

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

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Parish/township: **KIRKOSWALD**

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Date of draft: **February 2016**

### **KIRKOSWALD<sup>1</sup>**

The village of Kirkoswald lies on the east bank of the River Eden, about 90m above sea level, and about nine miles north east of Penrith. Its name is derived from the church, probably a pre-conquest foundation dedicated to the warrior-saint King Oswald of Northumbria. The ancient ecclesiastical parish of Kirkoswald embraced two townships, Kirkoswald and Staffield, and, since 1934, the civil parish of Kirkoswald included both Staffield and Renwick, for which see separate articles.

The area of the township of Kirkoswald was 5,737 (2,322 ha).<sup>2</sup> The northern boundary, which divided Kirkoswald from Staffield and Renwick, followed the Townend Beck from its confluence with the River Eden (at 78m above sea level), through Highbankhill, to the northeast corner of Woodhousefield, the edge of which it followed south and south-westwards to the northern wall of the castle park at the corner of Otter Gill Wood; and thence, following the park wall south-eastwards, it skirted Holywell Wood and passed along the head of the steep northern bank of the Raven beck, which waterway it joined near Parkhead, and then followed upstream to

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<sup>1</sup> The author has many people to thank for their assistance in the preparation of this article: Timothy and the late Margaret Fetherstonhaugh, Ruth Lee, Neville Jackson, John Haugh, John Jones, Kevin and Dot Rowley, David Occomore, Olive Weir, Canon David Fowler, Tom Bowman; archivists at Cumbria Archive Centre (Carlisle), the National Archive and Essex County Record Office, Chelmsford; and others recorded in notes below who have shared their memories of life in Kirkoswald

<sup>2</sup> OS 1:6 1860

Bulgraine Head; then across moorland on Long Tongue to Blackfell Currick, and southwards to Daffenside Beacon and Hartside Currick (624m above sea level). The southern boundary, which divided Kirkoswald from Gamblesby and Glassonby, went from Hartside to Greenfell Raise and Cannerheugh Gill Head, across Viol Moor, and joined the park wall at Lamb Gap and thence to the confluence of Daleraven Beck and the River Eden - which is the western boundary.<sup>3</sup>

From the early eighteenth century the township was divided into two quarters; in Low Quarter were the village of Kirkoswald and part of the hamlet of Highbankhill (the other part being in Staffield); in High Quarter were the hamlets of Parkhead, High Haresceugh (a separate manor) and Busk.

### *Landscape*

From the western boundary of the township, on the river Eden, 78m above sea level at Lazonby (Eden) Bridge, the terrain rises in an eastward direction to 250m at the foot of the Pennine scarp, and thence, steeply, to 624m at Hartside Height. The underlying bedrock beneath the river and its adjoining floodland is Penrith sandstone, overlaid with boulder clay and sand and gravel deposits. As the ground rises to the east the bedrock changes, first to Eden shales, and then (from about 100m to about 250m) to St Bees sandstone. Further east 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>4</sup> At the lower levels grassland and woodland predominate in an undulating landscape, divided by stone walls and a small number of outlying hamlets and farmhouses. East of Haresceugh and Cannerheugh the steep slopes of the Pennines are largely bare of woodland and buildings, with the café at the summit visible from afar.

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<sup>3</sup> CAS(C), DMus/1/6/3/11 is a c1690 description of the boundary, here amended by comparison with OS 1:6 maps of 1900

<sup>4</sup> Geological Survey sheet 24 (Penrith) 1:50,000, surveyed 1962/8

## *Communications*

A bridge over the river Eden at Kirkoswald was recorded in 1245, 1358 and 1374:<sup>5</sup> its location is unknown, and there is no later record of it. Ferry services are recorded from 1679.<sup>6</sup> A new bridge across the Eden, known as Lazonby Bridge (locally Eden Bridge), was built in 1762:<sup>7</sup> a single track bridge, governed by traffic lights since 2014, it carried the secondary road from Lazonby, through the centre of Kirkoswald (crossing a bridge over Raven recorded in 1687),<sup>8</sup> and thence northwards to Croglin, Castle Carrock and Brampton. Minor roads lead northwards across a bridge at Potter Bank Foot to Staffield, eastwards to Renwick, and - by a separate road across the former park - to Parkhead, and southwards to Glassonby across a bridge over Daleraven Beck, built in 1707.<sup>9</sup> Kirkoswald High Quarter was traversed by the *magna via de Appelby*, recorded in 1167: probably linking Brampton to Appleby through the villages along the foot of the Pennine scarp, it crossed the Raven Beck at High Raven Bridge (rebuilt in 1781 on the site of a bridge first recorded in 1585) which in 2016 carried minor roads south towards Gamblesby, and east, via High Haresceugh, to the Hartside Pass and Alston.<sup>10</sup>

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<sup>5</sup> *FF* 67H3 30 (1245), cf T.H.B Graham ‘Arthuret, Kirklington & Kirkoswald’, *CW*2, xxviii (1928), 54; in the same article at p57 *Test Karl* 20 (1358/9); wills recorded in the registers of Gilbert Welton 231 (1359), 467 and 486 (1362); and Thomas Appleby 317 (1374)

<sup>6</sup> CAS(C), DMus/10/125 (contract for building a ferry boat); cf also Fetherstonhaugh A-16-10, and Anne Bowman’s complaint to Quarter Sessions (1706) about denial of use of the ferry [*Social History*]. Before 1762 the alternative route to Penrith was southwards through Little Salkeld to Langwathby bridge, or (until it fell) a bridge built by Rowland Threlkeld in the 1520s in the vicinity of Force Mill, Great Salkeld (CAS(C), DCHA/11/4/6, 709, Machell’s copy of Rev Singleton’s history of Melmerby.)

<sup>7</sup> Fetherstonhaugh A-20-46 (contract for building a bridge over the Eden, 9 Sept 1760); the cost (about £750) was defrayed by public subscription and by Quarter Sessions

<sup>8</sup> Denton *Perambulation* 57 (1687); CAS(C), CQAB2/1 (1739); in 1707/9 there were two bridges over the Raven, the second perhaps a footbridge (Fetherstonhaugh A-19-23 and A-6-5)

<sup>9</sup> CAS(C), Q6/1, 477 (April 1707) an order for the construction of a bridge over the ‘little rivolet called Daleraugen in the road leading from Kirkoswald to Penrith’

<sup>10</sup> *Lanercost Cart* 87 (item 34); *CBP* 1585, 309; CAS(C), CQAB/4 (1781); there is also an ancient track from Hartside towards High Raven Bridge which crosses a bridge, probably medieval, over the Ricker Gill, reconstructed in 2010 by the office of the North Pennines Area of Outstanding Natural Beauty

There was a horse drawn omnibus to the railway station at Plumpton in 1866.<sup>11</sup> Motor bus services were established by Henry Lace to Carlisle in 1928, and Penrith in 1929:<sup>12</sup> they were purchased by Ribble Motor Services in 1932, and from them by Stagecoach in 1987 - in which year the Kirkoswald village bus depot, in the Lace motor garage, was closed.<sup>13</sup> In 2016 Kirkoswald was served by the Fellrunner bus company on certain days to Penrith and Carlisle.

## SETTLEMENT AND POPULATION

### *Settlement*

Kirkoswald is recorded from 1167, the name suggesting an early settlement around a pre-conquest church. Kirkoswald castle was first so named in 1535: Hugh de Morville was granted a licence to fortify the manor house in 1201; the park was recorded in 1291; and the building, no doubt altered by various owners at various times, was enlarged, beautified and moated by Lord Thomas Dacre (d. 1525).<sup>14</sup> Before 1568 settlement was probably confined to Kirkoswald (with the College and a corn mill) huddled at the foot of the hill close to the church and castle, with outlying hamlets and farmsteads at Highbankhill, High Haresceugh (recorded 1167), Parkhead (where there was also a fulling mill), Huddlesceugh (recorded 1205), Cannerheugh (recorded 1345) and Busk.<sup>15</sup> The College, thought to have been built alongside an ancient pele tower, was

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<sup>11</sup> Fetherstonhaugh B-17-13, B-17-19; the Settle-Carlisle railway line, opened in 1875, was built through Lazonby with a station called 'Lazonby and Kirkoswald'

<sup>12</sup> Kelly *Dir Cumb* 1929, 186; Lace business records examined by David Grisenthwaite

<sup>13</sup> *Cumberland and Westmorland Herald*, 23 Jul 1932, and 31 Oct 1987

<sup>14</sup> For the park *Cal Inq Misc* vol I 439 (1291) and C135/170/6 (*inq pm* Margaret Dacre, 1364), both sources mentioning deer; T.H.B. Graham, 'Extinct Cumberland Castles', *CW*2, xii (1912), 164f, quoting *Rot Chartarum* 2 John, m.9; the contents of the castle are thought to have been removed by Lord William Howard, presumably by license of the crown and/or Bartram, in the years up to 1620, after which the ruins were used as a quarry, little being left in 2016; of particular interest is the account of Sandford (c1610), transcribed in Machel, vol 6, 566 (CAS(C), DCHA/11/4/6)

<sup>15</sup> For High Haresceugh (also known as Little Haresceugh or Monk Haresceugh) *Lanercost Cart* 87 (item 34); Huddlesceugh *Reg Wetheral* 287/9; Cannerheugh *PNC*, 215, quoting gaol delivery rolls 1345; all other places of settlement are recorded in TNA, LR2/213 (1568); the existence of the park in 1291 suggests that Parkhead might have been settled much earlier than 1568

founded by Lord Thomas Dacre in 1523, restored as a gentleman's residence by John Maye in about 1590, and extended by Timothy Fetherstonhaugh (d. 1728) in 1696.<sup>16</sup> A second corn mill on the Raven was established by the Huttons of Huddlesceugh Hall upstream from Parkhead in about 1615. Demesne Farmhouse was rebuilt by Thomas Bartram in 1619/1621, and enlarged in the late seventeenth or early eighteenth centuries.<sup>17</sup> Between 1650 and 1760 Kirkoswald village expanded uphill to Townhead; 'Ona Ash', a listed building, was built at Highbankhill in 1697;<sup>18</sup> farmhouses were built on the former castle parks in 1708, and between 1675 and 1720 at Todbank, Low Huddlesceugh, Swathgill, and Selah; and between 1710 and 1760 cottages were built at Townend, on Viol Moor, and at Fellgate (manor of Haresceugh).<sup>19</sup> The (so-called) Manor House was built on the corner of the main street and Raven Ghyll in 1706, and the adjoining Anne Dale in 1707.<sup>20</sup> The area known as Quebec, on Fetherstonhaugh land between the corn mill and the Raven, is thought (from its name) to have been developed with cottages in about 1760, and it is here that a poorhouse, later a common lodging house, was built.<sup>21</sup> In 1914 Sir Francis Ley, the new lord of the manor, built three pairs of cottages for his estate workers in Ravenghyll (Kirkoswald village), near Maines Farm and near Fog Close Farm.<sup>22</sup> In 1925 six houses were built by Penrith Rural District Council on the east side of Sandhill, one of which was let to the police service for use as the Kirkoswald police house (replaced in 1960 by a new

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<sup>16</sup> Datestone 1696; Hyde & Pevsner 476 (cf *Land Ownership and Religious History*)

<sup>17</sup> TNA, E134/1619 (1619); date stone 1621; Hyde & Pevsner 477 (but if the later work was by Musgrave it must have been later than 1715)

<sup>18</sup> Datestone 1693; Hyde & Pevsner 477

<sup>19</sup> Persons recorded as 'of Viol Moor' - Lowthian 1716 (Parkhead chapel records), Nicholson 1727 (burial), Wells 1739 (will); Bird 1744 (will); Heysham (1781) recorded 8 households on Viol Moor and added *three houses gone down & one uninhabited in the neighbourhood of Viol Moor*; Townhead is the area at the north end of the main street where the roads to Stafffield and Highbankhill diverge; Townend is where the Stafffield road leaves Kirkoswald near Potter Bank bridge; Fellgate is recorded in a Haresceugh rental 1760 (CAS(C), D/Ar/13) and shown on Donald's map 1770

<sup>20</sup> Date stones; the Manor House is so called because it became, after 1913, the residence of the manager of the Kirkoswald estate of Sir Francis Lee (*inf* Alan Sheed)

<sup>21</sup> cf *Social History*

<sup>22</sup> All are marked with identical 1914 datestones

police house on the west side of Sandhill).<sup>23</sup> In the 1930s two pairs of semi-detached council houses were built at Highbankhill on the left hand side of the road to Croglin. In 1952 eight pairs of semi-detached council houses were built on the right hand side of the road to Stafffield, on land adjoining the north side of the Methodist church; and in 1956 another pair at Highbankhill on the right hand side of the road to Croglin.<sup>24</sup> In 1965 four semi-detached and one detached old persons' bungalows were built at Croft Place overlooking the cricket and football ground.<sup>25</sup> Between 1974 and 2000 48 houses and bungalows (Little Sandhill and Eden Park) were built on the south side of Sandhill and Sandhill Top; and between 1988 and 1990 19 houses and flats were built in Ravenghyll on the site of the former Reading Room (using surviving masonry) and adjoining land, together with a surgery.<sup>26</sup>

In contrast to the growth of Kirkoswald village, the hamlet of High Haresceugh declined, only Haresceugh Castle Farm being occupied in 2016 - and on Viol Moor a single house still stood. Some infilling and barn conversion has increased the size of Parkhead, 14 houses being occupied in 2016.

### *Population and social character*

In 1568 there were some 24 households in the manor of Kirkoswald, and some 6 in the manor of Haresceugh, a total for the whole township of some 30 households, suggesting perhaps 140 inhabitants.<sup>27</sup> In 1642 there were 190 adult males in the parish of Kirkoswald, of whom about 100 lived in Stafffield and 90 in Kirkoswald, suggesting that Kirkoswald's population stood at

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<sup>23</sup> *inf* Neville Jackson and John Haugh; cf *Local Government History*

<sup>24</sup> CAS(C), SRDP1/2/20 (minute 42(4) of Housing Committee, July 1952) and SRDP1/2/24 (minute 67(2) of Housing Committee, Nov 1956)

<sup>25</sup> CAS(C), SRDP/3/PLANS/4429

<sup>26</sup> *inf* Neville Jackson, John Haugh, Canon David Fowler and Ruth lee

<sup>27</sup> Calculation based on TNA, LR2/213, the 1568 survey, using Appleby's suggested 4.75 multiplier

around 320.<sup>28</sup> In 1781 there were 78 households in Low Quarter and 41 in High Quarter, suggesting a population of 560; and 654 inhabitants were recorded in 1794.<sup>29</sup> In 1801 there were 634 inhabitants, rising to 768 in 1831, and falling to 560 in 1901 and 466 in 1931, the last census year before the absorption of Renwick and Staffield into the civil parish. The population of the enlarged civil parish increased from 695 in 1961 to 870 in 2001, largely due to housing development in Kirkoswald village. In 2016 there were in Kirkoswald 235 occupied residences and some 570 inhabitants.<sup>30</sup>

The population of Kirkoswald has for most of its recorded history included a resident social elite - the Dacres to 1566, and the Fetherstonhaughs after 1628. From 1640 farmers and tradesmen filled the village offices, and served on juries, vestries and the parish council. The expansion of housing after 1975 was largely a response to the demand for homes in country villages for people commuting to the nearby towns.

## **LAND OWNERSHIP**

### *Manor of Kirkoswald*

In the 12th century the manor of Kirkoswald was parcel of the seignory of Adam son of Swein, son of Ailrich; Adam is said to have granted it (as a marriage portion) to Robert Trivers, lord of Burgh barony, from whom it descended to a daughter Ibria, wife of Radulf Engain. From the

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<sup>28</sup> Protestation Return 1642; Denton *Perambulation* 329 (620 inhabitants 1687); Appleby *Famine in Tudor and Stuart England* Appendix A, 199 (all 3 sources give figures for whole parish, including Staffield); before the Civil War it seems that more people lived in Staffield than in Kirkoswald, a position which was reversed after 1700

<sup>29</sup> Dr Heysham's census, Carlisle Central Library, Jackson Collection M839 (only numbers of households, and not numbers of inhabitants, survive for Kirkoswald low quarter); Hutchinson 211

<sup>30</sup> Decennial censuses to 1931; approximate figures for 2016 (some 6 dwellings being second homes)

Engains it descended to the Morvills who held it in the reign of King John.<sup>31</sup> After the death of Hugh de Morvill in 1202, the manor was divided between his two daughters - Ada who married Thomas de Multon (Multon moiety), and Joanna who married Richard de Gernon (Gernon moiety).<sup>32</sup> Joanna died in 1249, the Gernon moiety descending to her elder daughter Helewisa, wife of Richard de Vernun, then (in 1269) to her younger daughter Ada, wife of Ranulf de Levington; and (in 1271) to Ada's daughter Helewisa, widow of Eustace de Balliol.<sup>33</sup> When Helewisa de Balliol died in 1272 the Gernon moiety was reunited with the Multon moiety in the hands of Thomas Multon of Gilsland,<sup>34</sup> who between 1279 and 1283 enfeoffed his son Thomas and his wife Isabel with the whole manor of Kirkoswald, together with the park and the advowson of the church, held of the king in chief as part of the barony of Burgh, rendering 13s 4d cornage yearly.<sup>35</sup> Isabel de Multon, whose second husband was John de Castre, died in 1329, and the manor descended to her daughter Margaret, wife of Ranulph de Dacre.<sup>36</sup> Kirkoswald was parcel of the large estates of the Dacres in northern England for 240 years.<sup>37</sup> At some unknown date it was removed from the barony of Burgh and regrouped, probably for convenience of holding courts, with other manors including Lazonby, Glassonby and Stafffield.<sup>38</sup> After the death in childhood of George 5th Baron Dacre in May 1569, Kirkoswald came to his uncle Leonard Dacre, and was forfeit to the crown by his attainder in 1570.<sup>39</sup> Kirkoswald was in crown hands to 1649, and was leased first to Lord Henry Scrope (in 1574), and then (without the parks) to

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<sup>31</sup> Denton's History 157; whilst in Engain ownership, the small manor of Haresceugh was created and given to Lanercost Priory (1167, see below)

<sup>32</sup> Pipe Roll 1202; cf T.H.B. Graham, 'Arthuret, Kirkclinton and Kirkoswald', *CW*2, xxviii (1928), who coined the expressions 'Gerton moiety' and 'Multon moiety'

<sup>33</sup> *Inq p.m.* Helewisa de Vernune, Ada de Furnivall, Thomas de Multon – TNA, C132/38/11;39/5;39/11

<sup>34</sup> *Inq p.m.* Helewisa de Levynton 1272, TNA, C132/42/4

<sup>35</sup> *Inq p.m.* Thomas de Multon 1294, TNA, C133/73/1

<sup>36</sup> *Inq p.m.* Isabel de Castre 1329, TNA, C135/15/8, and Fine Rolls 1330

<sup>37</sup> Sir Ranulph Dacre and his brother Humphrey fought on the Lancastrian side at Towton, 1461: Ranulph was killed and Humphrey attainted. Kirkoswald was awarded, with the Baronies of Burgh and Gilsland, to a niece Joan Fenys, but restored by Act of Parliament to Humphrey Dacre, now first Baron Dacre of the North, in 1473 (TNA, SC2/29/144)

<sup>38</sup> Archives of the Duke of Norfolk, Arundel Castle, M517, a court roll of March 1569

<sup>39</sup> TNA, E178/576 (1572)



Thomas Bartram (in 1606).<sup>40</sup> In 1652 the manor was awarded by the Court of Exchequer to Francis Lennard, Lord Dacre of the South, a descendant of Joan (Dacre) Fenys who had briefly held it more than 160 years earlier.<sup>41</sup> Francis Lennard and his son Thomas, (Earl of Sussex from 1674) held Kirkoswald until the earl's death in 1715 after which it was sold to Sir Christopher Musgrave of Edenhall.<sup>42</sup> It descended with Edenhall until the Musgraves sold it in 1913 to Sir Francis Ley, whose great-granddaughters, Bridget Boissier, Annabel Stapleton and Lady Caroline Lonsdale, were joint lords of the manor in 2016.<sup>43</sup>

### *Manor of Haresceugh*

The manor of Little Haresceugh (later Haresceugh), which contained 386 acres (161 ha) in Kirkoswald parish, was given by Ada Engain to the newly founded Lanercost Priory in 1167.<sup>44</sup> After the dissolution the manor came into the hands of Sir Thomas Dacre of Lanercost, and was held in the 1590s by his grandson Henry Dacre.<sup>45</sup> Between 1657 and 1671, it was sold by Sir Thomas Dacre of Lanercost to Dr Peter Barwick, physician in ordinary to the king.<sup>46</sup> In 1675 it was settled by Barwick on the trustees of Dean Barwick's Charity for the township of Witherslack, in whose hands it remained until 1920 when it was sold, together with Haresceugh Castle Farm (301 acres, 121ha), to the sitting tenant Mr John Blenkinsop.<sup>47</sup>

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<sup>40</sup> *Cal Pat* 16 July 1574; TNA, SC11/986 (1606) refers to an exchequer lease to Bartram 26 Sept 1606 - no lease of the manor between 1592 and 1606, nor between 1639 and 1652 has been found; for leasing of the castle parks cf *Economic History*; Lord William Howard received rents from the parks in 1613, and appears to have had a licence to dismantle the castle - *The Household Books of Lord William Howard*, Surtees Society (Vol 68, 1878), 6/7

<sup>41</sup> TNA, E159/488; Lennard's claim, upheld by the court, was that the death of Ranulph Dacre in 1634 had extinguished the male line of the Dacres of the North, and as 'right heirs' the Dacres of the South were entitled to restoration of the manors confiscated in 1570. For a full account cf R.A.A.Brockington, *Francis Lennard's Claim to Kirkoswald*, CW3 2010 163f

<sup>42</sup> CAS(C), DMus/2/box 26, deed of 19 Jan 1716

<sup>43</sup> *Mid Cumberland & North Westmorland Herald* 25 July 1913; vesting assent 20 Dec 1926, title deeds of the Manor House Kirkoswald (Alan Shead)

<sup>44</sup> Reg Lanercost 87 (item 34); the manor is listed in the Manorial Documents Register, and records of courts baron from 1760 are archived at CAS(C), D/Ar/13 and 14

<sup>45</sup> Denton's history 15

<sup>46</sup> B.L Thompson, 'Dean Barwick and his Will', CW2, lxv (1965), 240f

<sup>47</sup> CAS(C), D/Ar/14; the price for farm and manor (including the demesne) was £5,150

*Other Estates - (1) The College, Kirkoswald, and the Fetherstonhaughs*<sup>48</sup>

In 1523 Lord Thomas Dacre made Kirkoswald church collegiate with a residence for 12 secular priests ('the College'). The College was endowed with the glebeland of the church and the tithes, and upon dissolution the building and its assets were sequestrated. In 1566 they were leased by the crown to Thomas, 4th Baron Dacre, and his wife Elizabeth, but by 1584 the College was derelict.<sup>49</sup> Its possessions had been sold by the crown in 1580 to Thomas Skelton, who sold it to Thomas Hammond of Essex, who in 1587 sold the derelict building with the former glebeland to John Maye and his wife Cordall, then of Rose Castle Cumberland.<sup>50</sup> Maye restored the building as a gentleman's residence, and in 1611 sold the College and its freehold estates to Henry Fetherstonhaugh through whose family it descended for 11 generations; and in 2016 the resident owner was Timothy Fetherstonhaugh (b. 1936).<sup>51</sup> Over the centuries the College estates were enlarged with freeholds and customary land in Kirkoswald (and Staffield), including John Bird's tenement (foreclosed 1703), the Machel freeholds (bought 1710), and Lowfield Farm (bought 1828). In 1909 the College rent roll included - in addition to farm land - a public house, and 20 houses and cottages in Kirkoswald.<sup>52</sup>

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<sup>48</sup> There is a full article about the College and the Fetherstonhaugh family at *CW*2, xiv (1914), 196f, which however errs at p205 concerning the date of acquisition of the College by Henry Fetherstonhaugh

<sup>49</sup> *Cal Pat* 1566, no 2439; cf *Religious History* for discussion of the date of dissolution; TNA, E178/582 (1584): 'noe man hath taken refuge of the said Colledge nor occupied the same by the synce of this twenty yeres lasten paste'

<sup>50</sup> Fetherstonhaugh A-20-1; the estate, about 70 acres, was described as '*the Colledge howse of Kirkoswold or any of the other howses barnes stables edifices b[u]ildinges glebe landes and other temperall landes me[a]dowes pastures fe[e]dinges closes to the said Colledge howse or Rectorie of Kirkoswold belonginge, with the tithes oblations mortuaries and profits of the Rectorie*'; cf also Fetherstonhaugh A-20-3; Fetherstonhaugh A-2-4 - *inq p.m.* Henry Fetherstonhaugh 1626; '*by fealty and in free and common socage and neither in capite nor by military service*'

<sup>51</sup> Descent from father to son except in 1797, when Charles Smalwood, son of Joyce, sister of the late Timothy Fetherstonhaugh, inherited and changed his name to Charles Smalwood Fetherstonhaugh

<sup>52</sup> Fetherstonhaugh B-15-7; for John Bird's tenement Fetherstonhaugh A-19-13; for the Machel freeholds Fetherstonhaugh A-22-6 and A-10 (part of a block of land in Kirkoswald and Lazonby for which the Fetherstonhaughs subsequently held courts)

*Other Estates: (2) Huddlesceugh Hall and the Huddlesceugh freeholds*

The Huddlesceugh Hall estate, about 330 acres (134ha) between Parkhead and Haresceugh, was the largest block of freehold land in the manor of Kirkoswald, the origins of which lie in a gift to Wetheral priory in about 1205 by Ralph de Hof; and in the same year by the priory to the wife of Robert Salkeld, subject to an annual rent of 12d.<sup>53</sup> In 1568 it was held by Anthony Hutton, gentleman, who paid a free rent of 8s 5d.<sup>54</sup> The Hutton family owned it until 1667, when it was sold to William Barwis.<sup>55</sup> By 1675 parts had been sold for, *inter alia*, a fulling mill, a corn mill, and the farmstead later known as Low Huddlesceugh.<sup>56</sup> Between 1711 and 1725 Huddlesceugh Hall was owned by Joseph Read, free rent 6s 1d, and there were five other Huddlesceugh freeholders.<sup>57</sup> In 1812 the Huddlesceugh and Todbank estate was owned by John Marshall of Leeds and Hallsteads, and in 1842 by his son William Marshall of Patterdale Hall, whose son John William Marshall inherited in 1872.<sup>58</sup> In 1902 the estate was owned by J.W.Pattinson of Whitehaven. In 1948 it was sold by Margaret Anne Peile to the sitting tenants William and Robert Earl, who sold it in 1954 to the Metcalf family of Edenhall, the owners in 2016.<sup>59</sup>

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<sup>53</sup> Denton's history 156; Reg Wetheral 287/9

<sup>54</sup> TNA, LR2/213; the descent between Robert Salkeld and Anthony Hutton is unclear: it may have been via the Beauchamp family who are mentioned in a Kirkoswald manor court record of 1630

<sup>55</sup> CAS(C), DMus/1/6/1/3, 1667 rental

<sup>56</sup> - *ibid* - , 1675 rental court rolls 1686 (between 1675 and 1684 there was also the sale or gift of the site of the future Huddlesceugh Independent Chapel, cf *Religious History*)

<sup>57</sup> CAS(C), DMus/1/6/1/4 rentals 1711, 1725

<sup>58</sup> CAS (W), DLec/ATK box 194; I am grateful to Derek Denman for this source; cf also *Lancaster Gazette* 23 Sept 1809 (sale of Huddlesceugh Hall, Todbankhill and Huddlesceugh Mill)

<sup>59</sup> CAS(C), DB/74/3/2 (1895, 1948); and DMus Box 27 (1902); *inf* John Haugh

## **ECONOMIC HISTORY**

### *Overview*

Farming, both arable and pastoral, has from earliest recorded times been the basis of the local economy in Kirkoswald; and from the eighteenth century, there was mining and quarrying.

Clothmaking, with associated fulling at water-powered mills, was also important from at least the fourteenth century; and, in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, water-power from the Ravenbeck was used for papermaking and woodworking, as well as textiles. There was a market at Kirkoswald from 1200 to about 1830, and, from the seventeenth century a wide variety of shops, trades and inns. This central place function continued until about 1900, but underwent rapid decline in the twentieth century.

### *Farming*<sup>60</sup>

#### *The Physical Framework*

Before 1550, cultivated land, both arable and pasture, around Kirkoswald village was confined to the demesne, the glebe, and land between the Raven Beck and the manor boundary with Staffield, a total of about 360 acres (146ha). On the rising ground to the east of the village lay the castle and its enclosed parks, about 1,600 acres (648ha), used primarily as a deer reserve, and (probably) heavily wooded. East of the castle parks lay the hamlet of Parkhead with its own field system, about 100 acres (40ha). Adjoining Parkhead to the north and east was the freehold estate of Huddlesceugh Hall, about 330 acres (134ha), also with much woodland, but with perhaps 200 acres (80ha) in agricultural use. The eastern boundary of the Huddlesceugh Hall estate lay on the

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<sup>60</sup> The following discussion draws on three surveys – TNA, LR2/213, 1568; E178/576, 1572; and SC11/986, 1606; and, in addition to usual sources, the Barrett-Lennard Collection at Essex County Record Office, Chelmsford (ERO), and the Fetherstonhaugh collection at the College, Kirkoswald (Fetherstonhaugh); all acreages are given in statute acres, using a multiplier of 1.8 to translate customary acreages

*magna via de Appelby*,<sup>61</sup> beyond which was the small manor of Haresceugh with 386 acres (156ha), of which perhaps 240 acres (96ha) were in agricultural use, the remainder being waste with small areas of woodland adjoining the Raven Beck.<sup>62</sup> South of Haresceugh, and east of the road, lay the hamlets of Busk and Cannerheugh, in all about 280 acres (110ha), mostly in agricultural use. The total of agricultural land in the township of Kirkoswald in 1558 was some 1180 acres (478ha); and there were some 8,600 acres (3,483ha) of unenclosed waste, including Berry Moor Common (Highbankhill), parts of Haresceugh, Viol Moor (south of Parkhead/Huddlesceugh, an area of waste which extended into Gamblesby), and higher land on the Pennine scarp. All of these were subject to rights of common: Viol Moor commoners excluded Busk and Cannerheugh tenants, but all the Kirkoswald tenantry had rights of common on the high fellsides.<sup>63</sup> Haresceugh tenants had rights to common land within that manor.<sup>64</sup>

By 1568, the disparking of the castle parks had begun, some 260 acres (104ha) having been enclosed, including Woodhousefield, Castle Close, Sheep Close, and Maynes Close; and most of the remaining parks were leased in nine named parcels.<sup>65</sup> In 1606 the enclosed areas were leased. The remaining parks, used for grazing and pannage and kept secure by locked park gates, were leased from 1615.<sup>66</sup> From 1619 to 1668 Henry Fetherstonhaugh and Stephen Bowman, and their heirs, each held a moiety of the unenclosed parks.<sup>67</sup> Leases of the demesne and former parkland

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<sup>61</sup> *Lanercost Cart.* 87 (item 34), cf *introduction (communications)*

<sup>62</sup> A calculation based on OS field sizes, excluding 1842 field names such as 'moor' and 'intack'; and fields associated with Swathgill (recorded after 1650), and Fellgate and Selah (recorded after 1700)

<sup>63</sup> Fetherstonhaugh B-17-3, evidence given to commissioners for the 1876 enclosure, eg *all lands in Kirkoswald Low Q'r is entitled to a right in all these inclosures*; the allotments on enclosure of Viol Moor in 1705 excluded Busk farmers (Kirkoswald manor court Oct 1709)

<sup>64</sup> eg field names using 'Moor', tithe schedule 1842

<sup>65</sup> TNA, LR2/213; Woodhousefield, about 76 acres (31ha), had been either parkland or waste between the park and the manor boundary with Staffield; from 1652 it was subject to customary rentals

<sup>66</sup> TNA, SC11/986 (1606); CAS(C) DMus Box 26, *Cal Pat* Philip Wharton 15 May 1615

<sup>67</sup> TNA, E134/17Jas1/Mich2 (1619, interrogatory) and CAS(C), DMus box 27 (1625 division between Henry Fetherstonhaugh and Stephen Bowman); these leases were renewed in 1647 (ERO, Barrett-Lennard D/DL/L28, a breviat of the leases inherited by Francis Lennard in

were renewed in 1677 and 1687.<sup>68</sup> By 1712 the parkland had been fully enclosed and the gates removed; and the parks and demesnes had been divided into six farms and leased for periods of between 7 and 12 years.<sup>69</sup>

There was also some voluntary enclosure of wastes in the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. In the manor of Haresceugh, the farmstead of Swathgill was recorded in 1653, and the farmstead of Selah in 1721, probably both including intakes; and by 1721 all Haresceugh waste had been enclosed with the exception of an area of pasture by the Raven Beck where a system of cattle gates applied..<sup>70</sup> 178 acres (72ha) of Viol Moor were enclosed by agreement in about 1705.<sup>71</sup> The Low Huddlesceugh and Todbank farmsteads seem also to have been created before 1750, their lands being a combination of sales and lettings from the Huddlesceugh Hall estate and the Viol Moor enclosures.<sup>72</sup> By 1750 the total area under cultivation and pasture was about 2,800 acres (1,130ha).

The remaining areas of waste, the high Pennine scarp (about 1,950 acres), the remainder of Viol Moor, and Berrymoor Common, were enclosed by statutory instrument in 1876.<sup>73</sup> Charles Smalwood Fetherstonhaugh (1762-1839) carried out extensive improvements to the east bank of

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1652); Fetherstonhaugh A-20-8, a 1622 arbitration by Lord William Howard and others into a dispute between Fetherstonhaugh and Thomas Bartram mentions the key to the park gates

<sup>68</sup> ERO, Barrett-Lennard D/DL/M79/1: the demesne (with the corn mill) was subject to a lease for £50 pa, and the parks in two halves at a total rent of £128 pa; Denton, *Perambulation*, 327, gives the value of demesne and parks as £200 pa; CAS(C) DMus Box 69 for leases 1677ff; the leases of this period refer to the farmland as 'distinctly known from the parks of Kirkoswald'

<sup>69</sup> ERO, Barrett-Lennard D/DL/M79/1 and M79/2, rental on death of Earl of Sussex 1715; cf also Fetherstonhaugh A-20-9 (1708) '*L[or]d Sussex is about building farm houses in his parks*'

<sup>70</sup> For Swathgill, 1653 burial, and field names eg 'Intack'; for Selah, creation of a new tenement rent 4s on 1 Sept 1721 (Barwick p267), called 'Cela' in 1760 - CAS(C), D/AR/13 Haresceugh court book

<sup>71</sup> CAS(C), DMus/1/6, manor court 27 Oct 1709 lists free tenants for the improvement of Viol Moor

<sup>72</sup> Neither name is recorded before 1750 however: freehold sales in 1688 and the 1711 rental include (the future) Low Huddlesceugh, a name first used in a 1792 will, and Todbankhill was used by Heysham in his 1782 census (CAS(C), DMus/1/6 and P 1792 Hardy)

<sup>73</sup> CAS(C), QRE/125; TIR4/8

the Eden in 1816, singling the course of the river and recovering for agricultural use the area known as the Willow Beds.<sup>74</sup>

### *Agrarian Institutions*

In 1568 land tenure in Kirkoswald was divided between freeholds and customary tenements, with leasing of the demesne and part of the parks; after 1700 (and disparking) leasehold became the dominant tenure until the farms of the former parks were sold to sitting tenants in the 1980s. The largest freehold estate in 1568 was Huddlesceugh Hall, yielding a free rent of 8s 5d; after 1580 the former glebeland would become the freeholds of the College estate. Ancient customary tenure included Parkhead, held in two tenements, combined rent 7s 11d; Busk and Cannerheugh, four customary tenements, combined rent 36s 2d; and 14 tenements in and around the village of Kirkoswald, total rents about £3, most very small.<sup>75</sup> From 1619 all the Kirkoswald customary tenants east of the parks were listed as leaseholders, but after 1652 they reverted to tenant right tenure at the previous rents.<sup>76</sup> The Kirkoswald demesne was farmed by Thomas Bartram as lessee of the manor from 1606 to 1639, and after 1652 leased. In 1795 the manor of Haresceugh included demesne land and 12 customary rentals, total £1 12s p.a..<sup>77</sup>

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<sup>74</sup> *Our Cumberland Village* 71, 75 and 77 (a transcript, with commentary, of an estate book now lost)

<sup>75</sup> TNA, LR2/213; by Cannerheugh was a single tenement 18s 1d and Busk 2 tenements rent 9s 1/2d; for the College estate cf *Land Ownership*

<sup>76</sup> CAS(C), Naworth C165/2 (an *inspeximus* of a 1610 document) may explain the temporary change to leasehold; CAS(C) DMus/1 box 8 manor court call rolls (1619); Woodhousefield after 1652 was held by customary tenure - CAS(C) DMus/1/6/1/3 (1667 rental)

<sup>77</sup> CAS(C), D/Wal/5 - a 1913 map depicting the bounds of the manor; D/Ar/13 for 1795 rentals; and D/Ar/14 for 1913 perambulation; cf also DB/74/3/2/885 for auction particulars of farm and manor 1919

From the mid eighteenth century there were four farms on the former parkland - Highbankhill, Fog Close, Mains, Old Parks - and all, like the demesne, were leased. Parcels of Viol Moor, after enclosure early in that century, were held freehold subject to free rents.<sup>78</sup>

In 1736 tenantright land held by the Fetherstonhaughs was enfranchised, but all other Kirkoswald customary holdings remained so until the twentieth century.<sup>79</sup> Most Kirkoswald tenants owed boon services (days of work and loads of coal) until the interregnum.<sup>80</sup> Before 1652 Kirkoswald tenants paid an entry fine of four times the annual rent: this was raised to six times the annual rent in 1661.<sup>81</sup> 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>82</sup>

Apart from the castle park farms and the Haresceugh demesne which were subject to leases until the twentieth century, most tenants farmed their own land until about 1750: but by 1842 owner-occupation was confined to the College estate, Cannerheugh, Low Huddlesceugh and one farm at Busk, all other tenements having been underlet.<sup>83</sup> Leasehold and tenant farming predominated throughout Kirkoswald in 1910 and 1941, only three small farms being owner-occupied.<sup>84</sup> The sale of the castle park farms to sitting tenants in the 1980s reasserted the dominance of owner-occupation.

By 1750 there were nine farms of more than 100 acres (40ha) - the College, Demesne, Maines, Fog Close, Old Parks, Highbankhill, Huddlesceugh Hall, Cannerheugh, and Haresceugh Castle;

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<sup>78</sup> CAS(C), CMBE/1/4/1, rentals 1727

<sup>79</sup> Fetherstonhaugh A-19-29 (1736)

<sup>80</sup> CAS(C), DMus1, box 8, court of 9 Mar 1630/1 'the services and boone days .. done to his majesty'

<sup>81</sup> TNA, SC2/165/17 (memo of amerancements 1605); CAS(C), D/Mus/1/6/1/3, court of 5 Sept 1661

<sup>82</sup> CAS(C), DMus/2/box 27, copy agreement of 1 Dec 1676

<sup>83</sup> CAS(C), Tithe Commutation Schedules 1842

<sup>84</sup> CAS(C), TIR 4/8 (1910); TNA, MAF 32/183/159 (1941)



and there were four farms of between 75 and 100 acres (30 and 40ha) - Lowfield, Low Huddlesceugh, and two farms at Parkhead. Smaller farms included Todbank, four farms at Busk, Swathgill and Selah.<sup>85</sup> By 1910 ten farms were within the 150-500 acre (60-202ha) range; and seven farms averaged 72 acres (30ha).

In 1841 there were a total of 103 agricultural workers, 25 farmers and 78 agricultural labourers and resident farm servants. By 1901 the number had fallen to 75 - 24 farmers, one market gardener, and 50 agricultural labourers (including 'farmer's sons', a forester and two gamekeepers) and resident farm servants.<sup>86</sup> In 1797 a male farmhand received 1s or 1s 2d plus victuals for each day at harvest; women 2d less. In 1834 an agricultural labourer received 10s per week, without cider or beer.<sup>87</sup>

### *Crops and Livestock Production*

In Tudor times most farmers on the land around Kirkoswald village practised mixed farming with small numbers of cattle and few sheep;<sup>88</sup> and much of the available land was doubtless used for dairying and other husbandry growing food for the township and the market. William Teasdell (d. 1614) grew wheat as well as oats, barley and rye, but kept no livestock; William Bowman (d. 1620) contracted for the use of the demesne and grazing on the parks and sought

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<sup>85</sup> Analysis based on the Tithe Commutation schedule 1842; leases in 1791/3 specified acreage as follows: Fog Close 200, Old Parks 332, Highbankhill 169, Mains 232, Demesne 262

<sup>86</sup> 1841 and 1901 censuses for Kirkoswald - excludes farmer's wives and children; servants assumed to be agricultural workers only where enumerated with farmers

<sup>87</sup> Sir Frederick Morton Eden, *The State of the Poor*, 1797, 84; PP 1834, xxvii-xxxix, p1815<sup>87</sup> CAS(C), TIR 4/8 (1910); TNA, MAF 32/183/159 (1941)

<sup>87</sup> Analysis based on the Tithe Commutation schedule 1842; leases in 1791/3 specified acreage as follows: Fog Close 200, Old Parks 332, Highbankhill 169, Mains 232, Demesne 262

<sup>87</sup> 1841 and 1901 censuses for Kirkoswald - excludes farmer's wives and children; servants assumed to be agricultural workers only where enumerated with farmers

<sup>87</sup> Sir Frederick Morton Eden, *The State of the Poor*, 1797, 84; PP 1834, xxvii-

<sup>88</sup> CAS(C), P series: out of 80 wills, admsons and inventories for Kirkoswald parish between 1564 and 1600, it has been possible to identify 15 testators who were farming in Kirkoswald

agistment in adjacent manors.<sup>89</sup> Large scale animal husbandry (in addition to arable farming) was general east of the castle parks; as also on the farms created in the early eighteenth century on the parks.<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.’<sup>91</sup> In 1794 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.’ Husbandry was of a high standard: the land was ‘very productive’ due to fallowing, liming and manuring, and crops of turnips, clover and hay.<sup>92</sup> The Musgraves routinely included land improvement clauses in leases of the demesne and park farms.<sup>93</sup> In the 1850s Timothy Fetherstonhaugh (1811-1856) invested in drainage by clay tiles, and in 1852 his farmland was described as ‘exceedingly well managed’ with ‘the best and purest stock of cattle sheep and pigs’.<sup>94</sup> In 1897 the soil of Kirkoswald was ‘very fertile and well cultivated, generally of a light gravelly nature, the bottom lands loam and clayey, and the subsoil clay and gravel’, and the principal crops were turnips, potatoes, oats and barley.<sup>95</sup> At

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<sup>89</sup> Archives of Queen’s College Oxford 5A-9 (1592), 5A-54 (1620, 300 Bowman sheep on Renwick common); TNA SC11/986 for his rental of parks; CAS(C), P 1620 Bowman, 30 cattle and 160 sheep

<sup>90</sup> CAS(C), P 1585 Thompson (Busk, 24 cattle and 146 sheep), P 1594 Harrison, P 1600 Helton; P 1669 Jameson, P 1677 Richardson (Kirkoswald, 21 cattle and 109 sheep); P 1688, Wilson

<sup>91</sup> Hutchinson 210 (all quotations from Housman’s notes); cf also Sir F.M.Eden 1797, 84

<sup>92</sup> - *ibid* -

<sup>93</sup> Husbandry clauses were a regular feature of Musgrave leases from the 1760s; cf also the Musgrave policy on lime burning and the supply of lime to their farms (below)

<sup>94</sup> Fetherstonhaugh A-3-3 (1852), A-18-60 (1855); W Dickinson, *Farming of Cumberland*, in *Journal of the Royal Agricultural Society of England*, Vol 13, 1852, 224 (thanks to Andrew Humphries for this reference)

<sup>95</sup> Kelly, *Dir Cumb*, 1897, 196

Cannerheugh, at the turn of the century, water power from Cannerheugh beck was used to drive a threshing machine.<sup>96</sup>

In 1941 14 farms in Kirkoswald were dairying in addition to sheep farming and arable.<sup>97</sup>

Kirkoswald farmers were much involved in the formation of the Bluefaced Leicester Sheep Breeders Association, the first meeting of which was held at the Kirkoswald Church Institute in 1962, the first elected chairman being Joe Raine of Old Parks Farm.<sup>98</sup> In 2016 Kirkoswald sheep were generally 'border crosses', Swaledale bred with Blue Leicester and/or Texels. Dairying, general until 1980, had ceased by 2007, and cattle breeds, which had included Fresians for milk production, had been changed to Limousins.<sup>99</sup>

In 2016 there were nine working farms in Kirkoswald: Demesne, Fog Close, Mains, Old Parks, Lowfield, Todbank, Huddlesceugh Hall, Haresceugh Castle, and Cannerheugh: all except Lowfield were owner-occupied. The sizes of farms ranged between 150 acres (60ha) and 500 acres (202ha), plus large areas of rough grazing on the fellside. All Kirkoswald farmers reared livestock for butchery, with arable production, if any, for animal feed. Total employment on the land was about 15.<sup>100</sup>

### *Woodland and Forestry*

In 1568 woodland was recorded within Kirkoswald demesne, Castle Close and Woodhousefield; and in 1608 within Low Mains. In 1620 the tenants 'do excuse themselves for the King's woods' (taking timber without permission); and in 1637 fines were imposed for the theft of oaks

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<sup>96</sup> OS1900 and *inf* Tom Bowman and John Haugh; cf *Local Government History* for the later use of Cannerheugh for the water supply to Kirkoswald and outlying hamlets

<sup>97</sup> TNA, MAF 32/183/159

<sup>98</sup> Jeremy Hunt, *The Bluefaced Leicester, a History of the Breed*, Penrith, Reeds, 1986, p26: the extended Raine family, farming in Kirkoswald and Renwick, have contributed several of their number to national and regional advisory bodies

<sup>99</sup> *inf* Tom Bowman, James Raine, Robert Pickthall; the last functioning dairy was at Mains Farm

<sup>100</sup> *inf* James Raine, Robert Pickthall

from Cockshott Bottom, part of the demesne.<sup>101</sup> In 1820 175 oak trees at Lodge Wood (near Maines farm) were advertised for sale.<sup>102</sup> In 1860 about 150 acres (60ha) of the demesnes and parkland were wooded, together with areas adjoining the College and the church; and 26 acres (10ha) of the Huddlesceugh estate, five acres (two ha) of Viol Moor, and 15 acres (six ha) adjoining the Raven beck in the manor of Haresceugh, and the Daleraven and Glassonby becks and adjoining Cannerheugh farm.<sup>103</sup> Until the 1980s the lords of the manor retained control of the woodland in the parks and demesnes, the area of which was largely unchanged in 2015. Sir Francis Ley, who purchased the manor in 1913, paid particular attention to the woodland both for its commercial value and for shooting rights and established a tree nursery in Kirkoswald, but after his death in 1925 the woodland was neglected for many years. In the 1980s, when the farms on the former castle parks were sold to the sitting tenants, the woodland was sold separately, specifically for shooting rights. In 2016 it was owned by David Hodgkiss of Nunnery who had embarked on a major programme of felling and replanting.<sup>104</sup>

### *Mining and Quarrying*<sup>105</sup>

Mining, lime burning and quarrying took place on the high fellside east of Haresceugh and Busk. In 1746 Sir Philip Musgrave leased to Thomas Brown, yeoman of Eamont Bridge, all mines and seams of coal in the manor of Kirkoswald for nine years: from the outset the emphasis was on lime burning, the lessee being obliged to supply Musgrave and his farmers with lime at 3d 1/2d a bushel. In the 1770s the lease was acquired by John Arnison of Selah (d. 1783): it was renewed in

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<sup>101</sup> CAS(C), DMus/1 box 8, manor court rolls for 1620, 1637

<sup>102</sup> *Carlisle Patriot* 20 March 1820

<sup>103</sup> OS 1:25, 1860; note that the 1842 tithe schedule did not include details of the castle parks which were not subject to tithes

<sup>104</sup> *Inf* Timothy Fetherstonhaugh

<sup>105</sup> I am grateful to Graham Brooks for many of the observations and references in the following passage: earlier references to coal mining on Hartside, eg QC 5A-171 (a letter from William Nicolson to Queen's College Oxford 16 Dec 1690), probably related to mines outside Kirkoswald manor

1780, 1783 and 1800.<sup>106</sup> There were clauses (repeated at each renewal) requiring the delivery of coal and lime to the Musgrave lime kilns at Cocklocks. In 1838 land tax was paid for coal and lime works on Haresceugh Fell.<sup>107</sup> Some coal was still being mined in 1860, by which time the Musgrave limekilns at Cocklocks had been replaced by limekilns at Greenrigg: these were functioning in 1876, but had closed by 1900.<sup>108</sup>

Lead and barytes were also mined on Hartside Fell. A 21 year lease was granted by Sir Philip Musgrave in 1786 to nine lead miners of Alston (in partnership with George Arnison of Selah) to mine for lead ore at Lewgill Head; the lessees were to pay one seventh part duty ore.<sup>109</sup> It seems that this venture had disappointing results: in 1855 a report by R.R Maddison and J.C. Cain for the Great Northern Mining Company (GNMC) describes a level driven ‘some years ago’ for a short distance in a southerly direction before being abandoned. GNMC were extending exploration, but so far only barytes of a poor quality had been found, and the mine did not seem to be a worthwhile investment.<sup>110</sup> Nevertheless further efforts were made: when in 1879 the stock of the Hartside Mining Company was put up for sale, it included 100 tons of rails and 48 iron yard wagons.<sup>111</sup> The mines were reopened north of Busk limekiln in 1915 by the Hedworth Barium Company, and yielded considerable quantities of high grade barytes: the company built a tramway to carry ore to Hartside Cross, but the works were again abandoned by 1922.<sup>112</sup> Barytes

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<sup>106</sup> CAS(C), DMus/5/4/3, box 69 for leases (no evidence of such activity before 1746); cf also Hutchinson 1794, 204 (Housman’s notes also place the emphasis on lime burning)

<sup>107</sup> CAS(C), PR9/34 - vestry minute of 10 Feb 1838

<sup>108</sup> OS 1860, 1:6, sheet XLI (which also shows a working coal level west of Hartside Height); CAS(C), QRE/125 (Haresceugh Fell Enclosure 1876); OS 1900 sheet XLI NW

<sup>109</sup> CAS(C), DMus/5/3/2 box 69

<sup>110</sup> <http://www.aditnow.co.uk/documents/Hartside-Baryte-Mine> (letter of 1855)

<sup>111</sup> *Carlisle Journal* 11 April 1879

<sup>112</sup> Carruthers R.G. *et al* - Barytes and Witherite, Memoirs of the Geological Survey Special Report on the Mineral resources of Great Britain No. 2 2nd edition. (1922) p.38

mining was resumed during 1939-45; and in April 1946 the mining rights on Hartside were purchased by Laporte Chemicals, but they appear not to have reopened the mines.<sup>113</sup>

An unsuccessful search for copper on the south bank of the Raven Beck downstream from the confluence with Hollgill Beck is recorded in a copper mine, disused by 1860.<sup>114</sup> There were freestone quarries; and porphyry (marble, blue spotted with white) was extracted at Haresceugh in the first half of the nineteenth century.<sup>115</sup>

### *Milling and manufacturing industry*

#### (a) corn mills

There were three water corn mills on the Kirkoswald side of the Raven beck. The lord's mill in Kirkoswald township was recorded in 1399 and 1568: it continued to function until 1953.<sup>116</sup> A second corn mill, later known as Low Huddlesceugh Mill or Parkhead Mill, was recorded in 1619 and continued trading until about 1880;<sup>117</sup> and a third, below High Raven Bridge, known as Huddlesceugh Mill (later Ravenbridge Mill), was recorded in 1771 and was still trading in 1881:<sup>118</sup> both these later mills were built by the owners of Huddlesceugh Hall on their freehold land.

#### (b) Fulling mills and textiles

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<sup>113</sup> Some barytes miners died from emphysema due to wartime mining, eg John Moses of Renwick who died in 1949 (*inf* Nancy Moses); the identity of the wartime mining company has not been found

<sup>114</sup> eg 1860 1:6 sheet XXXIII: traces of digging and some abandoned machinery can be seen.

<sup>115</sup> Hutchinson 1794, 204 (Housman's notes); *Dir Cumb* 1829, 1847; no corresponding employment listed in censuses or church records; only limestone quarries, close to kilns, are shown on OS maps

<sup>116</sup> TNA, C136/109/9, *Inq pm* William Dacre, 1399; LR2/213, 1568; *Penrith Observer* 30 Jan 1953

<sup>117</sup> TNA, E134/1619 (1619) 'hath not Sir William Hutton knight or John Hutton his son built a .. mill on the east side of the park'; this mill is listed in trade directories to 1879

<sup>118</sup> CAS(C), P 1771 Greenop; census 1881; the 1884 trade directory lists the occupant as a farmer only

Fulling mills were recorded in 1399, 1568, 1608, 1637, 1675, 1718, and in leases until 1789.<sup>119</sup> From 1675 (and probably long before) there was such a mill on the south bank of the Ravenbeck below Tenter Hill, Parkhead: it ceased to be used as a fulling mill in 1789 (see paper mills below), and ruins and a disused mill race could still be seen in 2016.<sup>120</sup> Fulling mills were required to finish the cloth produced by cottage weavers, also doubtless widespread from the fourteenth century. Dyers are recorded in Kirkoswald from 1690. Joseph Hamilton (1796-1875, of Highbankhill), was recorded as a handloom weaver in 1829, 1841 and 1851, a carpet weaver in 1861, and a woollen weaver in 1871.<sup>121</sup> Industrialised textile production in Kirkoswald began in the 1840s. William Carr, a Haltwhistle man, was recorded as a dyer in 1841, and from 1847 to 1861 was operating a small woollen mill, with three employees in 1861.<sup>122</sup> He was succeeded by his nephew William Threlkeld (1833-1904) who, with his son, continued the business into the twentieth century. Their mill, the former paper mill on the east bank of the Raven, acquired by lease in 1883, ceased to be used for textile manufacture in 1906.<sup>123</sup>

### (c) Papermaking

Paper mills are recorded in Kirkoswald from 1715 to 1881. Thomas Rickerby (d. 1724) was manufacturing paper in 1715, but this enterprise ended with his death.<sup>124</sup> Joseph Smith (d. 1723) manufactured paper in competition with Rickerby, and his son Bartholomew continued the business, acquired rights to additional water in 1737, and in 1741 was admonished by the consistory court for working the mill on the Sabbath. He sold the mill to Thomas Dixon and

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<sup>119</sup> TNA, C136/109/9, *Inq pm* William Dacre, 1399, and SC11/986, the 1608 survey; manor court 1637, 1675; Barrett-Lennard M79/4 (1718, possibly a second fulling mill); box 69 for leases to 1789

<sup>120</sup> OS 1900, fields 260, 267, field names from Tithe Schedule 1842; Sir Frederick Morton Eden in 1797 listed one dyer and one fuller in Kirkoswald

<sup>121</sup> *Dir Cumb* 1829, 1847; in 1829 two 'weaver and linen manufacturers' and a firm of 'wool carders and spinners'; censuses

<sup>122</sup> Censuses 1841/1861; *Dir Cumb* 1847, 1858, 1861; the 1861 census mentions a woollen mill

<sup>123</sup> Censuses 1861/1901; *Dir Cumb* 1879-1901; OS 1900; CAS(C), DMus 2/4 box 27 (1883)

<sup>124</sup> CAS(C), DMus, Kirkoswald manor court 1715, 1724, rental 1725 (freehold mill, free rent 10s)

James Dobson in 1755.<sup>125</sup> In 1789 William Crampton (d. 1825) was granted a lease of the fulling mill with the obligation to rebuild and equip it for the making of paper: he was succeeded by his son Joseph who in 1828 was granted the lease of a newly erected paper mill with machinery and engines - and was bankrupted in 1831.<sup>126</sup> William Hastings, a Devonian, manufactured paper in Kirkoswald from 1850 until 1861: in 1856 he installed a vortex water wheel manufactured by McAdam of Belfast.<sup>127</sup> In the 1870s the paper mill was purchased by Roberts & Parker, who also operated a mill at Glassonby Beck to which they eventually transferred their activities: the Kirkoswald paper mill was offered for sale, together with a steam engine, in 1882.<sup>128</sup> The manufacture of paper required an excise officer in Kirkoswald, recorded from 1725 until 1881.<sup>129</sup>

(d) Saw mills and woodworking

William Richardson (1814-1894) was operating both a corn mill and a saw mill in 1846/7 and described himself as a timber merchant.<sup>130</sup> In 1851 he increased supplies of water to his mill. By 1861 he had widened his range of activities to include bobbin making and candlewick manufacture.<sup>131</sup> In 1866 he was advertising his sawmills at Kirkoswald and Plumpton in a Manchester newspaper.<sup>132</sup> The Kirkoswald bobbin industry ended in 1873, but Richardson was still trading as a timber merchant in 1884.<sup>133</sup> Sir Francis Ley, who purchased the manor of

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<sup>125</sup> CAS(C), manor court 1737; DRC5/7 (1741); Fetherstonhaugh A-24-7 (1755)

<sup>126</sup> *Dir Cumb* 1829; *The Morning Post* 31 Dec 1831; also *Dir Cumb* 1847/8 (William Arnold): this mill was on the east side of the Raven Beck, shown as a paper mill on OS1860, and as a woollen mill on OS1900

<sup>127</sup> CAS(C), DMus/2 Box 27, with design plans and acceptance of tender of £181

<sup>128</sup> Decennial censuses 1851/91 and *Dir Cumb* 1858, 1861 (William Hastings); *Dir Cumb* 1879 has Roberts & Parker, papermakers, Glassonby and Kirkoswald; CAS(C) DMus/2/Box 27 letter of 1882

<sup>129</sup> Church registers of baptisms and burials 1725-1840; decennial censuses record numbers of persons employed in papermaking as 1841 7, 1851 6, 1861 11, 1871 0, 1881 5

<sup>130</sup> CAS(C), DMus/2 Box27 1846 (Kirkoswald corn mill, with second mill wheel, the schedule of fixtures including saw mill machinery); *Dir Cumb* 1847; baptism 1843 and census 1851

<sup>131</sup> Fetherstonhaugh A-24-59 (1851); *Dir Cumb* 1858; bobbin mill workers are recorded in baptisms from 1856, and in the 1861 census (6) and 1871 census (17)

<sup>132</sup> *Manchester Guardian* 14 Feb 1866

<sup>133</sup> *Liverpool Mercury* 9 Aug 1873 for dissolution of Richardson's partnership; *Dir Cumb* 1884



Kirkoswald in 1913, adapted Threlkeld's woollen mill to a saw mill, together with a pressure creosoting plant, the first in England north of Preston.<sup>134</sup> At a later date the power source was changed to electricity, and in 2016 the mill and its equipment were still there, if seldom used.

(e) Brewing

A brewery was established in what is now Ravenshyll in 1833 by William Holliday who supplied many public and private houses in the area, but went out of business in 1841.<sup>135</sup> The brewery was continued until 1867 by John Walton publican of the George & Dragon (who established a malt kiln behind the inn),<sup>136</sup> and, later, William Hodgson of the Crown Hotel: it ceased to trade in the early 1880s.<sup>137</sup>

*Service industries and other businesses*

William de Stuteville received a grant of the right to hold a market and fairs in Kirkoswald in 1201.<sup>138</sup> During the time of Crown and Lennard lordship (1570-1716), the market was controlled by the manor court and held on Thursday each week: there was also a fair yearly upon St Oswald's Day (5 August).<sup>139</sup> In 1718 the Musgraves leased the tolls and shambles for one guinea p.a., and in 1752, for the same rent, 'the shambles and all the profits and advantages arising from the fairs and markets there'. From 1774 to 1823 the tolls of fairs and shambles were included in leases of Demesne Farm, and in 1816 the market was 'only for butcher's meat'.<sup>140</sup> In 1829

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<sup>134</sup> *Inf* Timothy Fetherstonhaugh; in the 1911 census two men were employed at a steam sawmill, but no such mill appears in *Dir Cumb* 1910, and it may have been elsewhere

<sup>135</sup> CAS(C), DMus/10 Box 122 - the account and day books of the brewery 1833/6; also a memorandum of 11/8/1841 concerning Holliday's estate; for location of brewery *inf* Ruth Lee

<sup>136</sup> *Dir Cumb* 1848, census 1851; CAS(C), DMus 2/4, box 27 (sale of malt kiln behind George & Dragon after death of Walton 1867)

<sup>137</sup> *Dir Cumb* 1858, 1861, 1879, 1880 (but not 1884); censuses 1861/81

<sup>138</sup> PR 2 John (1200): *William de Stutevill owes .. three palfreys for having 2 fairs and 1 market* (VCH Cumb, vol I, 386); Summerson *Medieval Carlisle* vol 1 66 opines 'probably at Kirkoswald'

<sup>139</sup> CAS(C), DMus/1/3/1, undated, from internal evidence c1630; and manor court rolls 1620, 1667

<sup>140</sup> CAS(C), DMus/5/4/3 Box 70; Lyson 128

neither the ancient market (Thursday) nor the corn market (Monday) were in a prosperous state; and the market was discontinued had been discontinued by 1858, though fairs were still held twice a year.<sup>141</sup>

For some six hundred years this was the only market east of the River Eden and west of the Pennine scarp between Brampton and Appleby, and, before the construction of Lazonby Bridge in 1762, provided a service for all communities within at least five miles to the north, east and south of Kirkoswald. It may be that the market enhanced the attractiveness of the township for retail outlets and as a central place in which a range of local trades and professions could be practised: in addition to the ubiquitous trades of smithing, joinery, stonemasonry, tailoring, shoemaking and weaving, there were in Kirkoswald (with first recorded dates) coopers (1608), butchers (1713), bakers (1741), and nine other manufacturing trades; medical practitioners are recorded from 1793 and veterinary surgeons from 1841.<sup>142</sup> Carriers are recorded from 1795 and in 1829 there were two carrying to Carlisle and Penrith and one to Alston.<sup>143</sup>

The many inns and taverns also reflect the function of Kirkoswald as a central place. There was more than one public house in Kirkoswald in 1629.<sup>144</sup> In 1753 there were more than ten, including those outside the village.<sup>145</sup> In 1822 there were six in Kirkoswald village - the Bluebell,

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<sup>141</sup> *Dir Cumb* 1829, 1847, 1858; a spring fair, for livestock, was held in 1864 (*Cumberland and Westmorland Herald*, 19 Apr 1864) but seems thereafter to have been replaced by an annual Kirkoswald agricultural and/or horticultural show (cf *Social History*); the probable explanation of the market's failure is the new bridge over Eden (1762) and better access to markets west of the Eden

<sup>142</sup> eg glover (1708), peruke maker (1774), ropemaker (1792), hatter (1795), saddler (1816), nailer (1817), pump maker (1826), clockmaker (1847), basket maker (1861); Sir Frederick Morton Eden's list of tradesmen in 1797 included 8 tailors, 3 weavers, 3 masons, 5 shoemakers, 6 joiner/carpenters and 5 blacksmiths; other sources include church registers and title deeds

<sup>143</sup> Baptism 1795; *Dir Cumb* 1829

<sup>144</sup> CAS(C), DMus1/3/1, 1629 - Adam Smith, 'one of the alehouse keepers within this manor', accused of allowing card playing on his premises after 12th night

<sup>145</sup> CAS(C), QL2/1; one was called the King's Arms (manor court, 1743, 1752); and another the Boot and Shoe (*Cumberland Pacquet* 6 Nov 1784); the George (later George & Dragon) and the Black Bull hosted meetings of the two friendly societies in the 1790s (cf *Social History*)

the Black Swan, the Black Bull, the Crown, the King's Head, and the George & Dragon.<sup>146</sup> The Fetherston Arms was built on the site of the Bluebell in 1826; and no more is heard of the Black Swan.<sup>147</sup> In 1829 there were five public houses, all grouped around or close to the Market Square; and taverns at Haresceugh and Selah.<sup>148</sup> The principal inns were the George & Dragon which ceased to trade between 1905 and 1910;<sup>149</sup> the Black Bull which in 1916 was acquired by the Carlisle & District State Management Scheme and ceased trading in 1991;<sup>150</sup> and the Fetherston Arms and the Crown which were still trading in 2016.

A dealer's shop was recorded in Kirkoswald in 1606.<sup>151</sup> Later in the seventeenth century and in the first part of the eighteenth century there were at least four shops. Henry Bird (1654-1733) sold two shops to Bartholomew Smith (d. 1697) in 1680: Smith was selling (*inter alia*) sugar in 1693, and after his death the business was continued first by his son Joseph Smith (d. 1723), and then by his grandson Bartholomew until his departure from Kirkoswald in 1750.<sup>152</sup> Thomas Henderson (d. 1684) was a 'grocer' with two retail outlets; he was succeeded by his son Joseph (d. 1713, 'merchant' 1698), and his grandson George who sold to Joseph Smith in 1719.<sup>153</sup> Later in the eighteenth century and early nineteenth century Joseph Bell (1737-1794), Joseph Johnston

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<sup>146</sup> CAS(C), QL3/6; the George & Dragon, a customary tenement, rent 2s 3d (CAS(K) WD/CAT/A2095, a call book of Musgrave manors 1816), same tenant, same rent 1796 'M&T'

<sup>147</sup> *Carlisle Journal* 15 Aug 1826 'on the site of an old inn'; Joseph Dodd was licensee of the Bluebell 1823/5 (CAS (C) QL3/6): in 1817 the land on which the inn stood was sold to Charles Smalwood Fetherstonhaugh (Fetherstonhaugh A-19-45)

<sup>148</sup> *Dir Cumb* 1829 (omitting the George & Dragon); the Haresceugh and Selah taverns had ceased to trade by 1847, and the King's Head before 1910

<sup>149</sup> *Memories of Kirkoswald* mentions this inn, but no mention in *Dir Cumb* 1910, nor 1911 census

<sup>150</sup> TNA, HO 190/200, and local inf

<sup>151</sup> TNA, SC11/986

<sup>152</sup> CAS(C), DMus1/6/1/3, Kirkoswald manor court 1680, 1693 (Jane Brown accused of stealing sugar from his shop), 1697, 1724; Fetherstonhaugh A-24-1 (1710), A-6-1 (1720), A-24-4 (1732)

<sup>153</sup> CAS(C), DMus1/12/1, Staffield Manor Court 29 Oct 1683; Thomas Henderson's inventory 1684 ('the new shop, the ould shop'); baptism 1686

(1768-1824), and William and Joseph Dodd are all recorded as grocers and shopkeepers.<sup>154</sup> In 1829 six men and women were listed as grocers, drapers and/or shopkeepers. Their shops fronts mingled with those of a butcher, a baker, a cooper, a nailer, a saddler, three blacksmiths, three shoemakers, three joiners, three tailors, and two wine and spirit merchants.<sup>155</sup> By 1851 there was also a post office;<sup>156</sup> and by 1881, a bank - and all the trades present in 1829 were still represented, together with the woollen mill, paper mill and saw mill.<sup>157</sup>

By 1901, the decline of Kirkoswald as a central place had begun. There were still a bank, post office, five public houses, and corn and woollen mills, but there were now only three grocers, a saddler, a smith, two joiners, three butchers, two tailors, a shoemaker and a wine merchant. The inhabitants, it was said, were 'chiefly engaged in agriculture, although a few find employment in a small woollen factory and carding mill'; seven Kirkoswald men were employed as gypsum miners at Long Meg mines (Glassonby), and another seven on the Carlisle-Settle railway (Lazonby).<sup>158</sup> In 1938 there were a bank, a post office, three shops, three public houses, a corn mill, a smith, a joiner, a butcher, and Howard Lace, motor engineer and bus operator.<sup>159</sup>

#### *Economic history since 1945 (other than farming)*

In 1945 there were still four shops, and in 1977 the Cranstons, who had worked a small abattoir in Sandhill since the 1920s, opened a butcher's shop in Sandhill.<sup>160</sup> The Todd family, builders and

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<sup>154</sup> Baptisms and burials 1774-1791; Fetherstonhaugh B-3-8 1816; baptism 1821; *Carlisle Patriot* 11 May 1822 - bankruptcy of Joseph & William Dodd grocers, ironmongers, woollen goods and drapery

<sup>155</sup> *Dir Cumb* 1829

<sup>156</sup> *Dir Cumb* 1847, 1851 census

<sup>157</sup> *Dir Cumb* 1879, 1881 census; Slater 1884 wrote 'this is a place of very little trade'

<sup>158</sup> 1901 census; and *Dir Cumb* 1901; for Long Meg mines cf *Our Cumberland Village* 78 and *Memories of Kirkoswald*; the 1901 data is repeated in 1911 census

<sup>159</sup> *Dir Cumb* 1938; Lace's business had developed out of a former smithy

<sup>160</sup> Oral evidence of Bunty Cranston, Bob Parker, Mike Clementson; *inf* John Haugh, Neville Jackson; in 2016 Cranstons owned large retail outlets in several towns, but no longer Kirkoswald

contractors of Highbankhill, were the largest employers of labour in Kirkoswald in the 1970s.<sup>161</sup>

In 2016 there remained one general store and newsagent (with volunteer staff), two public houses, a doctors' surgery, a saw mill (infrequently used) and Lace's motor garage.

Tourism had touched Kirkoswald lightly. In the 1960s and 1970s fishermen visited Kirkoswald for salmon fishing in the Eden.<sup>162</sup> A caravan park with stands for 12 caravans and a camping ground was established by Robert and Julie Pickthall at Mains Farm in 2008, close to the Coast to Coast cycle route, and in 2016 this business had grown to 28 sites, an enlarged camping site and camping 'pods', with showering and cooking facilities in converted barns. The Crown and Fetherston Arms Inns had both derived increased custom in their bars and restaurants from these initiatives. There was also self-catering holiday accommodation at Howscales.<sup>163</sup>

Between 1945 and 2016, due amongst other things to the widespread availability of personal motor transport, Kirkoswald became increasingly a village of commuters, and Kirkoswald residents employed on the land or otherwise in Kirkoswald were outnumbered by those who worked elsewhere.

## **SOCIAL HISTORY**<sup>164</sup>

### *Social Structure and Character*

Kirkoswald castle, enlarged and improved by Thomas second Baron Dacre of the North in about 1500, is thought to have been the preferred baronial residence from then to the death of

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<sup>161</sup> *inf* Tom Bowman, Timothy Fetherstonhaugh

<sup>162</sup> *inf* Neville Jackson; licences to fish in the River Eden were once issued from the Fetherston Arms, but in 2016 the fishing rights were privately licensed to local people

<sup>163</sup> *inf* Robert and Julie Pickthall

<sup>164</sup> Sources which have been specially useful in this chapter are *Our Cumberland Village*, privately published by Colonel Timothy Fetherstonhaugh in 1925; and *Memories of Kirkoswald*, an 8 page memoir, thought to have been written in the late 1960s by Maurice John Tiffin (1897-1977)

Thomas, fourth Baron Dacre in 1566, during which time social life in Kirkoswald was no doubt dominated by the barons and their retainers.<sup>165</sup> After 1566 there was no resident lord of the manor, apart from the crown lessee Thomas Bartram (d.1639) who from 1606 resided at Demesne Farm, effectively then the manor house.<sup>166</sup> Henry Fetherstonhaugh (d. 1626), who purchased the College (which was never the manor house) in 1611, was the royal steward of several adjacent manors and had serious disagreements with Bartram.<sup>167</sup> His son, Sir Timothy Fetherstonhaugh (1601-1651, knighted in 1628) was, after Bartram's death, the squire of Kirkoswald, active in county affairs and a vigorous supporter of royal policy.<sup>168</sup> His execution in 1651, and the financial and other consequences of the civil wars, reduced his family's influence for a generation during and after the interregnum, but by the 1690s their wealth and influence were largely restored.<sup>169</sup> During the following 300 years, the Fetherstonhaughs, although not lords of the manor, were a resident gentry presence in the village, fulfilling many of the gentry roles: they were usually magistrates, served (from the nineteenth century) as poor law guardians and local councillors, and, through younger sons and brothers, as village officers.<sup>170</sup> Charles Smalwood Fetherstonhaugh (1762-1839), and his son Timothy Fetherstonhaugh (1811-1856) were both active in community affairs, frequently chairing meetings, and adjudicating issues arising from vestry disputes.<sup>171</sup> Colonel Timothy Fetherstonhaugh (1869-1945), the author of *Our Cumberland Village*, chaired the Kirkoswald parish council and school managers for many years, and also the Penrith bench of magistrates and Cumberland Quarter Sessions, of which he was the last lay chairman. His son Timothy (1899-1969), who was knighted for political services, was

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<sup>165</sup> The third and fourth barons both died at Kirkoswald (1563 and 1566)

<sup>166</sup> Hyde and Pevsner 477 refer to Demesne farmhouse as the Manor House

<sup>167</sup> Fetherstonhaugh A-20-8, arbitration 1622; he was steward of Stafffield, Glassonby and Lazonby

<sup>168</sup> ODNB, article on Sir Timothy Fetherstonhaugh by A.J.Hopper

<sup>169</sup> Fetherstonhaugh A-20-9, a 1708 account of the family's difficulties in the early Lennard years; cf also Calendar of Committee for Compounding p1669

<sup>170</sup> CAS(C) PR9/5, Thomas Fetherstonhaugh (d. 1738), from 1707; in 1703/5 he gave books to the church, and in his will he bequeathed money for education (see below)

<sup>171</sup> eg CAS(C) PR9/34, undated end page, re a poor law settlement matter

a Cumberland county councillor, member of the police authority, and treasurer of the Kirkoswald Church Institute and parochial church council; his wife was president of the Kirkoswald Women's Institute, and their son Timothy (b. 1936) served on Penrith Rural District Council from 1967 to 1974, Eden District Council from 1974 to 2000, and Kirkoswald parish council from 1967 to 2005. There were times when the heads of the family were absent - notably between 1873 and 1909 during which the College was leased.<sup>172</sup>

The resident owners of Huddlesceugh Hall, the Hutton and Barwis families, were also usually described as gentry.<sup>173</sup> Use of the honorific 'Mr' to recognise relative wealth, for example in the case of larger farmers, such as William Bowman (d. 1620), Oswald Bird (d. 1658) and his son John (d. 1706),<sup>174</sup> and merchants, such as Joseph Henderson (d. 1713) and Edward Thornbarrow (d. 1748), and the prosperous tanner Edmund Bird (d. 1723), hints at the social separation of some non-gentry families.<sup>175</sup>

It seems likely that many of the smaller manorial rents were for cottages, and that there were many cottager under-tenants on both customary and freehold land.<sup>176</sup> Elizabethan and Stuart wills occasionally mention servants, and the larger houses employed many.<sup>177</sup> In 1841, there were 48 in-servants, and 72 cottages occupied by agricultural labourers, coalminers and tradesmen, their families and single ladies (more than half the total population of 694): there were concentrations of cottages at Haresceugh, Viol Moor and Town End. The main employers of

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<sup>172</sup> Fetherstonhaugh A-14-6, lease to Marke Wood 1888; *inf* Timothy Fetherstonhaugh

<sup>173</sup> TNA, LR2/213 (1568); TNA Hearth Tax Return 1662; CAS(C), PR 9/5 1715

<sup>174</sup> Burial 1620; Kirkoswald manor court 1659 ('gent'); baptism 1693

<sup>175</sup> Fetherstonhaugh A-20-28 (1691); CAS(C) PR9/5 *passim*; baptism 1701; the foremanship of the manor court jury between 1659 and 1697 was usually either John Bird (d. 1706), Thomas Threlkeld (1621-1695), Henderson (d. 1713) or Bartholomew Smith (d. 1697)

<sup>176</sup> TNA, LR2/213 (1568, one cottage), SC11/986 (1606, four cottages); manor court rolls

<sup>177</sup> CAS(C), P 1622 Rumney, the will of an employee of Henry Fetherstonhaugh, mentions four women servants and 'every one of my master's menservants'

servants were farmers and the Fetherstonhaughs.<sup>178</sup> In 1901 there were 26 servants on farms, 37 domestic servants and 28 labourers; a pattern repeated in 1911.<sup>179</sup>

### *Community Activities*

A Friendly Society was founded at Kirkoswald in 1758, published rules and orders in 1794, and was holding meetings at the George & Dragon Inn in 1825. A second Friendly Society, at first called 'Kirkoswald Union Society' was founded in 1783.<sup>180</sup> A Book Club, founded by John Dobson, officer of excise, in 1816, was in 1870 referred to as the Kirkoswald Literary Institution; and in 1925 as 'one of the oldest institutions of the parish'.<sup>181</sup> A Reading Room and Library had been established by 1882 in the street now called Ravenghyll, a single storey building with a panelled interior. Annual concerts in its aid were held there in the 1880s with entertainment by 'the best of the talent of the district'.<sup>182</sup> By 1945 the building was no longer used as a reading room: it was later used by the scouts and guides (see below), and converted to a house in 1988.<sup>183</sup>

The Kirkoswald Lazonby and District Floral and Horticultural Society held its third annual meeting (followed by a cricket match) at Kirkoswald in 1862;<sup>184</sup> and in 1874 a Kirkoswald flower fruit and vegetable show was held in the castle precincts with music and dancing to the Garrigill Brass Band.<sup>185</sup> The following year the Kirkoswald Agricultural Society held an inaugural meeting at the George Hotel Kirkoswald; and under its aegis there was a floral and horticultural

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<sup>178</sup> 1841 census

<sup>179</sup> 1901 and 1911 censuses

<sup>180</sup> CAS(C), D/Hod/11/158/160; the Rules and Orders survive at the British Library

<sup>181</sup> *Our Cumberland Village*, 78; Dobson was drowned in the Eden (*Lancaster Gazette* 18 Jan 1817); CAS(C), DX1076/1, 1870, letter of recommendation of Caleb Watson, secretary of 3 local societies

<sup>182</sup> *Penrith Herald* 4 Dec 1886; a similar event was held at the National School 7 weeks later in aid of school repairs (*Penrith Herald* 21 Jan 1887)

<sup>183</sup> Slater *Dir Cumb* 1882, Kelly *Dir Cumb* 1897, 1838; *inf* Timothy Fetherstonhaugh, Ruth Lee

<sup>184</sup> *Cumberland and Westmorland Herald*, 2 Sept 1862 (probably at Church Holme)

<sup>185</sup> - *ibid* - 1 Sept 1874; since the fairs are no longer mentioned after 1864 (cf *Economic History*) it seems that shows had replaced fairs



exhibition in the castle precincts in September with musical entertainment as in 1874.<sup>186</sup> The Agricultural Society held annual shows from the 1880s, probably on what would later be called the Old Show Field, on the western edge of the village.<sup>187</sup> These were continued until 1932, and, having been revived in 1948, were held annually until 1967 on the first Saturday in September on the College Lawn.<sup>188</sup>

A cricket club, first recorded in 1863 using Kelsey Syke (the Church Holme) as a playing ground, was functioning in 1913, but ceased activity in wartime. There was a revival in 1921 for a few years; and again in 1934 (until 1939), as Staffield Cricket Club using a field adjoining the Nunnery. In 1946 Staffield Cricket Club was again revived, retaining the name but using the Old Show Field at Kirkoswald. A small hut in use from 1946 was replaced by a pavilion in 1989.<sup>189</sup> A football club, first recorded in 1922, also played on the Church Holme for a few years. It was restarted in 1946, and for some years ran a 'medals competition', the profits of which were used to give Kirkoswald schoolchildren a day trip to Morecambe, before being disbanded in the early 1960s. It was restarted in 1969 at the Old Show Field which it shared with the cricket club, both still active in 2016.<sup>190</sup>

In 1897 there were also in Kirkoswald (besides the societies and clubs already mentioned) a tennis club, a Sons of Temperance Friendly Society, and a branch of the Manchester Unity Society of Oddfellows. Community events, such as concerts, were held at the Reading Room or the school until 1910 when the Church Institute was built by the heirs of James Mark Wood,

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<sup>186</sup> - *ibid* - 9 Mar 1875, 15 Sept 1875; a similar event at the castle was held in May 1875 by the Loyal Eden Lodge of Oddfellows (*Herald*, 25 May 1875)

<sup>187</sup> - *ibid* - 9 Sept 1882, 6 Oct 1883, 4 Sept 1888, 25 Aug 1896, 10 Aug 1901; *Dir Cumb* 1897

<sup>188</sup> *inf* Timothy Fetherstonhaugh

<sup>189</sup> CAS(C), DS94009/1, 13 Apr 1863, boys at National School admitted to cricket club; *Our Cumberland Village* 80; minute books of cricket club from 1934; *inf* Neville Jackson

<sup>190</sup> *Our Cumberland Village*, 80; *inf* Neville Jackson and John Haugh; A Sports Day was held at Haresceugh on 4 Jun 1913 by the trustees of the Barwick Charity (CAS(C), D/Wal /5

lessee of the College.<sup>191</sup> In 1925 the Book Club and a Recreation Club (and billiard table) were based at the Institute.

A boy scouts troop was formed at the College in 1909, the first members being sworn in by Robert Baden-Powell, and there was also a troop of girl guides: known as 'the Raven Group', the scouts and guides used the reading room from 1977 to 1988, and then a room at the former corn mill.<sup>192</sup> The Kirkoswald branch of the Women's Institute was formed in 1920 with 42 members and continued monthly meetings at the Church Institute until 2002.<sup>193</sup> A youth club was started in 1960 at the Church Institute and continued to the late 1980s.<sup>194</sup> The Kirkoswald Mothers' Union was formed in 1957, and amalgamated with Lazonby and Great Salkeld in 1999.<sup>195</sup> Land for ten allotments was made available by Colonel Fetherstonhaugh in the 1920s on the west side of the road to Staffield, and a self-governing association of the allotment holders continued to function in 2016.<sup>196</sup>

Kirkoswald children entertained themselves with a wide range of games, many with singing and play acting.<sup>197</sup> Winter conditions allowed excellent tobogganing on Bellhouse Hill and on the main street, until the use of motor transport became general, and there was skating on Dolly Tarn at Highbankhill. The ruins of the castle were also a popular playground. Christmas, royal

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<sup>191</sup> *Dir Cumb* 1897; *Our Cumberland Village* 79, and *Memories of Kirkoswald*

<sup>192</sup> *Memories of Kirkoswald*; *Our Cumberland Village* 80; Major Timothy Fetherstonhaugh and Robert Baden-Powell served at Mafeking in 1900; both scouts and guides still functioned in Kirkoswald 2016 as the Second Eden Valley Cubs and Beavers and the First Kirkoswald and Langwathby Guide Unit (*inf* Timothy Fetherstonhaugh, Helen Armstrong, Fay Hoy, Ruth Lee, Neville Jackson)

<sup>193</sup> CAS(C), DSO/259

<sup>194</sup> *Inf* Neville Jackson

<sup>195</sup> CAS(C), PR9/138 and 139

<sup>196</sup> *Inf* Timothy Fetherstonhaugh

<sup>197</sup> Rev J.J. Thornley, 'Children's Games as played at the Parish of Kirkoswald', *CW2* (1901); favourite games were 'Hare and Hounds' and 'English and Romans' (*Memories of Kirkoswald*)

marriages and coronations were celebrated by parties for all the children either at the school or the College.<sup>198</sup>

### *Education*

A schoolmaster called Arthur Bland was owed wages in 1613; and in 1631 Thomas Lowthian of Staffield was owed (by the parish) 36s 6d for the schoolmaster's board.<sup>199</sup> Further schoolmasters in the middle decades of the seventeenth century were Thomas Holmes (recorded 1650), Henry Bird and another Arthur Bland in *c.*1672-82.<sup>200</sup> There is no record of where these men taught.

John Rumney (d. 1738), curate of Renwick from 1680 and of Kirkoswald from 1685, was keeping a school by 1684, probably at Highbankhill where he lived.<sup>201</sup> In 1723 Edmund Bird bequeathed £5 the interest of which was to be paid to the schoolmaster at Highbankhill and his successors;<sup>202</sup> and in 1738 Thomas Fetherstonhaugh bequeathed £4 for the use of the schoolmaster at Highbankhill 'for teaching some poor parish boy or girl'.<sup>203</sup> Samuel Nicholson was schoolmaster at Highbankhill from 1731 to 1743.<sup>204</sup>

In 1742 John Lowthian of Staffield Hall and Dumfries bequeathed £100 to be expended in establishing a parish school and towards the schoolmaster's salary. In advance of receiving these funds the parish built a new school at Highbankhill, and invested the Lowthian legacy (and a

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<sup>198</sup> *Memories of Kirkoswald*

<sup>199</sup> CAS(C), P 1613 Teasdall, 1615 Thompson, 1631 Lowthian and 1633; Fetherstonhaugh A-19-1 (an Arthur Bland, clerk, was a signatory to a 1615 conveyance of land in Kirkoswald, and was examined about it by magistrates in 1620) and a Sir Arthur Bland was mentioned in a 1633 will: Bland may have been clergyman at St Oswald's church but there is no ecclesiastical record of that

<sup>200</sup> Baptism records; CAS(C), DRC5/4 and 5/5

<sup>201</sup> Kirkoswald Manor court 22 Oct 1684; note however that he taught at Addingham from 1712 to 1723; a Staffield manor court roll of about 1710 uses 'Schoolhouse Beck' in describing a right of way. Highbankhill is between Kirkoswald and Staffield, and two miles from Renwick - well placed for children from all three townships

<sup>202</sup> CAS(C), P 1723 Bird; there was a separate bequest to the vicar, but neither were named

<sup>203</sup> Fetherstonhaugh A-22-15

<sup>204</sup> CAS(C), DRC5/22

separate sum of £20 of school stock previously accumulated) to provide income towards the maintenance of the schoolmaster, who was required to receive all the poor children of the parish, boys and girls, and teach them reading at 1s 6d per quarter. The schoolmaster was to make his own arrangements for teaching other subjects and other children. Part of the legacy was later applied to the purchase of land, and the remainder invested, with the parish poor stock, in the Eamont Bridge-Brough Turnpike Trust.<sup>205</sup>

The endowed school at Highbankhill continued to function throughout the second half of the eighteenth century and the first half of the nineteenth.<sup>206</sup> In 1814 it was open to all boys and girls belonging to the parish, the master being paid quarter pence for all the scholars, but at a low rate for the poor in consideration of the endowment; the average number of scholars was 36.<sup>207</sup> In 1818 there were two schools in the parish: Highbankhill endowed school with 30 pupils, the master receiving £15pa from the endowment and £18 in payment from the scholars; and a second, recently opened, day school also with 30 pupils.<sup>208</sup> In 1833 there were four day schools - Highbankhill endowed school (30 boys and 5 girls), and three private schools wholly supported by fees, two of which were small (together four boys, 26 girls), and the third (commenced in 1822) with 28 boys and five girls.<sup>209</sup> In 1855 the endowed school educated 20 boys and 12 girls, and 23 boys and 27 girls attended two private day schools. There were also at that time Sunday schools provided by all three denominations - Anglican, Methodist and 'Presbyterian'.<sup>210</sup>

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<sup>205</sup> Will of John Lowthian; PR9/5 1744 (£100 invested with John and Robert Maxwell merchants of Dumfries) and PR9/36 (1820); Jefferson 297

<sup>206</sup> Baptisms 1772/7 and 1793/1805; Sir F.M.Eden 1797; CAS(C), DRC 5/81 (1801); Lyson 1816

<sup>207</sup> Fletcher 242

<sup>208</sup> Abstract of Education Returns 1818; location of second school not known

<sup>209</sup> Abstract of Education Returns 1833

<sup>210</sup> CAS(C), DCMA/11/15/2 (visitation 1855); cf also *Our Cumberland Village* 149 - references to Robert Hooson (1780-1853, recorded as teaching 1829-1851), Eleanor Mark (unrecorded), and Nellie Lawson (Eleanor Lawson, 1821-1860, wife of watchmaker Thomas Lawson, recorded 1841)

In 1856 the vicar John Best made a successful application to the Charity Commissioners on behalf of the trustees of the John Lowthian Trust for leave to sell the building at Highbankhill and apply the proceeds to the building of a new school closer to the centre of Kirkoswald.<sup>211</sup> A government grant was obtained towards building the new school intended for the instruction of the children of the labouring poor of Kirkoswald (38 boys and 34 girls): the site was to be purchased freehold from William Richardson, timber merchant. In 1857 the National School in Sandhill, Kirkoswald was completed;<sup>212</sup> and in 2016, the building, not greatly altered, still housed the Kirkoswald Church of England Primary School, despite its frequently criticised location on a steep hill with limited space for a playground.<sup>213</sup>

The school was built at a cost of £608 for 125 children, in two rooms with living quarters for the head teacher.<sup>214</sup> The first master, transferred from Highbankhill, was William Cowburn, assisted by a pupil teacher and monitors for the fourth and fifth classes. Enrolment was 70, boys and girls, and attendance fluctuated whenever parents required the children (girls at any time, boys during turnip hoeing and harvest) to work at home. Absences also occurred during epidemics, in bad weather (since many children had to walk long distances to school), and, in January 1864, for vaccination against small pox. Cowburn had difficulty in persuading parents to pay the quarter pence and ‘coal money’, and in 1863 was obliged to refuse entry to three underage children left at the school by their mothers. The children received basic instruction in reading, writing and arithmetic, but on request other subjects were taught - for example, in 1863, mechanical drawing to three boys destined for apprenticeship in Newcastle upon Tyne. Cowburn departed at

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<sup>211</sup> TNA, ED49/994; the building was dilapidated, the teacher was not giving satisfaction, and on average fewer than 20 children attended, perhaps one fifth of the children of the parish.

<sup>212</sup> TNA, ED103/52/339; *Dir Cumb* 1858 and 1901; *Our Cumberland Village* 150

<sup>213</sup> The following account is drawn (unless otherwise stated) from the school logbooks, CAS(C) DS/94009; and from *The Making of a School* by Dr William Roberts 2009. For adverse comment on the location see in particular the report of HM Inspectors 1956.

<sup>214</sup> CAS(C), PR9/49 (the cost included £80 for the land); the grant was £298, and over 50 persons and organisations contributed, notably Sir George Musgrave £50 and Timothy Fetherstonhaugh esq and the Witherslack Trustees £20 each

Christmas 1863 to teach elsewhere and was succeeded by William Horner, newly out of training college at Chester, who was head teacher until 1881, assisted from 1877 (in which year average attendance was 113) by an assistant teacher and a pupil teacher. For several consecutive years school inspectors were critical of the quality of teaching in the school, and the grant to the school was reduced in each year from 1877 to 1880 inclusive. In 1881 the school managers resolved that ‘.. the master should be seriously directed to the imperious necessity of great change by undeviating attention to fixed hours ..’, and Horner resigned.<sup>215</sup> The headship changed four times in the following sixteen years.

In 1897 Harvey Bradwell began 31 years as head teacher: he was highly regarded by the inspectors, and the school was noted for the excellent training given to young teachers.<sup>216</sup>

Brought under County Council control in 1903, it was renamed Kirkoswald Church of England School in 1907 when enrolment was over 90 and usual attendance between 75 and 80.<sup>217</sup>

Bradwell retired in 1928. By 1939 the enrolment had fallen to about 60, but the arrival of 39 evacuee children from Newcastle upon Tyne made it necessary to find additional accommodation. Sidney Jopling, appointed in 1944, served as head teacher for 21 years. In 1948 it became a controlled school, and children over 14 were transferred to Lazonby: the following year children over 11 were likewise transferred, Kirkoswald becoming a junior mixed and infant school with 56 pupils. A second assistant teacher was appointed in 1956, but with falling numbers she was soon removed. Jopling retired in 1965 and was succeeded by Mrs Valerie

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<sup>215</sup> CAS(C), PR9/50 (minutes of meetings of school managers)

<sup>216</sup> *Memories of Kirkoswald* - ‘we received a sound education in the three ‘R’s, history, geography, general knowledge and nature study and even progressed to algebra and logs; there were inter-school competitions in essay writing which Kirkoswald frequently won’

<sup>217</sup> CAS(C), DS/5940/1 - a Cumberland County Council Education school minute book from 1903 to 1981. In 1903 there were 4 foundation managers (including the vicar who usually took the chair, but in the 1930s Colonel Fetherstonhaugh did so), sitting with one manager each appointed by the Parish Council and the County Education Committee. After 1947 there were 2 foundation managers plus 2 each appointed by the Parish Council and the County Education Committee

Lerew (the first woman head teacher), with enrolment about 40. The school was threatened with closure in the 1970s, strongly opposed by the community. In 1978, by which time enrolment had risen to 58, the schoolhouse was adapted to provide additional classrooms. In 1980 the threat of closure was lifted, the school was federated with Renwick school, and received Renwick children when that school closed in 1987. The playground was extended in 1989, and enrolment rose rapidly, to 73 in 1991, and 92 in 1992, at which time there were four full time teachers. In 2016, under the direction of head teacher Greta Ellis, there were 80 pupils, the school consistently performed well in SATS tests, and seemed to be secure. Secondary education for Kirkoswald children was usually found at Penrith.

### *Welfare*

Kirkoswald, until 1708 administered as one vestry and constablewick with Staffield, had an overseer of the poor from 1642, if not earlier.<sup>218</sup> No overseers' accounts survive before 1715, but taxes for the relief of the poor were doubtless being raised by purvey from at least 1642.<sup>219</sup> The long-running *cause celebre* of Robert and Ann Bowman is recorded in 11 petitions and counter-petitions to Quarter Sessions between 1693 and 1711.<sup>220</sup> The parish officials, under pressure from the increasing expense of administering poor relief, were at loggerheads with the magistrates in Quarter Sessions; and in 1708 the township of Staffield successfully applied to be allowed to administer their own poor law relief (cf *Local Government*).

In 1728/9 £10 16s was collected and disbursed to nine individual persons, four men and three women, at 1s per week, and assistance was given with house rents and the cost of a pauper's

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<sup>218</sup> Protestation Return 1642

<sup>219</sup> CAS(C), PR/9/5 churchwardens account book, 1641/4 and 1707/8

<sup>220</sup> CAS(C), Q11/1

funeral.<sup>221</sup> In 1749 an overseer was reprimanded for an ‘extravagant’ payment for attending a sick person, and overseers were instructed to tighten up the removal of lodgers without proper certificates. In 1753 an order was obtained from Quarter Sessions to erect a poor house at Kirkoswald which seems to have been built soon thereafter. Between 1754 and 1756 the governors were styled ‘of the stock and poor house’: there was however no reduction in the number of persons receiving weekly support, and there is no further mention of a poor house.<sup>222</sup> In 1766 pensioners were receiving sums up to 3s per week.<sup>223</sup> In 1773 £5 12s was spent on house rents and £4 17s for clothing; in that year there were six pensioners, four women and two men, and two of the women had children ‘to be put out’.<sup>224</sup> In 1779 there were 16 pensioners, eight men and eight women. Sir Frederick Morton Eden, giving levels of expenditure from 1774 to 1794, recorded the highest annual spending (in 1791) as £140 5s 2d (over 300 purveys): he listed 19 persons seeking relief, including nine widows, seven bastard children, two old men, and a deserted wife with two children. In 1794 annual expenditure was about 4s per head of population:<sup>225</sup> in 1801 it was 7s 1d, in 1811 7s 9d, in 1821 11s 5d; and in 1831 8s 1d. In 1834 about 25 persons were receiving relief which was given ‘according to absolute necessity’.<sup>226</sup>

After the formation of the Penrith Poor Law Union, some Kirkoswald residents were admitted to Penrith Workhouse. In 1837, of 19 Kirkoswald claimants, 11 (eight women, three men) were receiving out-relief; and eight were admitted to the workhouse (a mother with three children,

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<sup>221</sup> CAS(C), PR 9/5 1715, 1729 (four of the five women are identifiable widows), 1730: also in 1728 22s 8d was distributed to 19 persons (of whom 5 were men) from the interest of the poor stock; in 1729 25s 6d to 21 persons (7 men); in 1732 25s to 23 persons (8 men).

<sup>222</sup> CAS(C), Q8/2, p14 (1753) and PR9/5 1754/6; a rent for the poor house was recorded in 1763; it may have been built as a workhouse and later used as the common lodging house (see below)

<sup>223</sup> CAS(C), PR9/5 1766 - both were widows with children

<sup>224</sup> - *ibid* - 1774, but pension figures are for low quarter only

<sup>225</sup> Sir Frederick Morton Eden, *The State of the Poor*, 1797, 83/87

<sup>226</sup> PP 1834, xxvii-xxxix, pp 1815, 2511, 3205, 3902, 4596; the Kirkoswald return was made by C.S.Fetherstonhaugh esq, with the vicar G.G.Lawson and a Staffield farmer/overseer called John Little



three unaccompanied children and one man).<sup>227</sup> Two Kirkoswald men, aged 56 and 72, died at the workhouse in 1840 (as had two of the children admitted in 1837).<sup>228</sup>

The poor stock, accumulated from bequests in wills, amounted in 1641 to £31 3s: loans were made annually at interest of 1d for every shilling (about 8.5%), to more than 50 individuals. The interest (some £2 10s) was applied to many purposes (eg wages for soldiers on training days, vermin bounties, increase of the stock): in 1642, 1643 and 1644 there were distributions to the poor of up to 10s in each year.<sup>229</sup> In 1761 the stock, which had by then risen to £62 10s, was invested (with school funds making a total of £100) at 4% in the Eamont Bridge-Brough Turnpike Trust, and the interest was given to poor persons not receiving parish pay. After the dissolution of the Turnpike Trust in 1881, £15 was recovered and applied to repaying debt on the township water supply.<sup>230</sup>

In 1742 John Lowthian of Stafffield Hall and Dumfries, bequeathed the annual sum of £2 12s to be applied to the purchase of a shilling's worth of bread to be distributed every week on Sunday to the poor people of the parish of Kirkoswald attending divine worship at St Oswald's church. In 1821 Richard Lowthian Ross, owner of Stafffield Hall, was continuing to provide the funds, and distribution took place half after morning service and half after evening service. The terms of the bequest were being complied with in the 1880s and 1890s, and the last known distribution of bread to the poor was made in January 1938.<sup>231</sup> In 1782 Richard Lowthian of Stafffield Hall

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<sup>227</sup> CAS(C) SPUP/1, minutes of PPLU, 1837/41; later minutes, covering the economically bad years of the early 1840s, have not survived

<sup>228</sup> CAS(C) SPU/P/130 (workhouse burial register)

<sup>229</sup> CAS(C) PR9/5

<sup>230</sup> Fletcher 242, 365; Jefferson 297; CAS(C) PR9/35, vestry minutes 13 April 1888; cf *Local Government*

<sup>231</sup> CAS(C) P 1742 Lowthian; PR9/36; reports of the Charity Commissioners 1821, vol V, 152/3; directories *passim* to 1938; PCC minutes (at Kirkoswald Vicarage) 4 Jan 1938, distribution to a named individual. The Lowthian bequest, still paid to the PCC in 2015, had - since 1945 - been applied to the purchase of altar bread (*inf* Canon David Fowler)

and Dumfries bequeathed £5 yearly to the poor of the parish: by 1897 the performance of this bequest had lapsed, and the funds had been 'lost'.<sup>232</sup>

There was a common lodging house in the Quebec area of Kirkoswald on land owned by the Fetherstonhaughs, recorded between 1851 and 1909; it stood close to the Raven Beck, just upstream from the corn mill. It was pulled down, and the site used for a pumping station, when the Penrith Rural District Council laid a new sewer to remove foul waste to a treatment plant at Lowfield in 1967.<sup>233</sup>

## **RELIGIOUS HISTORY**<sup>234</sup>

### *Origins of the Parish Church*

A church at Kirkoswald, worth £48 pa, is recorded in 1291, but parts of the building date to the twelfth century.<sup>235</sup> The dedication to St Oswald, not explicitly stated until c1600, can be inferred from the name of the township.<sup>236</sup> The existence of a spring under the west end of the church has been connected to Saxon well-worship.<sup>237</sup> A Saxon cross-arm, dated to the ninth or tenth century, was found during restoration work in the north wall of the church in 1879.<sup>238</sup> It has been argued that the western boundary of the Saxon diocese of Hexham lay on the river Eden

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<sup>232</sup> Jefferson 297; *Dir Cumb* 1897, 185; CAS(C), SPC/117/1/1 parish meeting 3 Apr 1897

<sup>233</sup> Censuses 1851 (household 109), 1861 (household 110), 1881 (household 61), 1891 (household 79), 1901 (household 46); Slater *Dir Cumb* 1882; Fetherstonhaugh B-15-7 (rental, 1909); *Memories of Kirkoswald* ('.. an old dark house, where the sewage plant is now, used as a lodging house ..'); *inf* Timothy Fetherstonhaugh; cf *Local Government*

<sup>234</sup> The author acknowledges the help received with this chapter from Canon David Fowler, Helen Armstrong, Ralph Wilkinson, Lydia Gray and Jane Platt

<sup>235</sup> *Taxatio Ecclesiastica* 320; and cf *Institutional appendices* below

<sup>236</sup> *Denton's History* 157

<sup>237</sup> cf for example Nicolson *Miscellany* 116; however well worship may have had wider pagan origins

<sup>238</sup> *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture*; <http://www.ascorpus.ac.uk/catvol2.php>

and that Kirkoswald was in that diocese. It therefore seems that there may have been an original foundation between the eighth and tenth centuries.<sup>239</sup>

From time immemorial the parish of Kirkoswald has included the townships of Kirkoswald and Staffield, and the townships have appointed two churchwardens each.

## ***Religious Life***

### *The Middle Ages to the Reformation*

Before 1523 the church was rectorial, a rector called Martin being recorded in 1246.<sup>240</sup> There were ancient glebe lands, and with tithe and other revenues the church was well endowed. The Dacres, patrons of St Oswald's from 1329 to the Reformation, were a family noted for devotion to the church of Rome: in 1523 Lord Thomas Dacre, second Baron Dacre of the North, created a collegiate church with an attached college for six priests, and at the same time endowed the college with the glebe and other lands and the tithes, yielding a total income in 1534 of more than £25 per annum.<sup>241</sup>

### *The Reformation to 1651*

Following the appointment in 1548 of a commission to secure the forfeiture to the crown of its possessions, the college was eventually suppressed.<sup>242</sup> The crown retained the patronage of St Oswald's (now a vicarage) and sold the property, reserving the sum of £8 for the stipend of a

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<sup>239</sup> Charles Phythian-Adams *Land of the Cumbrians* 1996, Aldershot, Scolar press, 64, 69/70 and 102/3; the author drew on the likely provenance of place names, and mentioned the discovery of Northumbrian *stycas* in Kirkoswald in 1808; note also the possibility that the parish of Renwick may have been carved out of Kirkoswald at an early date - cf *Renwick*

<sup>240</sup> For the period from 1246 to 1372 cf T.H.B.Graham, *Arthuret, Kirlinton and Kirkoswald*, CW2, xxviii (1928), 52f and sources therein cited

<sup>241</sup> *Valor Ecclesiasticus Hen VIII* 26

<sup>242</sup> The precise date is uncertain: it seems likely that Lord William Dacre was able to protect the College for some years and that it survived into and through the reign of Queen Mary. Lord William died in 1563, and the last provost, Rowland Threlkeld, in 1565; all the possessions of the College were leased by the crown to Lord Thomas Dacre in 1566, *Cal Pat* 2439

clergyman.<sup>243</sup> In 1586 Thomas Haughmond (Hammond), who had purchased the tithes from Thomas Skelton, expressed his intention to augment the stipend to £10 p.a., and to spend £10 on building of a house for the incumbent - but finding competent clergymen for an annual stipend of £10 would not be easy.<sup>244</sup>

In 1558, when Queen Mary was on the throne and William third Baron Dacre resident at Kirkoswald Castle, it seems that there was still devotion to the old religion amongst some of the people of Kirkoswald.<sup>245</sup> In 1559 John Scales, who had been listed in 1534 as one of six priests receiving a stipend from the College, was recorded as vicar.<sup>246</sup> After Scales' death in 1566, James Shepherd was instituted to the vicarage of Kirkoswald by right of the queen: Shepherd served first as curate, and later as vicar, and died in 1577.<sup>247</sup> His successor, Thomas Carter, who served as curate until 1585 and later as vicar, began the registration of births deaths and marriages at Kirkoswald in April 1577.<sup>248</sup> Both Shepherd and Carter used the simplest terminology in composing wills, disclosing neither continued adherence to Rome, nor leanings towards Puritanism.<sup>249</sup> Carter died in 1601 and was succeeded by John Allam who was vicar by 1606 and still the incumbent in 1620.<sup>250</sup> Between 1620 and 1642 no Kirkoswald incumbent was recorded in diocesan records. Arthur Bland clerk was recorded as a teacher in Kirkoswald between 1620 and 1633, and William Wilson clerk was raising a family in Kirkoswald between 1636 and 1640; either or both may

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<sup>243</sup> Fetherstonhaugh A-20-1 (cf *institutional appendices*, below)

<sup>244</sup> CAS(C), DSen/ 14/3/1/102, a copy of a 1586 original made in the 1670s; there is no record of a house being built for the incumbent at that time; the same document lists the gross value of the tithes and possessions of the recent College as £23 3s 7d

<sup>245</sup> CAS(C), P 1558 Smith and 1565 Brown, two wills in Roman Catholic style; there are no later Kirkoswald wills of that kind

<sup>246</sup> *Valor Ecclesiasticus Henry VIII* 26; the Royal Visitation of 1559, Surtees, vol 187 (1972) 104

<sup>247</sup> CAS(C), DRC1/3 21 (Bishop Best's register); it is curious that Shepherd was instituted as vicar but for many years described himself, in wills, as curate

<sup>248</sup> CAS(C), PR9/1 (the first register, which was used until 1659); CAS(C) P 1585 Thompson

<sup>249</sup> CAS(C), P series, Kirkoswald wills from 1566 to 1601, most handwritten by Shepherd and Carter

<sup>250</sup> CAS(C), DRC/5/1; P 1620 Bowman

have held the cure of St Oswald's.<sup>251</sup> Robert Milburn, a graduate, was vicar from March 1642 until his death in 1651: the impropiator from 1626 to 1651 was Sir Timothy Fetherstonhaugh, a devoted servant and military ally of King Charles I, and it seems likely, in the absence of contrary evidence, that most Kirkoswald people, including Milburn, would have followed his lead in doctrinal matters.<sup>252</sup>

### *1651-1700*

Sir Timothy Fetherstonhaugh was executed in October 1651 and Robert Milburn also died in that year. After their deaths religious life in the parish of Kirkoswald was profoundly changed by the emergence of an Independent congregation of protestant dissenters.<sup>253</sup> The first steps in the creation of a gathered church on the east side of the River Eden were taken at Melmerby in 1653, and in the same year there was a proposal to appoint a pastor for the church gathered 'in and about Kirkoswald'.<sup>254</sup> John Davis, a noted non-conformist divine, who was 'sent by Cromwell to supply places in the north', purchased a manorial tenement in Kirkoswald in 1656, married there in 1657, and moved on to Northumberland in 1659.<sup>255</sup> He was succeeded by George Nicholson (1636-1697), who was born in Kirkoswald, attended Magdalene College Oxford, 'went down into Cumberland a little before the Bartholomew Act took place' (1661 or

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<sup>251</sup> Nightingale 332; for Bland cf Fetherstonhaugh A-19-1 (1615, 1620) and CAS(C) P 1633 Bowman; somebody was conducting baptisms, marriages and burials, and recording them, for all years between 1620 and 1642 (CAS(C), PR9/1)

<sup>252</sup> Protestation Return 1642; Milburn was buried at Kirkoswald 28 Feb 1651; Nightingale 333

<sup>253</sup> The main sources for the following account are the register of the Huddlesceugh Independent Chapel, TNA, RG4/566 ('Huddlesceugh'); and Cockermouth Congregational Church Book (1651-c1765), R.B. Wordsworth, *CW3* (2012), quoting the journal of George Larkham ('Cockermouth')

<sup>254</sup> Huddlesceugh p4/6 a copy of the original church covenant made by Caleb Threlkeld from a paper given to him by Mrs Rebecca Nicholson, widow of George Nicholson; Cockermouth p8/9

<sup>255</sup> Cockermouth p16 (footnote); CAS(C), D/Mus/1/6/1/3 Kirkoswald Manor Court Oct 1659; the quotation is from Nightingale 334 and Calamy

1662), and died at Kirkoswald in 1697 after 35 years of ministry.<sup>256</sup> Prominent among those supporting Nicholson in the 1670s and 1680s was Richard Wilson of Crossfield (Staffield), who was recorded as an elder of the Independent church at Kirkoswald in 1673 and 1678, and whose daughter Mary Wilson, who died aged 19 in 1672, was remembered as ‘the Virgin Saint’.<sup>257</sup> In 1700 Nicholson’s successor, Caleb Threlkeld, recorded 191 names of persons worshipping in the Independent church (not all resident in Kirkoswald),<sup>258</sup> and it seems that the strength of dissent seriously undermined the authority of the Church of England in the parish.

After Milburn’s death in January 1651, no Anglican minister was resident in Kirkoswald until the installation of John Rumney in 1685 - from 1668 George Yates rector of Croglin, Thomas Robinson curate of Addingham, and George Sanderson (Yates’ successor at Croglin) were in turn assigned to the cure of Kirkoswald, but struggled to perform the task.<sup>259</sup> The church register was maintained in good order until March 1659, but from 1660 to 1685 all entries seem to be back-dated and haphazard.<sup>260</sup> It seems likely that the Independents had control of St Oswald’s Church from 1653, and that, despite the Act of Uniformity 1662, the Conventicle Act 1664 and the Five Mile Act 1665, Anglican control was not fully restored until the 1680s. The strength of the Independents is shown by an order of Bishop Edward Rainbow dated 10 Apr 1673. George Towry of Croglin Hall had been assigned a pew in the church and it was claimed that:

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<sup>256</sup> Calamy (revised) 366 (the Bartholomew Act was the Act of Uniformity 1662); there are numerous mentions of Nicholson’s ministry, dealt with at length in Nightingale 337/341

<sup>257</sup> Cocker mouth p50, 70; *The Virgin Saint*, Jackson Collection (Carlisle Central Library); Nicolson *Miscellany* 118 transcribes a memorial to Mary Wilson in Kirkoswald church

<sup>258</sup> Huddlesceugh p3

<sup>259</sup> CAS(C), DRC/5/2, DRC/5/3, DRC/5/4, recorded as either ‘*lector*’ or ‘*curate*’; Yates verified a Kirkoswald inventory in 1669, and Sanderson 21 from 1672 to 1685; from 1686 Rumney signed

<sup>260</sup> CAS(C), PR9/1 and PR9/2, the two earliest surviving church registers: the first three pages of the second volume contain a scatter of retrospective baptisms and only 3 burials (and no marriages) for a period covering 25 years; however somebody was able to submit full bishop’s transcripts for some of those years, and in 1667, 1673 and 1678 they were signed by Sanderson

... some of the parish have abetted & animated their servants or children to intrude forcibly into the said pew and to molest & keep out George Towry & his family from sitting there .. and particularly that a rude fellow was permitted to threaten Mr Burton a neighbouring minister then officiating .. with many reproachful words .., and [they] have also discouraged divers ministers who have freely offered .. to preach in that church which hath been so long destitute of a minister.<sup>261</sup>

The order also demanded the return of the church key. The lack of resident clergy, hostile people power and the purloining of the church key by the dissenters were not the only problems: there were several years in which no churchwardens were appointed, and other years in which appointees refused to serve;<sup>262</sup> and St Oswald's was falling into serious disrepair.<sup>263</sup> The Independents for their part were punished by the magistrates for offending against the Clarendon Code and were for a time compelled to meet in groups of four.<sup>264</sup>

This situation would have benefited nobody, and it seems that an agreement was eventually reached under which control of St Oswald's was restored to the Anglicans, and the Independents acquired land at Huddlesceugh on which they could build a meeting place without

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<sup>261</sup> CAS(C), DSen/ 14/3/1/102 - the order is signed by the bishop and three magistrates, and marked '*for Mr George Sanderson the minister of Kirkoswald.. and any other minister who officiates in the church of Kirkoswald*'; George Towry of Croglin Hall was a recent arrival in the parish, and had in 1663 become impropriator by acquisition of the right to receive tithes (Fetherstonhaugh A-20-14)

<sup>262</sup> CAS(C), PR9/5, appointments of village officers 1667/1670; in 1672 Rowland Nicholson and Thomas Threlkeld were presented for refusing to accept office as churchwarden - CAS(C), DRC 5/4

<sup>263</sup> CAS(C), DSen/14/3/1/102, another order of Bishop Rainbow, 27 Aug 1673, to repair the chancel of Kirkoswald church then 'in a ruinous condition and in imminent danger of a sudden fall' - addressed to the churchwardens, Thomas Fetherstonhaugh, George Towry, and others

<sup>264</sup> Cockermonth 37 (1670) '.. the brethren about Kirkoswald who had suffered in the spoiling of their goods by the late act against meetings ..' and 55 (1674) ' .. people of God about Kirkoswald, who have been barred of their liberty and are forced to meet by fours ..'

attracting the hostile attention of the magistrates.<sup>265</sup> George Nicholson is recorded as owning a barn at Huddlesceugh in 1684, and it seems likely that this was the forerunner of the chapel built in 1711.<sup>266</sup> From 1685 John Rumney and the churchwardens were in full control of St Oswald's - but many years would pass before the church was repaired.<sup>267</sup>

#### 1700-1840

John Rumney, who was also curate at Renwick and lived at Highbankhill, served Kirkoswald as curate from 1685 to 1712, and as vicar from 1725 to his death in 1738.<sup>268</sup> John Fisher served as vicar of Kirkoswald from 1774 to his death in 1827.<sup>269</sup> In 1703 Thomas Fetherstonhaugh (d. 1738) presented the church with books and 'a little press cupboard' for them.<sup>270</sup>

The Independents continued to gather strength: from 1700 they kept their own record of baptisms, and in 1711 they built a chapel in Huddlesceugh on the site of their previous meeting place, later known as Parkhead chapel.<sup>271</sup> It seems that ill-feeling between the Anglicans and the Independents resurfaced in 1712. Soon after Parkhead Chapel had been built, Caleb Threlkeld, minister at Huddlesceugh since 1700, was accused in Quarter Sessions of threatening James

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<sup>265</sup> There is no record of an agreement, nor of the gift (or sale) of land at Huddlesceugh to the independents, but also in CAS(C), DSen/14/3/1/102 is an undated letter from 14 tithepayers, nine of whom were dissenters, saying *Mr Sanderson will have his £8'*

<sup>266</sup> CAS(C), D/Mus/1/6/1/3, Kirkoswald manor court 22 Oct 1684; I am indebted to David Wykes, director of the Williams Library, Euston, for the suggestion that a barn may have been used for worship

<sup>267</sup> cf *Institutional Appendices*, below

<sup>268</sup> Wills and Visitations *passim*; between 1712 and 1725 there were curates James Wannup, William Milner (DRC/5/6) and Rumney himself in 1724 (bishop's transcript); from 1725 the parish was able to support a resident vicar due to the purchase of glebe lands with the assistance of £200 from Queen Anne's Bounty and a matching amount raised from the parishioners.

<sup>269</sup> CAS(C), DRC/22/167, terriers of 1731 and 1777; Fisher established a parsonage at Blunderfield

<sup>270</sup> CAS(C), PR9/5, churchwardens account book 1704/5 - the books included works by Dr Hammond and Dr Taylor; in his will (1738, Fetherstonhaugh A-22-15) Thomas Fetherstonhaugh bequeathed more books (and money) to the church 'to be laid on the table in the chancel for the inhabitants to read on Lord's Day', with money for the repair of pews and for building a house for the vicar

<sup>271</sup> Huddlesceugh p3



Tolson, a blind man and a member of his congregation, with physical violence: Threlkeld was bound over to keep the peace and soon afterwards resigned and moved to Dublin. At about the same time John Rumney resigned his curacies of Kirkoswald and Renwick and took up a teaching post in neighbouring Addingham. There is nothing on record to relate these two events, but the coincidence is striking.<sup>272</sup> Rumney returned to his ministry in 1724, but the Independents were without a resident minister until 1733 when Adam Dean began more than half a century of ministry at Parkhead Chapel.<sup>273</sup> Before 1760 the Independents used St Oswald's graveyard, but thereafter buried their dead at Parkhead. Until 1821, when a Methodist chapel was built in Kirkoswald, Parkhead chapel was the only place of dissenting worship in Kirkoswald.<sup>274</sup>

1840 - 2016

By 1851 the Independents had built a chapel in Kirkoswald village, at Sandhill; and there were five places of worship in the township, weekly average attendance being recorded as - St Oswald's 80; Methodist 130; Parkhead 35; Sandhill Independent chapel 60/70; Busk (Independent, monthly worship in a private house) 12.<sup>275</sup> The Methodists were enjoying rapid growth, and within the parish of Kirkoswald outnumbered the independents - and the two combined outnumbered the Anglicans by about three to one. In 1871 Kirkoswald Methodist Circuit was established and Kirkoswald Methodist Chapel was rebuilt, with, in 1874, a manse opposite to it.<sup>276</sup> The new chapel was registered for the solemnisation of marriages in 1875. In 1904 the Methodist Sunday school was attended by 26 children.<sup>277</sup>

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<sup>272</sup> CAS(C), Q/11, 1712, doc 15, and Huddlesceugh p8 (memorandum of Threlkeld's dismissal); he died in Dublin in 1728 and is remembered in ODNB for his published work on botany

<sup>273</sup> Huddlesceugh pp20/21

<sup>274</sup> cf *institutional appendices*, below

<sup>275</sup> TNA, HO129/565 (religious census 1851); TNA, RG4/688 - the Independents also built a chapel at Gamblesby in 1824, both chapels being served by the minister at Parkhead

<sup>276</sup> Trust deed of 6 Dec 1870 in possession of Superintendent Minister of the circuit; for the manse, Fetherstonhaugh A-6-14 (1871) and CAS (C), FCM/4/1/17 (1874); FCM 4/1/4 for size of chapel

<sup>277</sup> *London Gazette*, 5 Jan 1875; CAS(C), FCM/4/1/76

The Independents continued to flourish under the ministry of William Gibson (1839-1847) and Joseph Redmayne (1847-1860).<sup>278</sup> The Kirkoswald Independent chapel was rebuilt (in Back Lane Kirkoswald) in 1865; in 1867 the endowed land included nine acres, worth £20 p.a.; and a Sunday school with four teachers and 16 scholars was commenced in 1868.<sup>279</sup> The highest combined attendance at Kirkoswald and Parkhead chapels, in 1889, was 71, and there were a bible class and mutual improvement societies for young men and women.<sup>280</sup> Three bequests to Parkhead chapel were recorded in the 1880s and 1890s.<sup>281</sup> In 1891 the last full-time resident minister at Parkhead, Robert Batey, was appointed to serve the chapels at Parkhead, Kirkoswald and Gamblesby.<sup>282</sup> Parkhead chapel was registered for the solemnisation of marriages in 1901.<sup>283</sup> Rising concern after 1918 about falling numbers, and the ability of the now elderly Robert Batey to cope, led to a decision in 1927 not to replace him, and first the chapel at Kirkoswald and then Parkhead closed.<sup>284</sup>

St Oswald's church was also strongly supported in Victorian times: repairs and reseating were made in 1845-47; and a further restoration carried out in 1878-79 by John Cory.<sup>285</sup> In 1859 a hearse was acquired by public subscription.<sup>286</sup> In 1864 the vicar John Best held morning and afternoon services with sermons and a cottage lecture once a week, and there were 60 communicants, average attendance 30, collections for Pastoral Aid Society and Church Missionary Society, a Sunday school for children up to age 14, and monthly lectures for adults in

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<sup>278</sup> In 1851 Redmayne wrote 'at Kirkoswald we have held open communion with such recognised members of the Wesleyan Society as choose to join us, and would here express a hope that such may long continue to be the case' (CAS (C), DFCCL/13/11, p10)

<sup>279</sup> CAS(C), L13/5/11

<sup>280</sup> CAS(C), DFCCL13/1, reports of the Cumberland Congregational Union

<sup>281</sup> CAS(C), DFCCL13/43; cf *institutional appendices*

<sup>282</sup> CAS(C), DFCCL/17 is a circuit plan, 1898, for all three Independent chapels

<sup>283</sup> *London Gazette*, 8 Feb 1901

<sup>284</sup> CAS(C), L13/5 - executive committee minute book p181 'church life is almost non-existent in this church and its branches at Kirkoswald & Gamblesby'; cf *Institutional Appendices*, below

<sup>285</sup> For details of repairs to the church cf *Institutional Appendices*, below

<sup>286</sup> CAS(C), DCC Acc/ 3966 1864 ; there was high demand for reserved pews

the reading room and library. In 1872 he described St Oswald's as 'one of the best attended country churches in the diocese'.<sup>287</sup> In 1878 Canon John Ransom wrote 'Wesleyanism has a strong hold on the people here & there is a small body of Independents .. neither strongly antagonistic to the church system'.<sup>288</sup> Canon John Thornley started a church magazine in 1895.<sup>289</sup>

Before 1914 it was not unusual for Kirkoswald residents to attend divine service at St Oswald's and the two non-conformist chapels on the same Sunday,<sup>290</sup> but after 1918 all denominations suffered declining attendance. In 1939 the Anglicans organised the knitting of blankets by schoolgirls for Polish refugees. The vicar John Bailey was keen to improve the church choir, and gave regular lectures at the church institute about missionary work. In 1945 the Methodists raised funds for the rebuilding of bombed churches.<sup>291</sup> In August 1945 it was recorded that 'there has lately been a falling off of attendance in [St Oswald's] church'; and in 1946 Sir Richard and Lady Denman organised a meeting at Staffield Hall 'to promote the drawing together of Christian bodies' - perhaps a forerunner of later initiatives to promote closer relations between Anglicans and Methodists, very much a live issue in 2016.<sup>292</sup>

### *Institutional Appendices*

#### *St Oswald's Church*

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<sup>287</sup> CAS(C) DCC Acc/ 3966 1872

<sup>288</sup> *ibid* 1878

<sup>289</sup> CAS(C) DX1076/1

<sup>290</sup> Oral evidence of Florence Tiffin (b 1908), taken by Ruth Lee in 1993

<sup>291</sup> CAS(C) DX1274/7 (1939); FCM 4/1/4 (1945)

<sup>292</sup> CAS(C) DX1274/13 (1946); a meeting was convened by Bishop James Newcomb of Carlisle in Kirkoswald in December 2015 to discuss with both Anglicans and Methodists their developing collaboration. These discussions continue as this article is published.

Parts of the church, the nave and chancel, and the north and south aisles, have been dated to the twelfth century.<sup>293</sup> A western extension of the nave, with chapels flanking the chancel, was added in the fourteenth century; and the chancel was rebuilt (and the chapels removed) in 1523, at which time a clerestory and a wooden north porch were added.<sup>294</sup> The size of the 1523 chancel, described in 1707 as ‘much too large and too fine’,<sup>295</sup> no doubt reflected Lord Thomas Dacre’s ambitions for his collegiate church. There was no church tower, but a bell tower with three bells stands on an adjacent hill: its existence is recorded in 1568; bellringers were paid wages in 1641;<sup>296</sup> and in 1814 the bell tower was painted white and described as ‘a very conspicuous object.’<sup>297</sup> The present structure was raised in 1893. The weather vane bears the date 1743.

In 1608 the chancel, windows, timber, walls and ‘divers other places’ were ‘in great decay and the same ought to be repaired by the King's Majesty out of the tythes.’<sup>298</sup> In 1681 the chancel was ‘in total decay’.<sup>299</sup> By 1704/5 the roof had twice fallen in, and the impropiators Timothy Fetherstonhaugh and George Towry were presented for neglecting to repair it.<sup>300</sup> In 1814 the roof was good,<sup>301</sup> but in 1840 the Kirkoswald vestry resolved at a special meeting that ‘in consideration of the uncomfortable state of the roof, ceiling and pews of the church a thorough repair be made’: in December 1845 contractors were appointed, and subscriptions of £300 were

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<sup>293</sup> CAS(C), DX/835/3, MS of John Cory, architect of the 1878/9 restoration .. ‘a small building c1130, extended by pillars to support the roof, a new aisle c1160 and a second aisle c1180’

<sup>294</sup> Hyde & Pevsner 475

<sup>295</sup> Nicolson *Miscellany* 115

<sup>296</sup> TNA, LR2/213, field name Bellhouse Hill, 1568; CAS(C), PR9/5, churchwardens accounts 1641f; Fetherstonhaugh B-10 for 1893 restoration

<sup>297</sup> Fletcher 243

<sup>298</sup> TNA, LR2/212, 5 Apr 1608, a survey of the rectory (*sic*) and tithes by Henry Fetherston the King’s overseer; the gross value of tithes and oblations was £30, less £8 for vicar’s stipend and 9s due to the diocese; Hammond’s lease of the tithes had expired at Michaelmas 1607

<sup>299</sup> Bishop’s Transcript 1681

<sup>300</sup> Nicolson *Miscellany* 116 (1704), Bishop’s Transcripts 1705; Todd (1712) says the roof is ‘large covered with lead’ so it seems that the impropiators did repair the chancel between 1706 and 1712

<sup>301</sup> Walter Fletcher, 154

raised.<sup>302</sup> By 1847 49 new pews had been installed, on a new seating plan, all allocated to named families or properties.<sup>303</sup> In 1862 the interior of the church was ‘in excellent condition, lately repaired and improved’.<sup>304</sup> Nevertheless further restoration, to the ceilings of nave and aisles, creation of a vestry and the installation of heating, was carried out in 1878/9 under the direction of John Cory at a cost of about £1,400, all of which was raised by public subscription.<sup>305</sup> Hot water pipes were installed in the church in 1884<sup>306</sup>; and electric lighting in 1938/9.<sup>307</sup>

Maintenance of the wall about the churchyard was traditionally the responsibility of the tenants of some of the larger farms in the parish, including Staffield. In 1768 eleven such tenants are recorded with the assigned lengths of wall and their proprietorial marks. An additional sum to complete the task of repair was raised by purvey.<sup>308</sup>

Both Thomas Hammond in 1586, and Thomas Fetherstonhaugh in 1738 provided money for a vicarage, but the earliest recorded parsonage is that on the glebe land at Blunderfield, where the long-serving vicar John Fisher lived from about 1800.<sup>309</sup> In 1867 a vicarage was built between the church and the castle, adjoining the road to Glassonby, on an acre of land donated by Sir George Musgrave: the cost was £1,200.<sup>310</sup> In 1983 a house was purchased in Little Sandhill for temporary

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<sup>302</sup> CAS(C), PR9/34

<sup>303</sup> CAS(C), PR9/47

<sup>304</sup> Glynn, 1862, 83

<sup>305</sup> CAS(C), PR9/33 and Fetherstonhaugh B-22-12 (funding) and PR9/27 (faculty)

<sup>306</sup> Fetherstonhaugh B-14-10

<sup>307</sup> CAS(C), DX1274/4 (parochial magazine)

<sup>308</sup> CAS(C), PR9/5, churchwardens account book 1768; Sir Philip Musgrave contributed 2 guineas; some proprietorial marks could still be seen in 2016

<sup>309</sup> Fletcher 154; Fisher may have used a farmstead acquired with the glebeland; in 1855 Bishop Percy described the Blunderfield parsonage as unfit and it was pulled down when the new vicarage was built

<sup>310</sup> CAS(C), DRC/22/167, terrier of 1867: funding included £400 from the Lord Chancellor, £200 by subscription, £200 from the Diocesan Society, £200 from the Church Commissioners, £200 from the incumbent John Best

use as a vicarage, and in 1985 a new site in Kirkoswald was purchased, and a vicarage built for £150,000, and was in use in 2016 as the vicarage for the benefice.<sup>311</sup>

*Patronage, organisation and value of the benefice*

In the Middle Ages the patronage of the rectory ran with the chief lordship of the manor. After the suppression of the Collegiate Church it was in crown hands and so used in 1566. In 1877, by an exchange with West Ashby in Lincolnshire, it passed to the Bishop of Carlisle.<sup>312</sup> The benefice was reconfigured on several occasions: in 1941 the northern and eastern parts of the parish of Kirkoswald were transferred to the parish of Renwick; in 1954 Kirkoswald was united with Renwick in a united benefice of Kirkoswald with Renwick; in 1976 Ainstable was added; in 2000 Ainstable was detached and Lazonby and Great Salkeld added to make a united benefice of Kirkoswald, Renwick, Lazonby and Great Salkeld.<sup>313</sup> A Kirkoswald Deanery was created in 1926, and merged into the Penrith Deanery in 1969.<sup>314</sup>

In 1534, the college and glebe were worth 40s, plus tithes and oblations worth £23 15s: the collegiate status was shared with Dacre, and stipends were paid to the vicars of Kirkoswald and Dacre and to five chaplains. By 1566, all that remained out of the endowment was the vicarial stipend of £8.<sup>315</sup> In 1731, after funds received from Queen Anne's Bounty had been used to buy land,<sup>316</sup> the annual value of the glebe (houses and land at Highbankhill, Blunderfield, and

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<sup>311</sup> *inf* Canon David Fowler

<sup>312</sup> cf London Gazette 1 May 1877; with thanks to Canon David Fowler for locating this source

<sup>313</sup> Orders in Council published in the London Gazette 1 May 1941, 16 Apr 1954, 11 Mar 1976, 4 Dec 1999 (at the vicarage, Kirkoswald); in 2012 the parish of Renwick was enlarged to include Croglin.

<sup>314</sup> CAS(C), DRC/11/5/2; *London Gazette* 13 Aug 1926; with thanks to Canon David Fowler

<sup>315</sup> *Valor Ecclesiasticus Hen VIII* 26; Fetherstonhaugh A-20-1, a conveyance of 1587, reciting a grant of 1580 to Thomas Skelton (see *religious life*, above)

<sup>316</sup> Fletcher 1814 records the 1725 donations as £200 from the principal parishioners and £200 from the governors of Queen Anne's Bounty

Lazonby), with other profits of the vicarage and the stipend of £8, was £34 1s.<sup>317</sup> By 1777 more glebe land had been purchased at Penrith for £420, and the annual value of the living was £64.<sup>318</sup> This rose to £120 in 1847, £293 in 1897 and £330 in 1938, by which time the glebe land had been sold.<sup>319</sup>

#### *Parkhead and Kirkoswald Independent Chapels*

Parkhead chapel was built in 1711 on land originally acquired by George Nicholson and donated to trustees for the Independent church.<sup>320</sup> Additional chapels were built in Gamblesby in 1824 and in Sandhill, Kirkoswald before 1851.<sup>321</sup> The Kirkoswald Independent chapel was rebuilt (in Back Lane Kirkoswald) in 1865.<sup>322</sup> The three chapels belonged to the Cumberland Congregational Union from 1871.<sup>323</sup>

The endowment included a manse, barn, an adjacent field, burying ground and Halls Close.<sup>324</sup> Elizabeth Crampton of Kirkoswald (d. 1885) left £100 to the trustees of the Kirkoswald Congregational chapel; and John Benson of Gamblesby and his brother Joseph (both d. 1897) left annuities of £7 and £5, towards the minister's salary - which from 1888 was £66 p.a. plus a small grant received from the Congregational Union.<sup>325</sup> After 1927, when the minister was not replaced, all activity ceased at Kirkoswald chapel, and authority to sell it was given by the Charity

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<sup>317</sup> CAS(C), DRC/22/167, terriers of 1731 and 1749; the land at Blunderfield where John Fisher's parsonage stood, was recorded as 39 acres in 1867, and included an allotment on Scarrowmanwick Fell

<sup>318</sup> *ibid*, terrier of 1777; funds for purchase included £200 from Queen Anne's Bounty, £200 from Lady Gower, and £20 from the parish stock

<sup>319</sup> *ibid*, for sales of land; *Dir Cumb* for value of living in 1847, 1897, 1938

<sup>320</sup> The deed of acquisition, probably from Barwis Huddlesceugh Hall in about 1680, has not been found; the freehold is recorded in Kirkoswald manor court 1725 as 'house & croft' free rent 2d

<sup>321</sup> TNA, HO129/565 (religious census 1851); TNA, RG4/688

<sup>322</sup> CAS(C), DFCCL/13/5 - pastor Joseph Redmayne's 'Kirk Elim Church Book', pp 21 and 45

<sup>323</sup> CAS(C), DFCCL13/1, reports of the Cumberland Congregational Union

<sup>324</sup> CAS(C), DFCCL/13/12A; Hall's Close, 6 acres, was purchased with £20 bequeathed before 1712 by John Hall of Headsnook for the support of a minister at Huddlesceugh (Huddlesceugh p8)

<sup>325</sup> - *ibid* - and DFCCL/13/1; the grant from 1891 was £20 p.a.

Commissioners in 1938:<sup>326</sup> in 2016 it was used for storage. Parkhead chapel was sold in 1975, and in 2016 was a private house.<sup>327</sup>

### *Kirkoswald Wesleyan Chapel*

A Methodist chapel was built in Sandhill, Kirkoswald in 1821,<sup>328</sup> and had a congregation of 130 in 1851.<sup>329</sup> It was replaced in 1871 and the building sold, being a private house in 2016. The first quarterly meeting of the newly formed Kirkoswald circuit was held at Kirkoswald on 27 Sept 1871,<sup>330</sup> and in the same year a new chapel was built at a cost of £1,000, on land given by Sir George Musgrave on the right hand side of the road to Staffield, together with, in 1874, a manse opposite to it.<sup>331</sup> The new chapel held 242 sittings, and was registered for the solemnisation of marriages in 1875.<sup>332</sup> In 1950 the building was extended to create a kitchen; and in the 1980s the former schoolroom was made into a chapel and furnished with the communion rail and pulpit from the recently closed Ousby Chapel. At the same time the pews were removed in the main chapel and there was a service of rededication in 1997.<sup>333</sup> The average attendance in 2014 was 25.<sup>334</sup> In 2016 the chapel was still used for worship, as well as for a variety of community activities, including school productions, a choir and meetings of the guides.<sup>335</sup>

## **LOCAL GOVERNMENT**

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<sup>326</sup> CAS(C), DFCCL13/12A and 13/43

<sup>327</sup> *Cumberland & Westmorland Herald* 1 Mar 1975

<sup>328</sup> 1821 date stone on building (now a private house); Parsons & White, *Dir Cum* 1829

<sup>329</sup> TNA, HO129/565 (religious census 1851); CAS(C), FCM/4/175 (account book, first chapel)

<sup>330</sup> CAS(C), FCM/4/1/1; the circuit included chapels at Gamblesby, Hunsonby, Ainstable, Skirwith, Renwick, Langwathby, Glassonby, Lazonby, Salkeld Dykes, Ousby and Temple Sowerby

<sup>331</sup> Trust deed of 6 Dec 1870 in possession of Superintendent Minister of the circuit; for the manse, Fetherstonhaugh A-6-14 (1871) and CAS (C), FCM/4/1/17 (1874); FCM 4/1/4 for size of chapel

<sup>332</sup> *London Gazette*, 5 Jan 1875

<sup>333</sup> Planning approval 1950, in possession of Superintendent Minister; *Methodist Journal* Autumn 1986 (with thanks to Ralph Wilkinson); *inf* Helen Armstrong

<sup>334</sup> The Methodist Church *Statistics for Mission*, 2014, with thanks to Ralph Wilkinson

<sup>335</sup> *inf* Helen Armstrong



### *Manorial Government*

In 1569, when a swain mote court was held in the name of the Duke of Norfolk on behalf of the child 5<sup>th</sup> Baron Dacre, Kirkoswald was grouped with Glassonby and Lazonby, and the steward was the duke's appointee John Myddleton.<sup>336</sup> Courts baron were held (for Kirkoswald alone) between 1619 and 1634 in the name of the crown lessee Thomas Bartram: they dealt with appointment of township officers (constables, apprisers, aletasters, frithmen, surveyors and affearers), admittances, small claims, ameracements for husbandry offences and defamation, and administration of the market. In 1629 the court referred a dispute between Bartram and a Kirkoswald tenant to arbitration; and in 1630 it recorded the obligations of the tenantry to work boone days and deliver coal to Bartram.<sup>337</sup>

### *Vestry government*

The manor court ceased to appoint township officers after 1639, the vestry assuming responsibility from 1640 onwards.<sup>338</sup> Until 1708 there was a single vestry for the whole parish, with appointments being made in equal numbers, and accounts kept, for both Kirkoswald and Staffield. By decision of Quarter Sessions in April 1708, the two townships were thereafter separately administered for poor law purposes and after 1713 no further Staffield appointments were made by Kirkoswald vestry.<sup>339</sup>

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<sup>336</sup> Muniments of the Duke of Norfolk, Arundel Castle, M517 (no other pre-1600 manor court rolls survive); the court was styled 'Swain Moat' because it included Lazonby in forest of Inglewood

<sup>337</sup> CAS(C), DMus1/box 8; rolls survive for 1619, 1620, 1627, 1629/31, 1634; and fragments for 1637/40; manor courts were resumed in the name of Francis Lennard from 1653 and held annually until 1815, but the boone day obligations are not further recorded after 1650; the courts were styled 'Court Baron' without 'Court Leat'

<sup>338</sup> CAS(C), PR9/5, PR9/34, PR9/35 - vestry records upon which the following discussion is based

<sup>339</sup> CAS(C), Q6/1, p512

In each year the vestry appointed governors of the parish stock, churchwardens (except from 1668 to 1670), constables, overseers of the poor, and assessors - two of each, one chosen from the Low Quarter, the other from the High Quarter. The two Kirkoswald governors of the parish stock were appointed from men who held either freehold or customary title to land, and between 1641 and 1660 the nominees were all farmers. The offices of churchwarden, constable and overseer rotated: in 1669 it was ordered by the parishioners that the office of churchwarden, left vacant in that year, should henceforth 'go according to the custom ... that every churchwarden appoint his next neighbour in course as formerly they have done' - implying that the house row system was in use. After the split with Staffield in 1708, the governors were generally appointed from amongst men seen as offering experience and reliability, and from 1717 it was usual to reappoint from year to year. Jonathan Barnfather of Busk (d. 1773, farmer) held the office 16 times; Michael Nicholson of Townend (d. 1730, smallholder and tradesman) nine times; and eight other men for periods of three to five years. The other offices rotated: farmers still predominated, but the miller John Towlson (d. 1725) served as churchwarden five times, and the merchant Joseph Smith (d. 1723) served as assessor nine times.<sup>340</sup>

Annual accounts were presented, usually in January, by the overseers from 1715 and by churchwardens and constables from 1724. Surveyors of highways were also recorded from 1696 to 1708. After 1740 the overseers and constables, who were responsible for collecting the land tax until 1760 (after which collectors of land tax were appointed), accounted separately for Low and High Quarters. The vestry concerned themselves occasionally with details of poor relief, recording two recipients of weekly pensions in 1707, and from 1745 lists of pensioners. They supervised the investment of the poor and school stocks, and the application of interest. In 1753

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<sup>340</sup> CAS(C), PR9/5 -1708/1755; and see also manor court rolls for the same period, Jonathan Barnfather and the merchant Edward Thornbarrow were most frequently appointed as foremen

they built a poorhouse, apparently disused by 1763.<sup>341</sup> The vestry dealt with the repair of the church yard wall and the maintenance of the pinfold. In 1791 an agreement was made with Sir Philip Musgrave for the use of a spring called Higher Common Well to supply water to the village. The supply was taken to the Townhead pump, the middle pump and the Market Cross pump, with extensions to the College and an inn.<sup>342</sup>

By 1834 Kirkoswald had a select vestry which met fortnightly to deal with all applications for poor relief.<sup>343</sup> After the parish became part of the Penrith Poor Law Union in 1836 the vestry met less frequently but continued to be active in other areas of parish governance, both civil and religious. They continued to appoint township officials (including from 1837 a surveyor of highways); and they revised the valuation list in 1838 and 1859-60. In 1842 they resolved to macadamise the village street.

In 1873 the recently appointed Penrith Rural Sanitary Committee received a report from their Medical Officer Dr J.D.Robertson about an outbreak of typhoid in Kirkoswald thought to be due to inadequate drainage. Kirkoswald was constituted a Special Drainage District, and following an inquiry in 1874, a scheme was prepared, to be funded by a local rate. In 1875 the vestry commissioned drainage works and authorised the raising of funds, and by November of that year a new sewer (together with a parallel sewer in Back Lane) had been installed to drain into the Raven beck.<sup>344</sup> This system was replaced in 1967 with a sewage works at Lowfield.<sup>345</sup>

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<sup>341</sup> cf *Social History*; also *Our Cumberland Village*, 158, where a schedule of the goods belonging to the poorhouse of Kirkoswald is transcribed from a document now lost, said to be dated 1775

<sup>342</sup> *Mid Cumberland and North Westmorland Herald* 14 Jan 1896, quoting a letter from solicitors acting for the Musgraves (vestry records do not survive for 1791); and 22 Dec 1891, an anonymous letter purporting to describe the experiences of the spring on Higher Common

<sup>343</sup> CAS(C), PR9/34; in 1834 the select vestry included the vicar, 10 farmers, a papermaker, a spirit merchant and a surgeon, and meetings were usually chaired by farmers: after 1870 it was more usual for the vicars John Ransome and John Thornley to preside

<sup>344</sup> CAS(C), SRDP/1/1/1 pp 29, 38, 84

<sup>345</sup> CAS(C), SRDP/1/3/30

From 1887 to 1892, in correspondence with the Penrith Union Rural Sanitary Authority, the vestry considered several schemes for improving the water supply to the whole village, and in 1892 agreed to new water works with tanks and an iron pipe, using the same source of supply, the cost to be defrayed by a water charge upon the consumers, and also to carry the water main down the back street from Townhead. By 1894 these works had been completed.<sup>346</sup>

A police officer was stationed in Kirkoswald by 1854: a police house was provided in 1925 in Sandhill, and replaced in 1960. In 1990 the house was sold and there was no longer a resident police officer in the village.<sup>347</sup>

#### *Post 1894 Arrangements*

The Penrith Rural District Council came into being in 1895, and Kirkoswald Parish Council was constituted the same year, its nine members being elected at annual parish meetings, the first of which (chaired by the vicar Canon John Thornley) was held in December 1894 followed thereafter by annual meetings in March.<sup>348</sup> Early consideration was given to street lighting, and a motion to adopt the Lighting & Watch Act 1833 and to light the township with oil lamps was defeated in 1895. Electric street lighting was eventually installed in 1933.<sup>349</sup> There was occasional expenditure on repair of footbridges, and after 1910 small sums were contributed to heating and lighting the Church Institute.<sup>350</sup>

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<sup>346</sup> CAS(C), PR9/35; OS1900 records a covered reservoir on the Higher Common

<sup>347</sup> *Inf* Neville Jackson and John Haugh; a policeman called Jonas Catherall is recorded at CAS(C), QPL4, p38f (1854); a resident constable was enumerated in the 1861 census (household 84)

<sup>348</sup> CAS(C), SPC/117/1/1: between 1894 and 1934, Staffield continued to be administered separately from Kirkoswald, but to begin with there seems to have been some confusion because 3 of the 9 parish councillors first elected were Staffield men.

<sup>349</sup> *ibid* (1895), and SPC/117/1/2 (1933); the village was connected to the national grid in January 1934 (*Cumberland and Westmorland Herald* 13 Jan 1934)

<sup>350</sup> CAS(C), SPC/117/2/1

In 1912 the village water supply (still obtained from Higher Common) was extended to Town End.<sup>351</sup> In 1928 it was planned to take a new supply from the mill dam on Cannerheugh Gill to serve Busk and Parkhead, with an onward connection via Highbankhill to the reservoir on Higher Common; but implementation of this was delayed and Parkhead did not receive a mains water supply until after 1945.<sup>352</sup>

In 1934 Kirkoswald civil parish was enlarged to include Staffield and Renwick.<sup>353</sup> In 2016 the parish council continued to meet monthly, raising a precept (mainly applied to grants to support community organisations), administering small parcels of parish council land, registered in the 1990s,<sup>354</sup> and responding to planning applications. In addition they have given encouragement to community enterprise such as entry into 'Best Kept Village' competitions (which Kirkoswald won in 1958 to 1960, 1963, 1971, 1974 and 1978), and the research and writing of this article.<sup>355</sup>

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<sup>351</sup> *Mid Cumberland and North Westmorland Herald*, 11 Feb 1896, 17 Feb 1912

<sup>352</sup> CAS(C), SRDP 3/4/22, a 1928 map showing the proposed scheme; *inf* John Haugh

<sup>353</sup> Cumberland Review Order 1934

<sup>354</sup> CQRE/125 (Kirkoswald enclosure 1876), plot 76 (Berrimoor Common) 4 acres allotted to the churchwardens and overseers of the poor of the township of Kirkoswald to be held as an allotment for the labouring poor subject to rent charge of £1 14s; also the former Pinfold on the south side of the Raven close to Kirkoswald bridge

<sup>355</sup> 'Best Kept Village' victory records held at the Church Institute; the water supply was reorganised in 1990 with a large holding tank near Cannerheugh farm, but about this Kirkoswald Parish Council was not consulted (*inf* Neville Jackson and John Haugh)