

## Victoria County History of Cumbria Project. Draft parish/township histories

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Parish/township: STAFFIELD

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### STAFFIELD<sup>1</sup>

The township of Staffield lies on the east bank of the River Eden, about 10 miles north east of Penrith and on the north side of the township of Kirkoswald: from time immemorial it has been part of the ancient ecclesiastical parish of Kirkoswald, and since 1934 it has also been within the civil parish of Kirkoswald. The area of the township of Staffield was 5,636 acres (2,281ha).<sup>2</sup> The name is variously recorded, from the thirteenth century, as (*inter alia*) Stafhole, Staffull, Staffell, and Staffeld, and is thought to be a combination of ON *stafr* (a pole or post) and ON *holl* (an isolated hill).<sup>3</sup> The modern spelling Staffield became general after 1750.<sup>4</sup>

The township and manor of Staffield are coterminous. A bounder of the manor, ridden anticlockwise in 1609, described the boundary as being marked by various natural and man-made features:<sup>5</sup> it began by following a rivulet called Troutbeck (now Town End Beck), from its

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<sup>1</sup> The author has many people to thank for their assistance in the preparation of this article - in particular Dr David Unwin, Dorothy Milner, Timothy Fetherstonhaugh and Richard Pickstock, in addition to all those mentioned in the footnotes, and the archivists at Carlisle and TNA

<sup>2</sup> OS 1860 sheets XL and XXXII, 1:6

<sup>3</sup> PNC 248f

<sup>4</sup> For example in the heading of manor court rolls from that time

<sup>5</sup> CAS(C) DMus/1/12/1; there was an alteration of the boundary between Staffield and Renwick at Sickergill by arbitration in 1808; there are some variations where Croglin Water has altered course; "the street" is now the secondary road

confluence with the River Eden as far as the hamlet of Highbankhill; whence it followed the ancient boundary of the Kirkoswald Castle Park as far as its junction with the Raven Beck near the Kirkoswald hamlet of Parkhead; whence it followed the Raven Beck upstream to Sickergill Head; whence the boundary ran with the western and northern boundaries of Renwick (see RENWICK) across the Long Moor and the Middle Moor and then across an ancient highway (*the Street*) to the foot of the Pennine scarp; whence, still with Renwick, it climbed to the currocks on Thackmoor (its highest point) before descending to a currock at Blackfell End, and to Farlam Currock; whence with a rivulet called Tadsyke (now Bleaberry Gill), to Croglin Water (the boundary with Croglin), which it followed downstream to the River Eden.

From the early eighteenth century the township was divided into low and high quarters for the purposes of vestry government: in low quarter were the farm called Stafffield Hall (and the later mansion of that name) and the hamlet which formed the nucleus of the township, together with Westgarthhill and part of the hamlet of Highbankhill (the other part being in Kirkoswald); in high quarter were the hamlets of Netherharesceugh, Blunderfield, Scales, Caber and Scarrowmanwick. In both quarters there were several isolated farmhouses.

### **Landscape**

From the confluence of Croglin Water with the River Eden, 61m above sea level, the terrain rises in an eastward direction to 250m at the foot of the Pennine scarp, and thence to 610m near the summit of Mount Thackmoor. The underlying bedrock beneath the river and the lowest farmland is Penrith sandstone, overlaid with boulder clay and sand and gravel deposits. As the ground rises the bedrock changes, first to Eden shales, and then at about 100m to St Bees sandstone which lies beneath Stafffield high quarter as far as the foot of the Pennine scarp. Above 250m the higher slopes of the Pennines are formed from alternating strata of carboniferous limestone, limestone grit, Alston sandstone and coal measures, with a covering of

peat.<sup>6</sup> At the lower levels grassland and woodland predominate in an undulating landscape, divided by stone walls and outlying hamlets and farmhouses: east of Scarrowmanwick the steep slopes of the Pennines are largely bare of woodland and buildings.

### **Communications**

A secondary road, from Kirkoswald, enters Stafffield township at Highbankhill and leaves it near Scarrowmanwick to cross Croglin Water by Croglin (High) Bridge (rebuilt 1773), and thence northwards to Brampton. There are roads from Stafffield hamlet, southwards to Kirkoswald over a bridge at Potter Bank Foot, and westwards to Nunnery and Ainstable over Croglin Low (otherwise Nunnery) Bridge (rebuilt 1775); and (from junctions with the secondary road) southwards to Renwick, and northwards towards Armathwaite. Between about 1930 and about 1980 there was a bus service daily between Penrith and Carlisle which passed through Stafffield, started by Edward Lancelot Pride of Ainstable, and acquired by Ribble in 1935.<sup>7</sup>

## **POPULATION AND SETTLEMENT**

### **Population**

In 1606 there were 31 customary and seven freehold tenements held of the crown, all including houses; and in addition there were at least four farmsteads on land not owned by the crown - a minimum of 42 houses, and (say) 200 inhabitants.<sup>8</sup> In 1642 there were some 95 adult males living in Stafffield, suggesting a population of approximately 320.<sup>9</sup> By the end of the eighteenth century the number of households had increased, 58 households being enumerated in Stafffield in 1781,

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<sup>6</sup> Geological Survey sheet 24 (Penrith) 1:50,000, surveyed 1962/8

<sup>7</sup> For Pride and Ribble bus services CAS(C) DX 844 (Carlisle licences to Pride), and inf David Grisenthwaite

<sup>8</sup> TNA SC11/986 for crown tenements; CAS(C) DVan collection, *passim*, for farmsteads at Stafffield, Highbankhill and Charbuckle Haresceugh on Alanby/Fletcher land; Crindledyke was on land owned by the Dean & Chapter of Carlisle Cathedral; the multiplier used is 4.75

but the population had declined slightly with 283 inhabitants recorded in 1794.<sup>10</sup> In 1801 the population was 276, rising to 309 in 1811; however by 1871 it had fallen back to 275, and in 1931 (the last separate census for Stafffield) it was just 193.<sup>11</sup>

### **Social Character**

Lords of the manor have not lived in Stafffield since medieval times; but gentry have lived in Stafffield from time to time, at Croglin Hall before 1750, and at Stafffield Hall after 1848. At all other times Stafffield society has been dominated by farmers, some of whom adopted honorifics such as “Mr” or “gent”, particularly if they held substantial freeholds.<sup>12</sup> After the interregnum the tenantry of Stafffield became increasingly independent of Kirkoswald - as witnessed by their support, after 1653, for the vigorous growth of the Huddlesceugh Independent church, and their successful petition to Quarter Sessions in 1708 to be allowed to administer the poor law in Stafffield separately.<sup>13</sup> The balance between tenant farming and owner-occupation has fluctuated, the former prevailing until 1939, with a marked shift towards owner-occupation after 1945.<sup>14</sup>

### **Settlement**

Settlement in Stafffield has always been sparse. The hamlet of Stafffield - the nucleus of settlement in the township - was first recorded in 1230, with other scattered settlements, specifically at Westgarthhill, Crindledyke, and Scarrowmanwick; and Croglin Hall, Charbuckle Haresceugh (later Netherharesceugh), Caber and Blunderfield are also thought to have been medieval settlements, although not so recorded before the sixteenth century.<sup>15</sup> By this time farmsteads had

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<sup>9</sup> Protestation Return 1642 (analysed for identifiable residence) - multiplier 3.75 (Appleby)

<sup>10</sup> Dr Heysham's census, Carlisle Central Library, Jackson collection M839, 1781; Hutchinson 211

<sup>11</sup> Decennial censuses 1801-1931

<sup>12</sup> cf *Social History* for a fuller discussion

<sup>13</sup> cf *Kirkoswald Religious History, Stafffield Social History, Stafffield Local Government History*

<sup>14</sup> cf *Land Ownership, and Economic History (farming)*

<sup>15</sup> PNC; Crindledyke *Reg Wetheral* 1252; Westgarthhill *ibid* 1231; Scarrowmanwick *ibid* 1260;

also appeared at Fieldgarth, Crossfield, Highbankhill, Scales, Lincobottom and Davygill - all recorded as settled before 1568 - and Raygarthfield had appeared by 1636.<sup>16</sup> Slack and Hill End (Caber) and Moss Flatt (near Scarrowmanwick) had appeared by 1700;<sup>17</sup> and new farmsteads, Burnt (or Brunt) House, Prospect Hill and Springfield, were built in Staffield low quarter in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century.<sup>18</sup> Staffield Hall, so called, was first recorded in 1775,<sup>19</sup> the name having been conferred on an ancient customary farmstead at some earlier date, and in 1848 a new mansion called Staffield Hall was built, and a park created. Since 1975 the mansion and its outbuildings have been converted to multi-occupation and holiday lets.<sup>20</sup>

In 1921 Richard Denman, who had recently purchased the Staffield Hall estate, constructed a small hydro-electric plant on Croglin Water, near the top waterfall in Nunnery Walks. By so doing he supplied electricity (direct current) to Staffield Hall and the cottages of Staffield hamlet, some 20 years before the main network of supply reached Staffield.<sup>21</sup> The scheme was designed, and the machinery manufactured, by Gilkes of Kendal: it incorporated a small dam and a tunnel (dug by miners) to deliver the water to a Francis turbine. The builders were the Clementsons of Kirkoswald.<sup>22</sup>

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Caber *ibid*, 283/5 c1240; Charbuckle was a family name recorded in fourteenth century poll tax records, and Charbuckle Haresceugh, if thereby named, was settled by then

<sup>16</sup> TNA LR2/213 (1568 survey): in some cases the place names are not therein stated, but comparison with TNA SC11/986 (1606) confirms settlement by 1568

<sup>17</sup> For Slack CAS(C) P 1613 Brown; for Hill End manor court roll 1636 (call roll of freeholders); for Moss Flatt CAS(C) P 1675 Brown

<sup>18</sup> 1841 census, households 5, 7, 17; Prospect Hill may have been a renaming of an ancient customary tenement called Lonnen House

<sup>19</sup> Fetherstonhaugh A-20-52, a tithe document of 12 May 1775

<sup>20</sup> *cf Land Ownership and Economic History*

<sup>21</sup> *Cumberland and Westmorland Herald* 1920 - according to this article a previous owner of the Hall had installed a supply to the Hall in 1910 "through a slow sluice above Nunnery bridge"

<sup>22</sup> *inf* Gilkes & Co Ltd, drawings 2376 and 2463, with thanks to Alastair Steele (Gilkes) and Mrs Kathy Cowburn, daughter of Sir Richard and Lady May Denman; Clementson business records in custody of Michael Clementson

## LAND OWNERSHIP

### *Lordship of the Manor of Staffield*<sup>23</sup>

There is no surviving record of a manor house nor of demesne land in Staffield. In about 1600 it was said that Staffield was “a fee of Kirkoswald”; that the medieval manor had been held by a family called de Staffoll; and that it was divided by inheritance between three daughters. There are large gaps in the records of inheritance, but rental evidence confirms that the manor of Staffield was divided, probably before 1200, into three moieties.<sup>24</sup>

One of these moieties was held, together with that half of the manor of Kirkoswald known as the “Gernon moiety”, by Hugh de Morvil (d. c1202). This portion of Staffield descended with the Gernon moiety thereafter, being inherited by the Dacres in 1329 (see KIRKOSWALD).

Both John de Staffull and Thomas de Bello Campo (Beauchamp) held land from Helewysa de Vernun, Hugh’s granddaughter, in 1269, the former being described as possessing a moiety of the manor, which perhaps formed a subordinate lordship; and the latter seems to have been lord of Little Croglin, but evidently held other land in Staffield as well.<sup>25</sup>

In 1434 Lord Thomas Dacre of Gillesland purchased from Ralph of Kyrkeby a second moiety of the manor of Staffull with all rents and services of free tenants, to be held of the chief lord of the fee (unnamed) - wording which places them at the level of mesne lords.<sup>26</sup> However, it would

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<sup>23</sup> Surviving medieval sources are incomplete and sometimes appear to be contradictory: the following account infers an omission in a 1329 document

<sup>24</sup> *Denton’s History*, 158; the names of the heiresses given by Denton - Chambers, Mulcaster and Blennerhassett - are not elsewhere confirmed

<sup>25</sup> Calendar of Documents relating to Scotland Vol I, p517, item 2556, an extent of lands owned by Helewysa de Vernun at her death in 1269, including a moiety of the vill of Staffoll held freely by John de Staffoll, and two bovates of land held freely by Thomas de Bello Campo, both paying 40d annually; TNA C133/112/5 (1303) *inq p.m.* John de Bello Campo who held lands in Staffield from Bertin de Hugtredate, who held from John and Isabel de Castre (cf *Other Estates, Little Croglin*); for John de Staffoll cf *Reg Wetheral*, items 78, 156/7, 176/7 (1230/1298, perhaps three generations)

<sup>26</sup> Muniments of the Duke of Norfolk, Arundel Castle, CW234; translation from Latin (*medietatem* for moiety) by Helen Warne, *The Duke of Norfolk’s Deeds at Arundel Castle - the Dacre Estates in Northern Counties*, Phillimore, 2006 at p111; the descent to Kirkby is unrecorded

appear that the Lords Dacre, now holding two moieties in Stafffield, became *de facto* chief lords after 1434 if not earlier, holding their land direct from the crown. In 1568 the chief lord of the manor was the child 5th baron Dacre, and some rents (and shares of rents) were paid to John Alanby, lord of the third moiety of Stafffield (see below).<sup>27</sup> Like Kirkoswald, the chief lordship and two-thirds share of the manor of Stafffield were inherited by Leonard Dacre in 1569, forfeited to the crown upon his attainder in 1570, and remained in crown hands until 1649 when it was awarded by the Court of Exchequer to Francis Lennard, Lord Dacre of the South. After the death of his son Thomas Lennard Earl of Sussex in 1715, his share of Stafffield, together with Kirkoswald, was sold to the Musgraves of Edenhall; and in 1913 it was purchased by Sir Francis Ley, whose great granddaughters Bridget Boissier, Annabel Stapleton and Lady Caroline Lonsdale were joint lords of the manor in 2016 (see KIRKOSWALD).<sup>28</sup>

The third moiety, held by John Alanby in 1568 and 1606, was sold to the Fletchers of Hutton in 1607 or soon afterwards.<sup>29</sup> In 1702 the Fletchers (later Fletcher-Vanes) claimed to own one third of the manor, and held courts from 1712.<sup>30</sup> However this claim was, in effect, disallowed by an arbitration in 1795 which determined that Sir Philip Musgrave as Lord of the Manor was solely entitled to the commons and waste grounds of Stafffield, and the Fletcher-Vanes did not receive a share of the commons enclosed in 1816.<sup>31</sup> Most of the Fletcher-Vane tenants had been enfranchised by 1825:<sup>32</sup> this included some tenements, perhaps 200 acres (81ha), in respect of which the Fletchers received the whole customary rent, and a one-third share of some customary

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<sup>27</sup> TNA LR2/213

<sup>28</sup> cf *Kirkoswald Land Ownership* and the sources there cited

<sup>29</sup> The Alanbys, whose acquisition is not recorded, held it in 1606 (TNA SC11/986); the sale to Fletcher is also unrecorded but may have coincided with the Fletcher purchase of the manor of Skelton from Allenby in 1607; the Fletchers are first recorded in Stafffield freehold call rolls in 1639

<sup>30</sup> CAS(C) DVan1/7/5, general demission 1712, and DVan1/7/1 rental 1743

<sup>31</sup> CAS(C) DX8/1/1; when improvements from the waste were made in the 1740s the new rents were divided two thirds to Musgrave, one third to Fletcher - CAS(C) DVan/1/17/1; DVan/1/7/8 (1795) for the arbitration between Musgrave and Fletcher-Vane (arbitrator Alan Chambre of Lincoln's Inn)

rents in high quarter.<sup>33</sup>

By 1568 there were several large parcels of freehold land, which would in the eighteenth century result in some Stafffield non-gentry tenants being returned for county jury service.<sup>34</sup> In 1589 the Howard heiresses of the Dacre estates owned 11 free rentals of land called Knypes, ranging from 1d to 3s 3d, total 14s 2d. They were forfeited to the crown in 1594, restored to the Countess of Arundel in 1601, and sold back to the crown in the 1630s, whereafter they were recorded in the same way as other freeholds held from the chief lords of the manor.<sup>35</sup>

*Other Estates - (1) Little Croglin, Croglin Halls and the Sharrow Bay estates*<sup>36</sup>

Little Croglin, which included Croglin Hall<sup>37</sup>, and (perhaps, before 1225) Crindledyke, was *anciently the Beauchamps, till K. H. 7 tyme, and then the Dacres lords paramount purchased it to their seignory*.<sup>38</sup> Various members of the Dacre family are recorded as occupying Croglin Hall until the 1580s;<sup>39</sup> in 1571 it was forfeit to the crown (with the manors of Kirkoswald and the Dacre share of Stafffield), and by 1621 it was in the hands of Lord William Howard of Naworth.<sup>40</sup> In about 1660

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<sup>32</sup> CAS(C) DVan/1/7/7 - enfranchisements in 1782, 1784 and 1824

<sup>33</sup> Analysis based on the 1842 Tithe Commutation Schedule compared with Fletcher rentals

<sup>34</sup> CAS(C) CCRJ/1 and CQRJ/2; cf *Social History*; the origin of these freeholds is unknown but may derive from subdivision of one of the moieties in the 1330s - cf *FF* 229 (1334), 236 (1337), 262 (1347), 289 (1373), all in the names Hoton or Burton; Burtons held land in Stafffield in 1430 (Arundel CW233)

<sup>35</sup> cf RAA Brockington *The Dacre Inheritance* CW3 2015; Knypes appears to have been Scales

<sup>36</sup> It might once have been demesne land of the manor of Croglin, but if so it was alienated before 1220: freeholders of Croglin Hall did not render suit and service in the Stafffield manor court.

<sup>37</sup> Hyde & Pevsner 305 - an ancient farmhouse, present structure from sixteenth century

<sup>38</sup> *Denton's History* 158; *Reg Wetheral* 256, items 153/4 (c1200), records a gift by William de Croglyn of two bovates of land *pro salute domine meo Rogeri de Bellocampo* (Beauchamp); also cf Assize Rolls 1279 (Anglo American Legal Tradition website, Just/1/132, dorset, image 6427), a dispute concerning land transactions by Roger de Bello Campo, probably part of the Croglin Hall estate (the author is indebted to John Gowling for transcribing the text and advice on interpretation)

<sup>39</sup> For example Sir Christopher Dacre 1534 (Letters and Papers of Henry VIII, vol 7, 248); and Francis Dacre, brother of Leonard Dacre, seems to have lived there from about 1575 to 1589

<sup>40</sup> *The Household Books of Lord William Howard*, 1877, Surtees vol 68, 152

it was sold by the Howards of Naworth to George Towry whose family held it to 1733.<sup>41</sup> Croglin High Hall is recorded (as Croglin New Hall) in 1712.<sup>42</sup> In 1745 both Croglin Halls were owned by Thomas Johnston;<sup>43</sup> in 1816 by Christabel Burroughs of Burlingham Hall Norfolk; and in 1842 by her son-in-law Sir George Charles Hoste.<sup>44</sup> The extent of their land, all freehold, was 418 acres (166.8ha) before enclosure in 1816, and 960 acres (388.8ha) thereafter. In 1873 the Croglin Hall estate was purchased by Anthony Parkin, added later to the Sharrow Bay estates, and in 1963 sold to the Watson family who owned Croglin Low Hall in 2016.<sup>45</sup>

*Other estates - (2) Staffield Hall Farm and Staffield Hall*

The Staffield Hall estate began as a customary tenement held from the Dacres in 1568 by Thomas Lowthing (Lowthian) with a house, outbuildings and 30 acres (16ha) of arable and pasture, and rights of common and pasture.<sup>46</sup> The Lowthians attained gentry status in the life of George Lowthian (1665-1735), a wealthy man with interests in lead mining near Dumfries, who named his customary farmstead "Staffield Hall".<sup>47</sup> Staffield Hall passed through two generations to Richard Lowthian Ross esq and from him to the Aglionbys of Nunnery.<sup>48</sup> In 1848 Charles Fetherstonhaugh, a younger son of the Kirkoswald family who had married Jane Aglionby, constructed a new mansion called Staffield Hall south-east of the farm (which was thereafter called Staffield Hall Farm), and laid out 138 acres (55.8ha) of surrounding fields as parkland.<sup>49</sup> In 1885 the Staffield Hall estate was sold and passed through several hands before being purchased

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<sup>41</sup> For Towry presence, Hearth Tax 1662 and *Pedigree Visitations* 135 (1664); burial register 1733

<sup>42</sup> CAS(C) P Gill 1712, and bond 1717; Lyson, 128, says that George Towry purchased from William Howard, son of Sir Charles Howard; and that after 1727 it was sold to a Mr Johnson.

<sup>43</sup> CAS(C) CQRJ/1 (Tho Jonstone of Crogling Hall returned for jury service)

<sup>44</sup> CAS(C) Q/RE/1/21 (1816), DRC8/179 (1842); for Sir G.C.Hoste see ODNB

<sup>45</sup> CAS(C) DB/74/59/179 (1873); a valuation in 1918 recorded Low Hall as having 995 acres and High Hall 155, a total of 1,150 (466ha); Sharrow Bay Estates held about 1,500 acres (607.5ha) in Staffield

<sup>46</sup> TNA LR2/213

<sup>47</sup> John Lowthian of Staffield was bailiff in 1637 (manor court rolls); Denton *Perambulation* 328 - "George Lowthian hath a free estate here worth £30 a year"; datestone at Staffield Hall Farm GLB1687 (George and Bridget Lowthian)

<sup>48</sup> Jefferson p294; CAS(C) PR9/134 (1824), and DX556/1 (1839)

<sup>49</sup> Comparison of 1842 tithe commutation map with second edition, 1900, OS 1:25; datestone

in 1920 by the Hon Richard (later Sir Richard) Denman. After the death of Sir Richard in 1974, the mansion was sold to developers who began the conversion of the building into apartments. This work was continued by Alan and Beverley Dawson who purchased in 1986, and sold in 2005 to Michael and Marie Lawson. In 2016 there were eight holiday apartments in the main building and a further 11 owner-occupied dwellings in the outbuildings; and all other parts of the estate remained in the hands of the Denmans.<sup>50</sup>

*Other estates - (3) Fetherstonhaugh of Kirkoswald*

Henry Fetherstonhaugh (d. 1626), steward of Staffield and other crown manors, purchased the College Kirkoswald in 1611 (see KIRKOSWALD), and his descendants continued to live there in 2016. Their extensive landholdings included the following farms in Staffield, with dates of acquisition - Raygarthfield (late eighteenth century), Netherharsceugh (1821), Lowfield (1828), Westgarthhill (1860) and Dolly Tarn, Highbankhill (1950).<sup>51</sup> The total acreage of Fetherstonhaugh owned land within Staffield in 2016 was 977 acres (395.6ha).<sup>52</sup>

*Other estates - (4) Wetherall Priory/ Dean and Chapter of Carlisle Cathedral (D&C)*

Crindledyke farm was given by John de Bello Campo (Beauchamp) to Wetherall Priory in the 1220s, and at dissolution the Priory also held land at Caber (free rent 3s 4d) and Scarrowmanwick (free rent 2d): in 1541 all this was granted by the crown to the D&C.<sup>53</sup> The D&C held Crindledyke (283 acres, 110 ha, in 1854) until 1891 when it was sold to Antony

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1848; *Dir Cumb* 1938; Denman estate deeds (Dorothy Milner)

<sup>50</sup> *Inf* Catherine Cowburn (daughter of Sir Richard Denman), Beverley Dawson and Dorothy Milner

<sup>51</sup> Fetherstonhaugh A-21-41 (1860); *Our Cumberland Village*; the deeds recording the purchase of Raygarthfield farm have not been found, but CAS(C) PR9/133 is a receipt 1 Aug 1790, signed by Timothy Fetherstonhaugh, for “rent due .. for Raketfield and Linkhow Bottom”

<sup>52</sup> *Inf* Timothy Fetherstonhaugh

<sup>53</sup> *Reg Wetherall*, 280, item 172; TNA E322/262 (surrender of Priory 1538); E315/376 (survey of Priory lands 1539/40); *Letters and Papers, Henry 8*, 1541, 418/9

Parkin;<sup>54</sup> and the D&C also received small free rents for land at Caber and Scarrowmanwick:<sup>55</sup> these free rents were extinguished in the 1930s.<sup>56</sup>

## **ECONOMIC HISTORY**

Farming was the main economic activity in the manor and township of Staffield. Some local trades were practised; there were large freestone quarries and, on the Pennine edge above Scarrowmanwick, some coal mining and lime burning.

### **Farming**

#### *The Physical Framework and Enclosure of Wastes*

An aerial view in 1568 would have shown a large irregularly shaped common, about 2,150 acres (871ha), centred upon Whinfell, and surrounded by small settlements.<sup>57</sup> To the west, close to the River Eden, were two farmsteads called Fieldgarth, three other farmsteads (one later called Staffield Hall), and the cottages of Staffield hamlet, in all about 400a (162ha), including 60a (24ha) of common called Staffield pasture; proceeding clockwise with Croglin water on the left were farmsteads at Crossfield (122a, 50ha), Crindledyke (240a, 96ha), Croglin Hall (346a, 140ha), Caber and Lincobottom (200a, 80ha), Scarrowmanwick hamlet and Davygill at the foot of the Pennine scarp (220a, 88ha); after passing Renwick to the east and turning westwards above the Raven beck, were five more hamlets - Charbuckle Haresceugh (66a, 27ha), Scales (135a, 54ha), Blunderfield (150a, 61ha), Highbankhill (96a, 39ha, in Staffield), and

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<sup>54</sup> CAS(C) DRC7/2/1 (rental 1614); Church of England ECE/11/1/69 (1854); Church of England CD27096 (1891); CAS(C) DB74/box 179 (1963, sale by Parkin to Bowman); in 2016 Maurice Bowman owned and farmed 350 acres (141.7ha) at Crindledyke.

<sup>55</sup> Manor court call rolls of freeholders holding from D&C, 1645f

<sup>56</sup> Title deeds of Caber Slack (Hugh Holliday and Messrs Arnison, solicitors, Penrith)

<sup>57</sup> CAS(C) Q/RE/1/21, Staffield Enclosure Award; there were also an 1,116 acres of waste on Staffield High Fell; 1568 acreages are approximate and based on retrospective analysis of pre-

Westgarthhill (113a, 46ha). The tenantry of all these places enjoyed rights of common - for most on the large central waste, for the farmsteads nearest the Eden upon the Stafffield pasture, and for those in high quarter on the high fellside east of Scarrowmanwick.<sup>58</sup> There were in 1568 an estimated 2,000 acres (810ha) of cultivated farmland, including the Stafffield pasture, and there were common fields at Blunderfield and Charbuckle Haresceugh.<sup>59</sup>

Four tenants were recorded in 1568 as having added to their farmland by improving waste, three at Scarrowmanwick and one at Slobyfield (unidentified).<sup>60</sup> In 1636 two tenements were recorded at Raygarthfield, with at least one farmstead built on land recently assarted from the waste south of Caber and Scarrowmanwick.<sup>61</sup> By 1660 cottages and farmsteads had been built at Hill End and Slack, east of Caber farmstead and west of Lincobottom.<sup>62</sup> New customary rents were created at Sickergill in 1662.<sup>63</sup> In 1667 Jeffrey Westmorland of Scales erected a barn on the waste, with a rent of 2d.<sup>64</sup> In 1697 the Earl of Sussex and his Kirkoswald and Stafffield tenantry agreed on measures for enclosing and improving commons and waste grounds within both Manors; and an agreement in 1699 between the Earl of Sussex and Edmund Bird to enclose 70 acres (say 30ha) of Howe Moor appears to have related to High Field, Netherharesceugh, the

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enclosure farmland

<sup>58</sup> TNA LR2/213 (1568 survey); SC11/986 (1606 survey) which describes both customary and freehold tenements in detail, routinely adds “common of pasture on the moorland” but does not specify entitlements in relation to different areas of moorland

<sup>59</sup> Fetherstonhaugh A-17-36; for Blunderfield cf the Stafffield Enclosure map 1816

<sup>60</sup> TNA LR2/213 - in all four cases rent was payable to Alanby as well as the Dacre overlords

<sup>61</sup> CAS(C) DMus/1/12/1, 1636; baptism (Muncaster of Regarthfield) 1647; Fetherstonhaugh A-2-5, 1630 - two fields later called High and Low Fetherston Close; the Raygarthfield farmstead was purchased by the Fetherstonhaughs after 1750 (probably from the Bells, purchase deeds not found)

<sup>62</sup> Men called Threlkeld, Brown and Nicholson are recorded in court rolls of the 1630s as “of Caber”, “of Slack” and “of Hill End”, some with customary tenements and some freehold (or both)

<sup>63</sup> CAS(C) DMus/1/12/1, manor court 20 Oct 1662, rents payable to Lennard; this seems to have related to the 40 acres of disputed land transferred from Renwick to Stafffield in 1808 - cf *Renwick*

<sup>64</sup> *ibid* 1667

Fletchers receiving a share.<sup>65</sup> However the Fletcher claim to one third of the manor may have thwarted further progress in Stafffield.<sup>66</sup>

In 1725 16 tenants were presented for encroachments on the common since 1676: they included the intakes at Sickergill, and Highbankhill, mentioned above; High Field at Netherharesceugh; five intakes at Scales with the removal of the ring fence and the creation of garths and two barns; two intakes on which houses were built at Hill End and Davygill, and one involving the removal of the ring hedge at Croglin Hall, where in about 1700 a second farmstead, later known as Croglin High Hall, had been built. In 1735 23 Stafffield tenants were amerced for enclosing common (presumably since 1725); and one was amerced for having a malt kiln on the common. New rents for most of these were recorded in 1743 in the proportion two parts Musgrave to one part Fletcher.<sup>67</sup> Sickergill farmhouse, thought to have been built between 1700 and 1715 on assarted wasteland, was transferred from Renwick to Stafffield as a result of boundary adjustment in 1808; and Netherharesceugh became a single farm in 1811.<sup>68</sup>

In 1816, after centuries of gradual intaking of the commons, the task was completed by the Stafffield Enclosure Act of 1806 and the enclosure award made thereunder.<sup>69</sup> Of the 2,200 remaining acres of low common (890ha), about 30 acres (12ha) were awarded in small parcels to 13 men and women, probably to compensate for lost rights of common, and most were immediately sold; 140 acres (57ha) were awarded in small parcels to 12 small farmers most of whom retained their allotments; and more than 2,000 acres (810ha) were divided between 22 men and women, among whom were gentry families, Fetherstonhaugh, Aglionby and Burroughs (the owners of Croglin Halls), and four large farmers - Hewetson of Davygill, Robley of

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<sup>65</sup> Fetherstonhaugh A-17-19; a free rent of 52s 6d (at 9d per acre) is recorded but not later mentioned; A-17-36 for Farthest High Field held from Fletcher

<sup>66</sup> cf *Kirkoswald*; and CAS(C) DX8/1/1 (bond of Sir Henry Fletcher pending arbitration 13 May 1702)

<sup>67</sup> CAS(C) DVan/1/17/1

<sup>68</sup> Muniments of Queen's College Oxford 5A-118 (1808); Fetherstonhaugh A-17-40

Scarrowmanwick, Lowthian of Sickergill and Threlkeld of Caber Slack, each of whom were allotted more than 100 acres. The 1816 enclosure caused widespread loss of smallholdings, and a sharp increase in the size of some farms.<sup>70</sup>

In 1842 there were 28 farms in Stafffield. In low quarter there were Lowfield (built on the border between Stafffield and Kirkoswald in the 1820s, replacing one of the Fieldgarth farms), Fieldgarth, Springfield (built about 1800 and including the former lands of Crossfield), Crindledyke, Stafffield Hall, Prospect Hill and one other (unnamed) farm in Stafffield, Westgarthhill, and three farms at Highbankhill; in high quarter four at Scarrowmanwick, three at Scales, two each at Croglin Halls, Blunderfield and Caber, and farms at Raygarthfield, Davygill, Sickergill and Netherharesceugh.<sup>71</sup> When, in 1848, the new mansion called Stafffield Hall was built, some 140 acres (57ha) were emparked and thereafter used only for pasture.<sup>72</sup> In 1901 and in 1941 there were 22 farms, seven in low quarter and 15 in high quarter.<sup>73</sup>

In 2016, there were 14 working farms: Lowfield (partly in Kirkoswald), Stafffield Hall (with Fieldgarth), Westgarthhill (with Dolly Tarn), Highbankhill, Crindledyke, Croglin Low Hall, Croglin High Hall, Scarrowmanwick, Davygill, Raygarthfield (with Caber), Sickergill, Scales, Blunderfield East and Blunderfield West. Some farmland, usually in parcels of under 100 acres, was separately let on annual grazing tenancies.<sup>74</sup>

### *Agricultural Institutions*

As noted in *Land Ownership*, much of the old farmland was ancient freehold, the enfranchisement

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<sup>69</sup> CAS(C) Q/RE/1/21

<sup>70</sup> The number of houses fell from 58 (Heysham census 1781) to 43 in 1841 (census)

<sup>71</sup> Tithe Commutation Schedule 1842: Prospect Hill was a renaming in about 1820 of Loning House (Fetherstonhaugh A-20-78); Springfield is first recorded in a baptism in 1813

<sup>72</sup> Date stone 1848; 1851 census household 34; Denman title, conveyance of 9 Mar 1920 (Aglionby to Denman), first schedule, first part (title deeds of Dorothy Milner)

<sup>73</sup> Census 1901, 1911; *Dir Cumb* 1901, 1910; CAS(C) TIR 4/78 (1910); TNA MAF 32/183/159 (1941); by 1941 there were several smallholdings in low quarter; in high quarter Raygarthfield was farmed with Caber Slack, and there were only two farms at Scarrowmanwick

of which is unrecorded. In 1636 many Staffield farmers held a mixture of freeholds (either rent free or paying free rents to the crown, the Fletchers or the Dean & Chapter of Carlisle Cathedral), and land held by custom of the manor from either the crown, the Fletchers or the Bells.<sup>75</sup> At this date customary tenure still predominated in low quarter: farmers in high quarter had larger freeholds.<sup>76</sup> Croglin Hall and Crindledyke were freeholds held by third parties and leased or tenanted.

In 1675 Thomas Lennard Earl of Sussex received annual rents of £8 9s 5d from 51 customary tenants, and free rents of 4s 3d from six freeholders; and in 1743 Henry Fletcher received annual rents of £3 4s 5d from 22 customary tenants, and free rents of 1s 11d from six freeholders (two of whom were also customary tenants). 11 of the Fletcher tenants appear also in Musgrave rentals, the proportion of rent in all these cases being two parts Musgrave to one part Fletcher.<sup>77</sup> Some 20 of the Musgrave rentals were less than one shilling and two were described as cottages: there were several other cottages within the hamlets, on small parcels of freehold land and on intakes from the waste.<sup>78</sup>

Entry fines owed to the crown as chief lords in 1606 were four times the annual rent;<sup>79</sup> and to the Lennards from 1649 were usually six times the annual rent. In 1676 the tenants purchased the right to pay entry fines of one penny, in exchange for payment to the Earl of Sussex of a lump sum of 30 times the annual rent.<sup>80</sup> In contrast the Fletchers retained the right to levy

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<sup>74</sup> *inf* Timothy Fetherstonhaugh

<sup>75</sup> CAS(C) DMus/1/12/1 - manorial call rolls from 1636; also, three rentals only, to Bell

<sup>76</sup> CAS(C) CQRJ/1

<sup>77</sup> Rentals - CAS(C) DMus/1/12/1 1675, and DVan/1/7/1 1743

<sup>78</sup> CAS(C) DX8/1/1, 1702, proof of evidence of Bartram Liddell aged 83 - "*there are several cottages built on Staffall wastes and most of the owners of 'em have all along paid Sir Hen & ancestors a third part of the rent viz a penny to the Earl of Sussex and halfpenny to Sir Hen*"; also the 1675 rental lists two cottages as recent additions

<sup>79</sup> TNA SC2/165/17

<sup>80</sup> CAS(C) DMus/2/box 27, has a copy of the agreement of 1 Dec 1676 relating to Kirkoswald, and parallel agreements for Lazonby and Blackhall also survive; the Staffield agreement has not been found

arbitrary entry fines - at 20 times the annual rent in 1712, rising to 88 times the annual rent in 1801.<sup>81</sup> In Tudor times customary tenants owed boon services to the chief lords; and Fletcher rents sometimes included hens in addition to money.<sup>82</sup> An annual payment for greenhew was recorded in 1624 and 1680, in which year the yield was 5s 7d.<sup>83</sup> Most Fletcher tenancies were enfranchised between 1782 and 1824.<sup>84</sup>

In 1842 there were 4,710 acres (1,905ha) of farmland, an average of 157 acres (63ha) per farm; of 28 farms, seven were owner-occupied, and 21 tenanted or leased.<sup>85</sup> In 1910 of 22 farms, three were owner-occupied and 19 tenanted or leased, the average size being 214 acres (86ha), ranging from 79 to 668 acres (32 to 270ha). In 2016 of 14 farms, ten were owner-occupied and four (Lowfield, Stafffield Hall, Westgarthhill (with Dolly Tarn) and Raygarthfield) were held by lease.<sup>86</sup>

In 1834 an agricultural labourer received an annual income of £13 with victuals and £22 without.<sup>87</sup> In 1841 107 men (including farmers' sons aged 15 and above) were working on the land; in 1901 there were 75;<sup>88</sup> in 2016 there were about 21.

### *Crops and livestock production*

Inventories of Stafffield farmers who died between 1575 and 1617, usually included cattle, ranging from single cows to substantial herds - 20 owned by Lowding (Lowthian) of Stafffield in 1581, 60 owned by Simpson of Stafffield in 1611, and 31 owned by Ellwood of Crossfield in

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<sup>81</sup> Fetherstonhaugh A-17-20 (1712) and A-17-37 (1801), both relating to Netherharsceugh

<sup>82</sup> TNA E178/576 (1572) "*the tenants [of Stafffull] were accustomed to work 16 days work when called upon by the lord being called boone days*"; a rider in similar terms, but with different numbers of boon days, appears in relation to Scarrowmanwick and Scales; manor court rolls from 1636 make no further mention of this obligation; CAS(C) DVan/1/7/1 (1743) for hens

<sup>83</sup> TNA SC2/165/72 (1624); CAS(C) DMus/1/12/1, 1680 rental; the quantum suggests that, if the charge was 1d per tenement, freeholders and Fletcher tenants also paid it.

<sup>84</sup> CAS(C) DVan/1/7/7 and 1/7/8

<sup>85</sup> Tithe Commutation Schedule 1842

<sup>86</sup> CAS(C) TIR4/78 (1910), three smallholdings also listed; *inf* Timothy Fetherstonhaugh, Les Armstrong

<sup>87</sup> PP 1834, xxvii-xxxix, p1820

1614. Most, but not all, had sheep, with flocks numbering between ten and 265 (Simpson). Grain, where specified, usually included barley, oats and rye, and in one case (Bowman of Fieldgarth, 1594) wheat. Most inventories include horses, and some poultry, pigs and bees.<sup>89</sup> Between 1661 and 1700, of 22 Staffield inventories, all but one included cattle, mostly in small numbers, the largest herds being 19 owned by Lowthian of Staffield (1675) and 15 by Whitwham of Blunderfield (1687). Five farmers had more than 100 sheep, and of these four were in high quarter - Lowthian of Charbuckle Haresceugh, Threlkeld of Caber, Whitwham of Blunderfield and Nicholson of Scales. 12 inventories recorded fewer than five cattle and 25 sheep.<sup>90</sup>

Late eighteenth century commentators on agriculture in the parish of Kirkoswald described the soil as “... loamy and some parts clay, very fertile in wheat, barley and oats - some of the lowlands subject to water ... the east cold and mountainous - a good sheep common.”

Husbandry was of a high standard: the land was very productive due to fallowing, liming and manuring, and crops of turnips, clover and hay. Sheep were chiefly short Scots, but cross-breeding was practised to improve the quality of wool; the highest grounds and coarsest herbage produced the heaviest sheep and coarser wool. There were several farmers with herds of twenty or more cows, including “the long-horned sort, such as are bred in Lancashire and Westmorland.”<sup>91</sup>

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<sup>88</sup> Censuses 1841, 1901

<sup>89</sup> CAS(C) P 1575 Richardby, Matheson, 1581 Ellwood, Lowding, Johnson, 1588 Coulthard, 1594 Bowman, 1599 Brown, 1601 Nicholson, 1602 Lowthian, 1603 Harrison, 1605 Salkeld, 1606 Smith, 1611 Simpson, 1613 Crake and Brown, 1614 Ellwood and Mattinson, 1615 Brown and Fawcett, 1617 Whitwham; between 1617 and 1661 there are no surviving Staffield inventories

<sup>90</sup> CAS(C) P 1661 Jameson, 1669 Lowthian, 1670 Threlkeld, 1672 Hodgson and Whitwham, 1673 Lowthian, Share, Walton, Lowthian and Salkeld, 1674 Thompson, 1675 Bowman, 1677 Salkeld and Gibson, 1683 Liddell, Nicholson and Bowman, 1684 Threlkeld, 1685 Brown, 1687 Whitwham, 1689 Dixon, 1692 Moresby, 1695 Bird; types of grain were not usually specified in inventories of this period

<sup>91</sup> Hutchinson 210 (all quotations from Housman’s notes) did not distinguish between Kirkoswald and Staffield when discussing agriculture in the parish of Kirkoswald - nor did Sir Frederick Morton Eden *The State of the Poor*, 1797, 84, whose comments are similar to Hutchinson’s

In 1842 most fields adjoining Croglin Water, and the high fellsides enclosed in 1816, were described as pasture, and most other land as arable.<sup>92</sup> In 1897 the principal crops were turnips, potatoes, oats and barley, grown it seems for both human and livestock consumption.<sup>93</sup> In 1941 arable crops were usually oats and potatoes, with some wheat at Lowfield and Fieldgarth: most farms included dairies, but only six - Crindledyke, Caber, Raygarthfield, Davygill and the two farms at Scarrowmanwick - were large scale sheep farms, sharing 2,600 acres (1,053ha) of grazing on the high fells.<sup>94</sup> There was radical change away from arable towards animal husbandry after 1945: in 2016 Blunderfield East was the last surviving dairy farm in the civil parish of Kirkoswald, arable crops were raised only for animal fodder, and all other farms reared livestock for meat. The Hetheringtons of Stafffield Hall farm had acquired a butcher's shop in Penrith to retail beef and lamb produced on their farm.<sup>95</sup>

### ***Woodland and Forestry***

In 1606, of 35 customary tenements described in detail, two included woodland.<sup>96</sup> Court rolls from 1636 included a warning that unauthorised taking of timber from the king's woods would incur a fine of 6d; and in 1667 Thomas Lowthian was amerced £1 6s 8d for felling four oak trees without permission. This was however an isolated case in Stafffield manor records, and by comparison with neighbouring Renwick and Kirkoswald there seem to have been few disputes about timber.<sup>97</sup> In 1842 and 1860 most woodland was close to the river Eden or Croglin Water. There were patches of woodland in many parts of the manor, the largest being the 24 acre (10ha)

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<sup>92</sup> Tithe Commutation Schedule 1842

<sup>93</sup> Kelly *Dir Cumb* 186 (article on Kirkoswald but applied to whole parish)

<sup>94</sup> TNA MAF 32/183/159 (1941)

<sup>95</sup> *inf* John and David Hetherington; breeds were mainly Limousin and Swaledale/Leicester crosses

<sup>96</sup> TNA SC11/986

<sup>97</sup> CAS(C) DMus1/12/1; no entitlement to "boot" was recorded

Bank Wood on Croglin Hall land.<sup>98</sup> 181 acres (73ha) of plantation, owned by Fetherstonhaugh, Aglionby and Parkin, were recorded in 1910.<sup>99</sup>

## Mining and Quarrying

There were freestone quarries in many parts of the manor, the largest being Christopher's Quarry near Crindledyke farmhouse.<sup>100</sup> There were also extensive limestone quarries at Clint on Scarrowmanwick Fell, and between 5 and 11 limekilns, fired by coal from Burned Edge coal mine, higher on the Pennine scarp.<sup>101</sup> Lime was carted from Clint to Ewan Close Farm, Lazonby (a distance of 10 miles) in the Autumn of 1812.<sup>102</sup> A one third share of the coal mine, together with a one-fourth share of the limeworks, part of the estate of John Walton of Highbankhill who died in 1816, were sold at auction in 1825.<sup>103</sup> Frizzell Hodgson was trading from Scarrowmanwick as a coal and lime dealer between 1848 and 1861.<sup>104</sup>

## Trades

Joinery, weaving, brewing, malting and tanning are all recorded in probate inventories and court rolls in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, probably small businesses meeting local needs

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<sup>98</sup> Tithe Commutation Schedule 1842, and OS 1860; cf also Jefferson 295, who says that Richard Lowthian Ross planted many thousands of trees in laying out walks on the east bank of Croglin Water

<sup>99</sup> CAS(C) TIR4/78

<sup>100</sup> Christopher's Quarry mentioned in Staffield Enclosure Award 1816

<sup>101</sup> Graham Brooks *The East Cumberland Coal Field*, British Mining Memoirs 88 (2009) recorded a single dry stone adit and a 15 inch thick coal seam in the rocks of the Four Fathom Limestone; David S Johnson *Lime Burning .. along the Pennine Edge of Cumberland*, CW3 2013, 205 recorded nine kilns on Scarrowmanwick Fell; there is also evidence of small scale coal working adjoining Bleaberry Gill, ceased by 1860, *inf* Graham Brooks, to whom the author is indebted for most of this section

<sup>102</sup> CAS(C) D/Hud/17/107

<sup>103</sup> *Carlisle Journal* 10 Sept 1825

<sup>104</sup> *Dir Cumb* 1848, 1858, 1861; OS 1st edition sheet XXXII depicts these businesses as still active in 1860; *Dir Cumb* 1758; Mr Hodgson's business was not advertised later than 1861; in the 1851 census he was resident in Croglin, a lodger in the house of a coalminer and described as a limeburner, aged 30 and born in Kirkbampton: he was the only limeburner recorded in Croglin, and in 1851 there was only one coalminer - but 15 others were recorded in the Croglin baptism

and supplementing farming income.<sup>105</sup> The tannery at Charbuckle Haresceugh operated by Edmund Bird from about 1680 to his death in 1723 was a larger business. Bird acquired and (in 1701) extended Netherharesceugh farmhouse, purchased land both in Kirkoswald and elsewhere, and at his death had an inventory of over £3,800.<sup>106</sup> In 1670 a blacksmith called John Bownus was allowed to erect a cottage “upon the common by the wayside” at Highbankhill, with a rent of 1d: in 1680 this smithy and shop were sold to William Coulthard who worked the smithy for at least 39 years.<sup>107</sup> John Lawrence of Staffield was recorded as a smith in 1693 and 1703.<sup>108</sup> In 1797 George Dixon and his son Robert had established a new smithy in the hamlet of Staffield which was worked by three generations of Dixons until 1871, and by William Bowes in 1884, but had ceased trading by 1891.<sup>109</sup> In 1797 there were also in Staffield two shoemakers, one stonemason and one weaver.<sup>110</sup> Joseph Lawrence, and his sons Thomas (who moved to Ruckcroft, Ainstable in about 1820) and Joseph, were shoemakers in Staffield between 1775 and 1853. The Irving family were trading as bacon factors at Burnt House from 1841 to 1891. The Watson family traded as stonemasons at Highbankhill until 1871, and Thomas Chambers was

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register between 1823 and 1850

<sup>105</sup> CAS(C) P 1575, Richardby (carpenter); 1580 Coulthard (brewer); 1581 Lowding, 1602 Lowding, 1614 Ellwood (all tanners); 1585 Nicholson (maltster); 1599 Brown (weaver); Thomas Harrison of Charbuckle Haresceugh (d. 1602) was a tailor in 1591 (Fetherstonhaugh A-1-1) and had tanning equipment (his inventory); Richard Harrison weaver was amerced by the manor court 1670

<sup>106</sup> CAS(C) P 1723 Bird

<sup>107</sup> CAS(C) DMus/1/12/1, 1670, 1675 rental, 1680 rental and two admittances, call rolls to 1719; in 1725 Coulthard’s intake was described as a house and garden, and there was no later mention of this smithy; note that a smithy was also shown on OS1860 at Highbankhill (Kirkoswald township)

<sup>108</sup> Baptisms; datestone ILM 1702 on cottage in Staffield, is John and Mary Lawrence; there is no separate record of this smithy

<sup>109</sup> Sir Frederick Morton Eden, *The State of the Poor*, 83/4; baptisms from 1803; OS1860; the general demissions of 1796 and 1816 list George Dixon and his son Robert as tenants of a messuage & tenement at Staffield rent 2d; the smithy is shown on OS1860; in 1946 Sir Richard Denman applied for planning permission to convert the old smithy to a cottage CAS(C) SRPD/3/PLANS/2651

<sup>110</sup> Sir Frederick Morton Eden *ibid*

working as a stonemason with two apprentices at Westgarthhill in 1881.<sup>111</sup> The Joiner's Arms was trading as an inn in 1779, destroyed by fire in 1870, rebuilt, and last recorded in 1884.<sup>112</sup> A public house called the Ship Inn traded between about 1840 and 1865 at what was in 2016 Scarrowmanwick farmhouse .<sup>113</sup>

### **Economic History Since 1945**

As noted above, part of Stafffield Hall was converted after 1995 to eight holiday apartments. In 2016 the Stafffield Hall apartments were owned and managed by Michael and Marie Lawson as Stafffield Hall Country Retreats; six holiday cottages had been established by Richard and Sue Bottom at Crossfield House; and a planning application had been made by George Stobart for permission to build holiday accommodation at Croglin High Hall.<sup>114</sup>

## **SOCIAL HISTORY**

### **Social Structure and Character**

In the absence of a manor house, and of resident lords of the manor, there were long periods during which there were no elite residents in Stafffield. From 1628 to 1649 Sir Timothy Fetherstonhaugh was royal steward of the manor of Stafffield, and the Fetherstonhaughs owned land in Stafffield, but were not resident there before 1848. At various times there were gentry resident at Croglin Hall, for example the Towry family from 1660 to 1733.<sup>115</sup> Also prominent in the years following the Restoration were the Threlkelds of Caber, and Richard Wilson of

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<sup>111</sup> Censuses to 1891; *Dir Cumb* 1829, 1847, 1869; baptism records Kirkoswald and Ainstable

<sup>112</sup> Baptism 1779; CAS(C) QL3/6 (1822/5); *Dir Cumb* 1829, 1847, 1861, 1879, 1884; censuses to 1881; *Carlisle Journal* 27 May 1870; OS 1860, one of the cottages in Stafffield hamlet

<sup>113</sup> *inf* Robin Bell; *Dir Cumb* 1847, "Thomas Robley, farmer & victualler"; census 1861

<sup>114</sup> *inf* Richard and Sue Bottom and George Stobart

<sup>115</sup> *Pedigree Visitations*, 1664, 135

Crossfield.<sup>116</sup> Farmers filled most of the manor and township offices. Before 1650 the foremanship of the manor court jury was shared by several men, with Robert Lowthian of Charbuckle Haresceugh presiding four times; between 1651 and 1700 Threlkelds of Caber and Slack (two Thomases and a John) held it 11 times between them, and Jeffrey Westmorland of Scales, Rowland Brown of Scales, and Richard Wilson of Crossfield each held it four times. The tanner Edmund Bird of Charbuckle Haresceugh was the only tradesman to hold the office, and once only, in 1684. After 1700 the Threlkelds became increasingly dominant as jury foremen. Stafffield appointments to Kirkoswald vestry were widely shared until 1708, after which Stafffield assumed separate administration.<sup>117</sup>

George Lowthian of Stafffield (d. 1735) was usually referred to as “gent”, and it was he who renamed his customary farmhold “Stafffield Hall”: after 1750 this family were irregularly resident in Stafffield, but a great-grandson Richard Lowthian Ross settled there after 1800 as a gentry figure, and in the 1890s Arthur Aglionby lived there.<sup>118</sup> From 1848 to 1885 Charles Fetherstonhaugh, his wife Jane Aglionby, and their large household lived at the newly built Stafffield Hall.<sup>119</sup> From 1920 to 1975 Stafffield Hall was owned and occupied by the Hon Richard Denman and his wife (later Sir Richard and Lady May Denman). From the 1730s some of the larger freeholders - the Threlkelds of Caber and Slack, the Westmorlands of Scales Hall, the Lowthians of Netherharesceugh, the Moresbys of Westgarthhill, the Whitwhams of Blunderfield and the Robleys of Scarrowmanwick - were returned for county jury service, and some assumed the honorific “Mr”.<sup>120</sup>

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<sup>116</sup> For Wilson, cf *Kirkoswald Religious History*; TNA E179/367/2 (the Hearth Tax return for 1662) listed Towry with seven hearths, Threlkeld of Caber with three, and Wilson and seven others with two

<sup>117</sup> CAS(C) PR9/5; and Q/6/1, 512 (cf *Local Government*)

<sup>118</sup> Lyson 128 (1816); census 1891, 1901 and trade directories; Henry Aglionby esq and his wife Elizabeth lived at Crossfield from 1748 until their deaths in 1757 and 1759 (Ainstable burial register)

<sup>119</sup> Censuses from 1851 (7 domestics in 1851 and 9 in 1861) and trade directories *passim*

<sup>120</sup> CAS(C) CQRJ/2

## Community Organisations and Education<sup>121</sup>

Most Stafffield people looked to Kirkoswald for social activity: and the village cricket club, once based in Stafffield, still used the name in 2016 although based in Kirkoswald. No school has been recorded in Stafffield at any time, and most Stafffield children attended the schools at Highbankhill (1685 to 1856) and Kirkoswald (from 1856). The Lowthians of Stafffield Hall endowed the school at Highbankhill (see KIRKOSWALD). People living in Caber and Scarrowmanwick looked to Croglin for school, churches, inn and shops, when such things existed at Croglin (see CROGLIN).<sup>122</sup>

## Welfare

Stafffield assumed the administration of the Poor Law, separately from Kirkoswald, in 1709 and continued to exercise the function until the creation of the Penrith Poor Law Union (PPLU) in 1836. Taxation and expenditure records for Stafffield survive from 1781.<sup>123</sup> In 1785 the unnamed overseer for high quarter collected 48 purveys in three collections, yielding a total of £13 10s; he disbursed *inter alia* money to buy shoes, shirts (and buttons), handkerchiefs, stockings and a hat for “Betty Varey’s son”, and he recouped his expenses for “binding two boys at Penrith.”<sup>124</sup> In 1815 James Armstrong of Scales, overseer for high quarter, disbursed £36 11s to five pensioners, all women. The standard payment was 3s per week: two recipients, Elizabeth Verrah and Rebecca Dixon, were assisted for 52 weeks, the former being a young married woman whose husband had either been enlisted or imprisoned (she also received house rent), and the latter an unmarried mother. Also in 1815 Armstrong disbursed £1 12s to reimburse a payment to a substitute militia man. He remained in office for a further year, and continued payments to

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<sup>121</sup> Generally, and for a fuller account, cf *Kirkoswald Social History*

<sup>122</sup> *inf* Hugh Holliday and Robin Bell (in 2016 only a public house remained in Croglin)

<sup>123</sup> CAS(C) PR9/63 (Stafffield Rate Book); assessments are given here as recorded, but may have been intended as authority to tax, overseers collecting according to need

<sup>124</sup> CAS(C) PR9/78; Betty Varey was perhaps Elizabeth Verrah (1815); a purvey for high

Verrah and Dixon, and two other women; he gave weekly support of 2s 10d to Christopher Elliott (cause of poverty unknown), and paid 5s per week for 10 weeks for the board of Elizabeth Salkeld, another unmarried mother, with medical and christening fees.<sup>125</sup> In 1818 two men and two women were receiving house rent.<sup>126</sup>

In response to the questionnaire circulated by the Commissioners inquiring into the administration of the Poor Laws in 1832, the overseers John Little and John Lowthian (who farmed at Crindledyke in low quarter and Scales in high quarter) stated that the expenditure on poor relief in 1831 was £163 or 12s 3d per head of population - high when compared with the Cumberland county average of 5s 11d, the Kirkoswald figure of 8s 1d, and the national average of 9s 3d. They also said “.. there is no decision as to how much shall be collected, but the overseers collect again and again as often as money is wanted.”<sup>127</sup> Recharges by the PPLU to Staffield in 1838 were £111, a significant reduction from the level of expenditure before 1836. Limited use was made of Penrith workhouse, and the previous practice of paying house rents to maintain the poor in their own homes was allowed to continue. In 1838 73% of the PPLU charge to Staffield was for out-relief, only 10% for in-relief (in respect of two illegitimate children), the balance being administrative overheads.<sup>128</sup> Three elderly Staffield men died at Penrith workhouse in the first 20 years after the reforms - Adam Dixon, in 1843 aged 72, Thomas Robson in 1845 aged 87, and Thomas Hamilton in 1851 aged 76; the first two were labourers and Hamilton was a former handloom weaver. It is not known when they were admitted to the workhouse.<sup>129</sup>

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quarter yielded 5s 1d, for low quarter 3s 11d

<sup>125</sup> CAS(C) PR9/77; overseer's account book; note that this was for high quarter only

<sup>126</sup> CAS(C) PR9/80, a rough note, unsigned and probably low quarter; also sundry tradesmen's receipts for the supply of cloth and shoes

<sup>127</sup> PP 1834 p1820: the figure for 1811 was £180, or 11s 7d per head (the population fell between 1821 and 1831)

<sup>128</sup> CAS(C) SPUP/1; it is not possible to discern the cause of this reduction

The Staffield poor received occasional distributions from the Kirkoswald parish stock, and those who attended worship at St Oswald's Church would have participated in the bread distribution under the terms of John Lowthian's will in 1742.<sup>130</sup> Thomas Threlkeld of Caber (d. 1793), bequeathed £40 for the poor of Staffield, the interest of which was in 1855 given to "poor persons not having weekly pay".<sup>131</sup>

### **RELIGIOUS HISTORY**<sup>132</sup>

No places of worship were recorded in Staffield, and from time immemorial the people of Staffield worshipped at St Oswald's church (see KIRKOSWALD), the four churchwardens of which were appointed equally from Kirkoswald and Staffield.<sup>133</sup> The people of Staffield also participated in the dissenting churches of Kirkoswald, the Independents from 1653 and the Methodists from 1821. They were particularly prominent in the Independent movement: Richard Wilson of Crossfield was an elder of the Independent church during most of the years of repression under the Clarendon Code; and the Threlkelds of Caber were powerful supporters, a son of that family, Caleb Threlkeld, being Independent pastor from 1700 to 1712.

John Fisher, vicar of Kirkoswald from 1777 to his death in 1827, lived at Blunderfield in a house which he built on the site of the farmstead included in the 1731 purchase of glebeland. Vicars of Kirkoswald did not live in Blunderfield after 1840.<sup>134</sup>

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<sup>129</sup> CAS(C) SPUP/130

<sup>130</sup> cf *Kirkoswald Social History*

<sup>131</sup> CAS(C) DCMA 11/15/2; the bequest was mentioned in trade directories up to and including 1938

<sup>132</sup> For a fuller account, cf *Kirkoswald Religious History*

<sup>133</sup> Since 1970 all four churchwardens have been chosen by those attending the annual general meeting of the Parochial Church Council, without regard to residence - *inf* Canon David Fowler

<sup>134</sup> Fletcher 154 ("the vicar has rebuilt a house at Blunderfield"); Fisher's name is carved on a

## LOCAL GOVERNMENT HISTORY

### **Manorial Government**

In 1606, 1614 and 1624 various Stafffield tenants were fined by manor courts for offences relating to pigs and livestock; upkeep of hedges and dykes; poaching fish in the Raven; and slander and personal assault.<sup>135</sup> Rolls of courts baron, held in the name of the chief lords, survive from 1636, and in that year the court appointed officers - appraisers, fencemen and houselookers and ordered that *every ancient tenement within this lordship shall find a constable, and that the said office shall go from neighbour to neighbour according to ancient custom*. In 1639 constables, as well as appraisers and fencemen, were appointed; and in addition to land administration and adjudicating small claims, the court imposed fines for unlawful removal of peat, offences related to animal husbandry, defective dykes, harbouring poachers and unauthorised cottagers, brewing ale without license, common assault and slander, and bringing cases in other courts. Pains were made allowing any tenant to remove for their own use peat which had been cut and left at the site; for providing payment and refreshments for jurymen resolving boundary disputes; for requiring the making of satisfactory hedges and gates before 5 April in each year; for restraining the burning of heather on Whinfell; and for requiring the removal of animals from the common fields of Charbuckle Haresceugh between 15 April and harvest.

After 1640 the courts generally confined their business to land ownership and husbandry.

Maintenance of hedges and dykes remained a priority, and in 1652, 1662, 1667 and 1670 hedge lookers or frithmen were appointed separately for Croglin Water, Stafffield, Scales and Blunderfield. A list of eight pains recorded in 1667 included graving of turves, ringing of swine, hedge and gate maintenance at Blunderfield and Raygarthfield, control of horses, removal of hurdles, removal of galls from the cornfields at Scarrowmanwick, and unlawful use of dogs. In

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stone at Blunderfield; censuses from 1841 do not show a vicar resident at Blunderfield

1669 the tenantry resolved to share the cost of legal action to restrain unlawful use of, or encroachment upon, the commons. In 1670 several tenants were fined for not appearing when summoned by the bailiff to repair highways. The court was frequently involved in resolving disputes about rights of way and land ownership;<sup>136</sup> and the small claims function was still being exercised in 1695.<sup>137</sup> Courts held by the Musgraves as chief lords continued into the twentieth century, but after 1700 their sole concern was administration of customary tenements.

### **Vestry Government**

Between 1640 and 1708, Stafffield was governed mainly through the Kirkoswald Vestry, in each year appointing two governors of the parish stock. The vestry appointed churchwardens, constables, assessors and overseers of the poor for both Kirkoswald and Stafffield, and from 1696, surveyors of highways.<sup>138</sup> In 1708 the Cumberland Quarter Sessions, in response to a petition by the inhabitants of Stafffield, resolved that they should appoint their own overseers and administer the Poor Law separately, and after 1710 the Kirkoswald vestry ceased to appoint officers for Stafffield.<sup>139</sup> Stafffield records from 1710 to 1895 mainly concern the Poor Law (cf *Social History*), but there are references also to the appointment of constables;<sup>140</sup> and accounts of surveyors of highways survive from 1797 to 1807.<sup>141</sup> The township appointed two overseers of the poor in each year, one for high quarter and one for low quarter. From 1782 a single assessment of 100 purveys (@ 9s per purvey, £45) was made in each year to 1790; from 1792, when rates were introduced, the rate was 4s in the pound on a total rateable value about £729, yielding about £180 - but this was reduced by half for all later years to 1834.

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<sup>135</sup> TNA SC2/165/17 (1606); LR11/80/912 (1614); SC2/165/72 (1624)

<sup>136</sup> CAS(C) DMus/1/12/1; cf also Fetherstonhaugh A-1-10 (the Bird/Henderson land dispute 1682)

<sup>137</sup> CAS(C) DMus/1/7 “Kirkoswald cum Membris” courts

<sup>138</sup> CAS(C) PR9/5: appointment of officers are not recorded before 1660

<sup>139</sup> CAS(C) Q6/1, 512

<sup>140</sup> CAS(C) PR9/62 (men eligible for appointment as constable 1864)

<sup>141</sup> CAS(C) PR9/119

## Post-1894 Arrangements<sup>142</sup>

The first parish meeting for Stafffield CP was held at Highbankhill on 4 Dec 1894. A.C. Aglionby esq was elected chair for the year, and James Ellwood of Davygill was elected to represent Stafffield on the newly created Penrith Rural District Council. The parish meeting was held twice in each year at first, but became an annual event from 14 March 1898.

In 1898 the meeting appointed an assistant overseer at £11 p.a., and this was continued in each year to 1920, by which time the remuneration had risen to £16 p.a.. In 1903 the meeting appointed a manager of Kirkoswald school. Concern for roads and bridges was the most frequently raised issue: in 1899 the meeting rejected a proposal to upgrade the road to Stafffield Hall and Fieldgarth farms; and the need for a bridge over Croglin Water at Dale was discussed (and a subscription was authorised, but not it seems acted upon); and in 1915 concern was recorded about the poor condition of Stafffield roads.

The last parish meeting, prior to amalgamation with Kirkoswald civil parish in 1934, was held in March 1928.

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<sup>142</sup> CAS(C) SPC/17/1, Stafffield parish meeting minute book