v. the Dean and Chapter of Carlisle 1858; a 146pp. MS in the Jackson library and formerly belonging to bishop Villiers.
- Lyttelton C. Articles of Visitation as Bishop of Carlisle (1767)

- Park T. St. Bees College: a Short History (1981)
- Penn A. The Men who built St. Martin's, Brampton
(Brampton 1978)
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