

Victoria County History of Cumbria Project: Work in Progress**Interim Draft**

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Parish/township: **STANWIX – RELIGIOUS HISTORY**

Author: **Jane Platt**

Date of draft: August 2013

Stanwix passed from royal ownership within the forest of Inglewood to Walter the Priest and thence to St Mary's Abbey, Carlisle, c.1150, when Bishop Athelwold confirmed the church at Stanwix and land at Linstock and Rickerby to the abbey, along with other land and property.¹ The parish church lay in Stanwix township, no other township in the parish demonstrating an Established Church presence except at Linstock – where there was a hermit's hut, and a chapel attached to the medieval castle – until the erection of a church at Houghton in 1840-41, Cargo used its school-room for religious services in the 1860s, and a mission church was built in Belah housing estate in 1951-52.² The ecclesiastical parish of Stanwix reduced in size in 1868-69 when Linstock became part of the adjoining ecclesiastical parish of Crosby-on-Eden and Cargo

¹ CAS (Carlisle) PR/117/26: Churchwardens' account book, Hugh Todd; transcribed by J. R. Wood, 'The Parish of Stanwix', *CW1*, xi (1891), 286-9, at pp. 286-7; CAS (Carlisle), DX 1329/16, Papers of Dr Hugh Todd; TNA, *EEA 30: Carlisle*, p.p. 3, 85, 87; H. Summerson, 'Athelwold the Bishop and Walter the Priest: A New Source' *CW2*, xcv (1995), 85-91; J. C. Dickinson, 'Walter the Priest and St Mary's, Carlisle', *CW2*, lxxix (1969), 102-14.

² CAS (Carlisle), PR/117/24/20: Assignment of District to St John's Church Houghton, 22 November 1841; Kelly *Dir. Cumb.* (1914), 249 (Cargo); PR/117/118-119: St Mark's Mission Church Belah; Mannix & Whellan, *Dir. Cumb.*(1847), 209.

township became part of Rockcliffe ecclesiastical parish.³ Houghton, together with Kingmoor, became a vicarage in its own right c. 1870.⁴

1. ST MICHAEL'S PARISH CHURCH

Patronage, Income and Endowment

Stanwix living was a rectory in Crown hands until c. 1150, after which it transferred to the patronage of the bishop of Carlisle, while the bishop and convent of Carlisle (after the Dissolution, the Dean and Chapter) shared the revenues.⁵ It became a vicarage during the bishopric of Gilbert Welton in 1359.⁶ In the papal taxation of 1291, the parish was worth £33 19s 4d, of which the incumbent received £8 10s, the bishop, prior and rector of the priory schools sharing the remainder.⁷ The value of the living diminished as a result of Scots raids during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.⁸ In 1291 the prior, bishop and rector each received £10 8s, but in 1318 the vicarage was said to be completely destroyed and there was insufficient income to pay a chaplain.⁹ After the Restoration the living was augmented, its value rising to between £80 and £90 per annum.¹⁰ In 1777 it was worth £100.¹¹ Tithe commutation to a cash payment of about £200 was carried out from 1839 to 1841.¹²

Church of St Michael

³ DRC23/1868, 1869: Orders in Council; Kelly, *Dir. Cumb.* (1914), 249.

⁴ CASC (Carlisle), DRC23/1872: Clergy Visitation Returns: Houghton; *Carlisle Diocesan Calendar and Clergy List* (1870), 83.

⁵ N&B, p. 455.

⁶ *Register of Gilbert Welton Bishop of Carlisle 1353-1362*, ed. R. L. Storey (Canterbury and York Society, 1999), 271.

⁷ *Taxatio 1291-92*, <http://www.hrionline.ac.uk/taxatio/index.html>

⁸ TNA *Inquisitions Post Mortem* Edward IV 38, no. 51; *Cal. Pat.* 1343-1345 pp. 507-8; *Cal Close* 1343-1346, p. 459.

⁹ TNA, E179/67/9 no. 40: Subsidy Rolls; Henry Summerson, *Medieval Carlisle: the City and the Borders from the Late Eleventh to the Mid-Sixteenth Century*, (Kendal, 1993), I, 226, 272.

¹⁰ CAS (Carlisle), DMH 10/3/2: Todd, 'History of the Diocese', p. 149.

¹¹ N&B, 455; Hutchinson, 577.

¹² CAS (Carlisle), DRC/8: Cumbrian Tithe Awards 42 (Cargo), 73 (Etterby), 95 (Houghton), 116 (Linstock), 133 (Rickerby), 180 (Stainton), 181 (Stanwix), 185 (Tarraby).

St Michael's Church stands in the south corner of the Roman fort of Petriana.¹³ Its medieval origins are revealed in two thirteenth-century water-leaf capitals situated in the churchyard, and in five grave slabs dating from the late twelfth century to about 1500.¹⁴ The two slabs which date from the later period display crudely carved effigies, one a female, the other a priest holding a chalice.¹⁵

The earliest written evidence of a church in Stanwix is the twelfth-century charter in which Bishop Athelwold confirmed the church to St Mary's Abbey (see above).¹⁶ Nevertheless, the origins of the church may be older. In 1947, a Norse period cross head dating from the early tenth century was found in a Stanwix garden;¹⁷ moreover, the dedication to 'St Michael', often found among northern churches dating from the tenth or eleventh centuries, may hint at a pre-Conquest foundation. In his late-seventeenth-century history of Carlisle diocese Hugh Todd remarked that an ancient well dedicated to St Michael lay close to Stanwix church, but gave no explicit evidence for the date of the church's dedication.¹⁸

The church as it existed in 1829 was at one time larger, its outer wall having contained aisle arches which had been filled in.¹⁹ Drawings of the church in 1838-39 show it to have been a modest building with a short chancel, no tower and a small bell-cote with one bell, though two eighteenth-century bells are known to have existed.²⁰ A larger bell, in use throughout the

¹³ Cross reference needed.

¹⁴ Denis Perriam, *Stanwix* (Carlisle Library, Jackson Collection): photograph; *Carlisle Journal*, 22 May, 1841, p. 3; Peter Ryder, *The Medieval Cross Slab Grave Covers in Cumbria* (Kendal, 2005), 111.

¹⁵ *Carlisle Journal*, Special Edn, 13 April 1934, p. 2; C. G. Bulman, 'A Medieval Tombstone at Stanwix', *CW2*, li (1952), 103-7.

¹⁶ *ODNB*, David J. W. Mawson, 'Todd, Hugh (c.1657-1728)'; *Denton's History*, 88-89.

¹⁷ Found at 'Old Croft', Stanwix. Tullie House Museum and Art Gallery, CALMG 1947.43; R. N. Bailey and R. Cramp, *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture, vol. ii, Cumberland, Westmorland and Lancashire North-of-the Sands* (Oxford, 1980), 147.

¹⁸ T. H. B. Graham and W. G. Collingwood, 'Patron Saints of the Diocese of Carlisle' *CW2*, xxv (1925), 1-27, at p. 3; CAC (Carlisle) DMH 10/3/2: Hugh Todd, MS History of the Diocese of Carlisle, p. 148.

¹⁹ Parson and White, *Dir. Cumb. & West.* (1829), 443.

²⁰ Carlisle Library, 10023/2HBO.

twentieth century, dated 1779, was made by Park and Chapman of London, but a smaller bell was itemised in a terrier of 1749.²¹

In 1703 the church interior compared ‘well enough’ to other churches in the diocese. The communion table was separated from the rest of the chancel with rails, and the furniture and plate were ‘very good’.²² The communion plate comprised a silver cup, small silver paten, pewter flagon and pewter dish.²³ During the early eighteenth century the communion table was covered with a turkey carpet and linen cloth, and the pulpit contained a cushion of purple velvet.²⁴ External walls were whitewashed,²⁵ interior walls painted in a stone colour and the ceiling painted white, according to contemporary practice.²⁶ The lack of scriptural writings and the worn-out nature of the ‘Queen’s Arms’ on the interior walls was noted in 1703, but in 1759 the Wigton painter, Richard Smirk, was paid £4 13s 6d for ‘Painting the Arms in the Church upon Canvas’ and for ‘writing part of the Commandments upon the wall’.²⁷ One of Bishop Nicolson’s few criticisms of the interior involved the font, which was ‘so low that ‘tis troublesome for the Minister to stoop to it’.²⁸ This may be the ‘funt’ which was reset into the flagged floor during major repairs to the interior in 1765-66.²⁹ At the end of the nineteenth century, local people remembered that after a church fire in 1843 the font had been removed by

²¹ CAS (Carlisle): PR/117/ 18: 1749; Pamphlets R-S: G. Taylor, *A Brief History of Stanwix and the Parish Church of St Michael the Archangel with St Mark’s Belah* (Carlisle, 1982), unpaginated.

²² Nicolson, *Misc. Acct.*, 104-105.

²³ Carlisle Cathedral Library, Walter Fletcher’s Diocesan Notebook. 1814-1844, MS, p. 67; *vide* R. S. Ferguson, *Old Church Plate in the Diocese of Carlisle*, (Carlisle 1882), 48-9.

²⁴ CAS (Carlisle) PR/117/ 18: 1749.

²⁵ *Glynne’s Notes*, 105-6: August 1833.

²⁶ CAS (Carlisle), PR/117/32: Overseers’ Account Book, 29 Aug. 1765; 3 Aug., 1766; *vide* Walter Fletcher’s Notebook, 1814-1844 for his preference for painted interiors.

²⁷ CAS (Carlisle), PR/117/32, 1 Jan. 1759; *Carlisle Journal* 15 Oct. 1808, p. 3; Richard Smirke (bap. 1727, d. c. 1776), a peripatetic artist from Wigton, was the father of the artist Robert Smirke: *ODNB*, Tina Fiske, ‘Smirke, Robert (1753–1845)’; Marshall Hall, *The Artists of Cumbria* (Newcastle, 1979), 80; B. L. Thompson, ‘Royal Arms in the Churches of the Diocese of Carlisle’, *CW2*, lxxvii (1967), 152-67, at pp. 157,166.

²⁸ Nicolson, *Misc. Acct.*, 104-5.

²⁹ CAS (Carlisle) PR/117/32, 24 Jun. 1766; DRC6/132/1: Bishop’s Transcripts 1669-1812, 19 Jun. 1766.

a churchwarden who used it as a garden flower pot. The date inscribed upon it was said to be 1417.³⁰

Despite the care lavished upon St Michael's, Georgian commentators found the church both gloomy and small,³¹ its outward appearance 'low, narrow and mean'.³² During the early nineteenth century Established Church evangelicalism encouraged the building of new churches in Carlisle.³³ This, plus the increased prosperity conferred upon Stanwix as it became the domicile of choice of many of Carlisle's prosperous manufacturers, resulted in the church's demolition in favour of a new cruciform building in the Commissioners' style.³⁴ Built by subscription in 1841 to a plan by the architect, John Hodgson, the original design was by the Rev. John Watson, incumbent of Cumrew and Renwick.³⁵ The eighty-five foot west-end tower with pinnacled buttresses resembled that of Rickman's Holy Trinity Church in Caldewgate.³⁶ The church's modernity was celebrated in the purchase of new communion plate while the old plate disappeared.³⁷

The new church cost £3,200. Constructed to accommodate 700 persons, 400 of the seats were free. On census day in 1851, 250 adults attended in the morning and 72 in the afternoon; 142 Sunday scholars attended both services.³⁸ In December, 1843, the stoves were built up to such an extent that the flues caught fire, the newly built church was partially burnt and the pews, windows and organ destroyed. The fire affected the east end more than the west leaving the tower virtually intact. Financed by £600 insurance money and a further £100 collected by

³⁰ *The Antiquary: A Magazine Devoted to the Study of the Past*, 24 (Jul. 1891), p. 21; G. Taylor, *Brief History of Stanwix*.

³¹ Hutchinson, II, 577; Walter Fletcher's Diocesan Notebook, 1814-1844, MS p. 67.

³² CAS (Carlisle), DMH 10/3/2, Hugh Todd, 'History of the Diocese of Carlisle', p.148; D. J. W. Mawson, 'Dr Hugh Todd's Account of the Diocese of Carlisle', *CW2*, lxxxviii (1988), 207-24.

³³ Mary Milner, *The Life of Isaac Milner, D.D., F.R.S.* (Cambridge, 1842); C. G. Bulman, 'Two recently demolished Carlisle Churches', *CW2*, lv (1955), 311-16.

³⁴ Francis Jollie, *Cumberland Guide and Directory* (Carlisle, 1811), 9-15; for subscribers to the new church see *Carlisle Journal*, 5 Jun. 1841, p. 3; and CAS (Carlisle) PR/117/24/30: Vestry Meeting Minutes, 1838-40.

³⁵ CAS (Carlisle), PR/117/24/21: Memorandum of Consecration, 23 Jun. 1842.

³⁶ Hyde & Pevsner, *Cumbria*, 265; Pevsner, *The Buildings of England: Cumberland and Westmorland* (Harmondsworth, 1967), 97; *Carlisle Journal*, 22 May, 5 Jun. 1841, p. 3.

³⁷ Ferguson, *Old Church Plate in the Diocese of Carlisle*, 48-49.

³⁸ TNA, Religious Census Returns, 1851, Cumberland: St Michael's, Stanwix.

subscription, the church was rapidly restored, and an organ procured from Hill of London. The church was then capable of seating up to 800 worshippers.³⁹

Minor drainage, flagging and repainting improvements were carried out in 1879,⁴⁰ and the font replaced in 1890.⁴¹ In 1893 a major restoration costing £1,900 involved removing the west gallery and adding an eastern apse and new organ chamber. A new vestry was added in 1910, the same year that Miss M. E. Creighton, sister of Mandell Creighton, bishop of London, placed stained glass windows in the three central windows of the apse in memory of her family. In 1914 she added two more. At this point the church could seat 500 worshippers.⁴²

Central heating was added to the church in 1935, as internal improvements continued throughout the twentieth century. In 1965 some seats in the nave were removed. Choir stalls facing each other were placed in the transepts, the altar was brought forward out of the apse and a new communion rail fitted. The work was financed by A. M. Macphail, Battalion President of the Boys' Brigade, to celebrate the Brigade's close links with the church.⁴³ In 1966 three windows in the south transept were replaced with stained glass on a theme of the growth of Cumbrian Christianity. Figures of Roman soldiers along their base referred to the fact that the church was built on the site of Petriana. Though attention was drawn to the fact that all the soldiers were depicted as left handed, the error was not amended.⁴⁴

At the beginning of the twenty-first century, ambitious plans for a thorough reordering of the church interior and yard met with some resistance. A Consistory Court hearing in 2003 gave permission for the removal of front pews and choir stalls, and the re-siting of the pulpit and lectern to create a more flexible space. This was completed in the following year.⁴⁵ From August

³⁹ Mannix and Whellan, *Dir. Cumb.* (1847), 206.

⁴⁰ CAS (Carlisle), PR/117/24/28: Churchwardens' Receipts and Account Book 1843-1879, 28 Feb. 1879.

⁴¹ Font plaque dated 1890.

⁴² Kelly, *Dir. Cumb.* (1914), 74; CAS (Carlisle) PR/117/80/3-7: File of Faculties.

⁴³ CAS (Carlisle) PR/117/80/16: File of Faculties; Graham, *Brief History of Stanwix*.

⁴⁴ Graham, *Brief History of Stanwix*; CAS (Carlisle), PR/117/87: Vicars' Papers - Letter from Mrs Grace Stammers on behalf of her husband, a stained glass manufacturer, 9 Oct. 1968.

⁴⁵ *Cumberland News*, 3 Sept. 2004, p. 8.

2008 until January 2009 restoration of the tower's roof and decaying sandstone walls, costing £244,000, was funded jointly by English Heritage and Stanwix parishioners.⁴⁶ Further plans to adapt the church and churchyard for greater community use were put on hold so that the parish could fund a community youth worker.⁴⁷

In 1842 St Michael's churchyard was extended to the south by two parcels of land belonging to the duke of Devonshire and the bishop.⁴⁸ It was legally closed as a grave yard in 1884, after which it was improved with new stone coping and railings following the demolition of old cottages between it and the road.⁴⁹ The new Stanwix Cemetery at Kingmoor was consecrated in 1887.⁵⁰ In 1934 St Michael's church yard was levelled and a circular lawn created. Twentieth century archidiaconal visitations found monuments in the long grass of the perimeter to be neglected, particularly that of the memorial to the daughters of Dean Tait.⁵¹ In 2004 the church yard was cleared to attract wildlife as part of the 'Living Churchyard project'. Important tombstones were restored with a grant from Carlisle City Council.⁵²

Church Land and Buildings

St Michael's possessed additional church buildings from at least 1590, when an episcopal order was issued to take down an outbuilding belonging to the vicarage and to keep the house and barn in good repair. A house and barn were again recorded c. 1638.⁵³

In 1644 the church yard was used by General Leslie to create a fortified position during the siege of Carlisle.⁵⁴ Three small guns placed there under the leadership of Lord Kirkcudbright

⁴⁶ *Ibid*, 15 Aug. 2008, p. 10; 19 Jun. 2009, p. 15.

⁴⁷ Local inf, 30 Jan. 2012: Mr. Tim Hazard, Chairman of St Michael's Fabric Committee until 2009.

⁴⁸ PR/117/24/21: Memorandum of Consecration, 23 Jun.1842.

⁴⁹ PR/117/80/3: Faculty.

⁵⁰ *Carlisle Journal*, 19 Aug. 1887, p. 5; Kelly, *Dir. Cumb.* (1910), 74; Cross reference to Kingmoor.

⁵¹ *Carlisle Journal*, 5 Jun. 1934, p. 5; CAS (Carlisle) TNA/117/87: Archidiaconal Visitation 26 Mar. 1973; cross reference Carlisle Cathedral (Tait).

⁵² *Cumberland News*, 14 May 2004, p. 13.

⁵³ CAS (Carlisle) PR/117/26: Churchwardens' Account Book: Hugh Todd.

⁵⁴ Isaac Tullie, *Narrative of the Siege of Carlisle* (1840), 10, 17, 36, 44; R. S. Ferguson, 'The Siege of Carlisle in 1644-5: General Leslie's Works', *CWI*, xi (1891) 104-116.

attracted return fire from Carlisle Castle and the vicarage house was destroyed.⁵⁵ The church yard mud hedge, damaged during the siege, was mended several times during the eighteenth century.⁵⁶ After the siege, parish clergy resided in the city, as most held cathedral prebends, but in 1667 the then vicar, Jeremiah Nelson, was ordered by his bishop to build a small brick cottage near the church for the use of himself and his successors.⁵⁷ This was probably the building described in 1707 as a church 'mansion house' with a field of two acres, adjoining the church yard;⁵⁸ by 1749 a coach house and barn had been added.⁵⁹ Despite the fact that in 1745 Bonnie Prince Charlie's besiegers are said to have damaged the vicarage house, Stanwix vestry meetings were being held there a few years later.⁶⁰

Between 1808 and 1814, a new vicarage house was built, costing the incumbent, Joseph Hudson, over £600 borrowed from the governors of Queen Anne's Bounty under the Gilbert Act of 1776.⁶¹ When Chancellor Walter Fletcher visited in 1814 the house was said to be 'new and very good'.⁶² An extension was added to the northern end of the building in the late nineteenth century. That part of it which had originally been a stable or barn became a parish hall or 'Church Room'.⁶³ In 1979, despite opposition from the Parochial Church Council, Carlisle Diocesan Parsonages Board sold Stanwix vicarage house, together with its church room, because the building was thought too expensive to run. An alternative house was bought in St George's Crescent, Stanwix.⁶⁴ Attempts by the PCC to build a substitute parish centre in the church

⁵⁵ Ferguson, 'The Siege of Carlisle', 110; Nicolson, *Misc. Acct.*, 105.

⁵⁶ CAS (Carlisle), PR/117/32, 17 Jly. 1757; 1 Jan. 1760; 18 Jly. 1762.

⁵⁷ Nicolson, *Misc. Acct.*, 105; Todd, 'History of the Diocese', p. 148.

⁵⁸ Nicolson, *Misc. Acct.*, 239.

⁵⁹ CASC (Carlisle) PR/117/ 18: 1749.

⁶⁰ CASC (Carlisle) PR/117/ 18: 1749; J. Wilson, 'The Baptismal Fonts in the Rural Deanery of Carlisle', CW1, x (1889), 229-243, at p. 236; CAS (Carlisle) PR/117/32.

⁶¹ Carlisle Library, 10023/2HBOR: painting, 1838; CAS (Carlisle), PR/117/50; *Carlisle Journal*, 24 Dec. 1808, p. 3 (Installation of Hudson); Mannix & Whellan, *Dir. Cumb.* (1847), 206. The Clergy Residences Repair Acts 1776 and 1780: the first was known as Gilbert's Act, *vide* G. F. A. Best, *Temporal Pillars: Queen Anne's Bounty, the Ecclesiastical Commissioners and the Church of England* (Cambridge, 1964), 140, 203-6.

⁶² Walter Fletcher's Diocesan Notebook, MS p. 66.

⁶³ PR/117/150: Drawings and Correspondence re construction of parish centre and alterations to vicarage cottage, 1981-1987.

⁶⁴ PR/117/154: Correspondence: PCC to Parsonages Board; Parish Centre Reports.

grounds were refused planning permission, but in 1981 the new owners of the former vicarage house sold the wing formerly containing the church room to St Michael's parishioners, who altered it to make a larger parish centre and church office.⁶⁵ The purchase necessitated the sale of a curate's house at 12, Etterby Street to clear the debt. This was made possible when the City Council allowed the use of a house on the Belah estate for a Stanwix curate. In 1987 the local Diocesan Parsonage Board sold the house in St George's Crescent and bought Willow House in Dykes Terrace for use as a vicarage house.⁶⁶

In 1911 glebe land on Scotland Road was sold to a local trust in memory of Miles Macinnes of Rickerby House, to build the Miles Macinnes community hall. The vicar and churchwardens shared trusteeship and use of the hall with community representatives.⁶⁷

2. HOUGHTON: ST JOHN'S CHURCH

Origins

During the early nineteenth century a group of successful Carlisle manufacturers built large houses at Houghton.⁶⁸ With their families they attended St Michael's, generously subscribing to its new church in 1842,⁶⁹ but, Houghton being at some distance from Stanwix township and population rising steeply from the 1830s, it was felt that the seating capacity at St Michael's was becoming inadequate, so the chief residents of Houghton petitioned the bishop for a new church, to be situated in their township. This was granted in 1841 through the 1818 and 1819 Acts to build additional churches in popular parishes.⁷⁰ The parish of Stanwix was subdivided, the new church of St John at Houghton and its burial ground, built close to the gates of Houghton Hall, functioning as a chapel-of-ease to minister to a district comprising both

⁶⁵ PR/117/150.

⁶⁶ PR/117/154.

⁶⁷ PR/117/124: Trust deeds and conveyance; 'St Michael's Parish Centre 82 Appeal' Campaign Handbook.

⁶⁸ Cross-reference Manors and Estates, Houghton.

⁶⁹ *Carlisle Journal*, 5 Jun. 1841, p. 3; CAS (Carlisle) PR/117/24/30: Vestry Meeting Minutes, 1838-40.

⁷⁰ CASC (Carlisle) DRC1/9: Bishop's Register, pp. 260-262.

Houghton and the nearby extra-parochial hamlet of Kingmoor, and served by a perpetual curate.⁷¹ Weddings continued at St. Michael's until 1867.⁷²

St. Peter's, a small new chapel to serve the people of Kingstown, seating 125, was built by voluntary contributions and consecrated in 1931.⁷³

Patronage, Income and Endowment

The building of Houghton church and school was financed through the subscriptions of local landowners, though some money was raised through a bazaar and the sale of sermons written by a leading member of Carlisle's fashionable evangelical movement, the incumbent of St Cuthbert's, John Fawcett.⁷⁴ The right of patronage lay with trustees who comprised some of the chief subscribers: Anne Ferguson of Houghton Hall, William Houghton of Houghton House, John Dixon of Knells and George Saul of Brunswick.⁷⁵ John Dixon endowed the church with land from his estate at Knells worth £40 per annum in 1847; the rest of the curate's stipend was to be raised through pew rents.⁷⁶ The tithes were commuted in 1842 for £138 and 8 shillings.⁷⁷ In 1870 the net value was £300,⁷⁸ but in 1884 it was worth £285 per annum, £230 of which was received from the Ecclesiastical Commissioners and £40 from the Knells estate.⁷⁹

Church Fabric and Outbuildings

⁷¹ CASC (Carlisle), DRC1/9, pp. 264-269, 290-291; PR/117/24/20: Assignment of District.

⁷² CASC (Carlisle), PR/184/3.

⁷³ CASC (Carlisle) DRC1/13: Bishop's Register, pp. 109-112; Carlisle Library, 1 BC 260: St John and St Peter's Parish Magazine, Feb. 1968.

⁷⁴ *Carlisle Journal*, 30 Mar. 1839, p. 2; 4 May 1839, p. 3; 18 May 1839, p. 3. For school, cross reference Patrickson's Charity.

⁷⁵ CAS (Carlisle) PR/117/24/20.

⁷⁶ Mannix & Whellan, *Dir. Cumb.* (1847), 209; William Dent, *The Cotton Barons' Church of St John the Evangelist, Houghton* (Carlisle, 1992), 24.

⁷⁷ William Whellan, *Hist. Cumb. & West.* (1860), 183.

⁷⁸ *Carlisle Diocesan Calendar* (1870), 83.

⁷⁹ Bulmer, *Hist. and Dir. of East Cumberland* (1884), 202.

Built in 1841 at a cost of just over £1,692, St John's was designed in 1839 by James Stewart, the Carlisle architect who went on to design St Mary's at Rockcliffe in 1848.⁸⁰ A typical Commissioners' church with graveyard adjoining, the design of St John's resembled the mother church at Stanwix. Built of white freestone from Shawk quarry near Dalston, its interior was designed in the evangelical manner for preaching, having no central aisle.⁸¹ Of the 296 sittings, 100 were free.⁸²

Increased interest in ritual in the diocese resulted in the remodelling of the church interior according to ecclesiological principles by C. J. Ferguson in the 1890s. This included new windows, pitch-pine panelling of the roof, a central aisle, choir stalls near the chancel and more elaborate carved furniture. A new font of Caen stone was given by Mrs. Forster of Houghton Hall, and black and white floor tiles were laid in the chancel. In 1901 the interior was thought one of the best furnished in the area.⁸³ A war memorial costing £100 was erected between the church yard gate and the church door in 1922.⁸⁴ The church was restored again in 1953 in memory of the fallen of the Second World War.⁸⁵

During the building of the church a church school was built to replace one already on the site.⁸⁶ In 1958, after a new school in the centre of the village had been built by the Church of England in partnership with the local education authority,⁸⁷ the empty building was used as a parish hall. This was extended in 1968.⁸⁸ The hall was demolished and a new one built during 1990-92.⁸⁹

⁸⁰ TNA, Religious Census 1851: Houghton; Dent, *Cotton Barons' Church*, 19.

⁸¹ Mannix & Whellan, *Dir. Cumb.* (1847), 209; Hyde & Pevsner, *Cumbria*, 412.

⁸² TNA, Religious Census 1851: Houghton.

⁸³ Slater, *History and Directory of Cumberland* (1901), 270; Dent, *Cotton Barons' Church*, 43-7.

⁸⁴ *Carlisle Diocesan Calendar and Clergy List* (1921), 99.

⁸⁵ CAS (Carlisle), Houghton Memorial Inscriptions.

⁸⁶ CAS (Carlisle) DRC 8/185: Houghton Tithe Map 1839.

⁸⁷ CAS (Carlisle) Cumberland Education Committee: Minutes of the Committee and Sub-Committees, Vol. 55, 1957-8, Sept. 1958, p. 313.

⁸⁸ Carlisle Library, 1 BC 260: St John & St Peter Parish Magazine, Mar. 1968; Photographs c. 1967: property of Mr William Dent, Carlisle; *Cumberland News*, 27 Dec. 1968, p. 1.

⁸⁹ Local Inf: Mr William Dent.

A brick vicarage house for Houghton was built on the road to Scaleby c.1864.⁹⁰ It was sold in 1955, after which a new vicarage was built.⁹¹ In 1880 the grave yard was extended onto land purchased from William Forster of Houghton Hall, again paid for by individual subscription.⁹²

3. CARGO AND LINSTOCK

During the mid-nineteenth century the Established Church in Stanwix parish demonstrated its presence in Cargo by conducting a service in the newly built school-room every Sunday afternoon during the summer.⁹³ The township was transferred to the parish of Rockcliffe in 1869.⁹⁴

In 1362, William, hermit of the chapel of St Peter near Linstock, left a cow as a mortuary to both Stanwix church and Carlisle Cathedral.⁹⁵ In 1860 a ‘small place of worship’, built by local landowner George Head Head of Rickerby House, was used for Anglican prayers on Sunday evenings.⁹⁶ This may have been the ‘Mission Room’ owned by the executors of George Head Head’s heir, Miles Macinnes, in which services were conducted by the vicar of Crosby on Eden in 1910, the township having been transferred to the parish of Crosby-on-Eden.⁹⁷

4. ST MARK’S MISSION CHURCH, BELAH

⁹⁰ CAS (Carlisle), DRC 3966, Clergy Visitation Returns, 1867: Houghton; William Whellan, *History and Topography of the Counties of Cumberland and Westmorland* (1860), 182; OS 1:10,560 Map, Cumb. sheet 16SE (1901).

⁹¹ Dent, *Cotton Barons’ Church*, 52.

⁹² *Carlisle Diocesan Calendar* (1881), 80.

⁹³ Whellan, *Hist & Topography Cumb. & West.* (1860), 181.

⁹⁴ CASC (Carlisle), DRC23/1869; Kelly *Dir. Cumb.* (1914), 249.

⁹⁵ *Register of Gilbert Welton*, 446.

⁹⁶ William Whellan, *Hist. & Topography of Cumb. and West.* (1860), 182.

⁹⁷ CAS (Carlisle), TIR4/98/1264: Board of Inland Revenue Land Valuation Register (1910), Linstock; *Crockford’s Directory* (1911), 664.

St Mark's mission church at Bracken Ridge on the Belah council estate was planned as a dual purpose hall-church within the ecclesiastical parish of Stanwix.⁹⁸ The site was acquired from Carlisle City Council by the local Diocesan Board of Finance during an initiative to build churches on Carlisle's new council estates.⁹⁹ Built between 1951 and 1952, with white rendered walls, a copper roof and a simple square east tower, it cost £8,536 3s 0d. Its ministry was largely undertaken by the parish curates.¹⁰⁰

5. PROTESTANT NONCONFORMITY

Until the nineteenth century the parish of Stanwix remained overwhelmingly conformist. In 1676, of 369 persons eligible to take communion, the only Dissenters listed were 4 Quakers.¹⁰¹ About a hundred years later there were ten Quaker and ten Presbyterian families,¹⁰² the latter chiefly Scottish farmers from the outlying townships who attended the Presbyterian meeting house in Carlisle.¹⁰³ When Nonconformity did eventually take root it was among the farming fraternity in the outlying townships, but a pattern of gradual decline led to the closure of all of its chapels by the mid-twentieth century. Roman Catholicism's involvement in education from the late nineteenth century allowed it to preserve an enduring presence.

Stanwix Township

During the expansion of the parish through house-building in the nineteenth century, St Michael's congregation grew in numbers, its incumbent claiming in 1858 that there were no

⁹⁸ CAS (Carlisle) PR/117/118: Plan and Licence for Divine Service, Sept. 1952.

⁹⁹ CAS (Carlisle) PR/117/119: Diocesan Pamphlet.

¹⁰⁰ Hyde & Pevsner, *Cumbria*, 166.

¹⁰¹ Anne Whiteman, Mary Clapinson, Henry Compton, Gilbert Sheldon, *The Compton Census of 1676: a Critical Edition* (Oxford, 1986), p. 628.

¹⁰² N&B, ii, 456.

¹⁰³ C. M. L. Bouch and G. P. Jones, *The Lake Counties 1500-1830: A Social and Economic History* (Manchester, 1961), 178.

Dissenters in his parish.¹⁰⁴ By 1897 the increasing number of Methodists in Stanwix township led to their desire to worship locally, yet no Methodist chapel was ever built there.¹⁰⁵ In 1900 Wesleyans failed to buy a site when the asking price rose to £600.¹⁰⁶ In 1901 they decided to leave the field to the Free Church Council, which had expressed interest in forming a church in the township.¹⁰⁷ By 1910, however, there was a Methodist mission room at 30, Etterby Street, which was still extant in 1925.¹⁰⁸ By 1938 the mission had transferred to an upper room on Scotland Road, Stanwix.¹⁰⁹

Houghton

In 1861 Houghton's Anglican incumbent, Rev. Buck, reported his disgust at a local member of the Plymouth Brethren, who, having recently converted from Anglicanism, was enticing people away from church by leading public worship in his own home. Yet this was an anomaly, Buck avowing that there were no other Nonconformists within Houghton township.¹¹⁰ As late as 1890, when Methodist chapel building was well under way elsewhere, Carlisle Methodists saw no immediate prospect of establishing a chapel in Houghton, having heard that the Baptists already had a mission there.¹¹¹ However, the mission, then being carried out on undenominational lines in a small room in the township, was attended mainly by Methodists, which, in 1893, encouraged the Wesleyan Circuit based on Fisher Street, Carlisle, to build a Gothic-style chapel, 48 feet long by 21 feet wide, on the site of a Houghton cottage and warehouse (in 2012 this building housed the 'Houghton Stores'). One of the Stanwix Methodists who had been eager to buy a site in Stanwix Township – printer and local circuit treasurer, James Beaty – offered the building

¹⁰⁴ CAS (Carlisle) DRC Acc. H3966: 1858.

¹⁰⁵ CAS (Carlisle) DFCM1/2/2: Circuit Minute Book 1891-1904: 18 Mar. 1897.

¹⁰⁶ CAS (Carlisle) DFCM1/2/2: 22 Mar. 1900.

¹⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, 25 Oct. 1901.

¹⁰⁸ CAS (Carlisle) TIR4/98: Board of Inland Revenue Land Valuation Register (Finance Act 1910), Stanwix, 1252; Kelly, *Dir. Cumb. & West.* (1925), 78.

¹⁰⁹ Kelly, *Dir. Cumb. & West.* (1938), 76; local inf.

¹¹⁰ CAS (Carlisle), DRC Acc. H3966: 1861.

¹¹¹ CAS (Carlisle), DFCM1/2/77: Local Preachers Minute Book 1875-1907, 18 Mar. 1890.

freehold at a cost of £50.¹¹² Building costs were met through subscription and a chapel extension fund grant. There were twelve members and 50 regular ‘hearers’, all pronounced to be from the poor and middle-class agricultural population of the township. The chapel could seat 140.¹¹³ In 1953 the chapel was closed and sold, as numbers had been dwindling for some time.¹¹⁴

Cargo

In 1851 Cargo boasted two competing Wesleyan meetings, one belonging to the Wesleyan Methodists and the other to the breakaway Wesleyan Methodist Association, each having 30 attenders, meeting in separate rooms in the township.¹¹⁵ The Wesleyan Methodists became preeminent, building a chapel in Cargo in 1857 at a cost of £105.¹¹⁶ From the beginning the chapel’s keenest adherents were local farmers, in particular members of the Bone family,¹¹⁷ but the chapel had few members, frequently providing the lowest financial returns of the circuit.¹¹⁸ In 1875 local preachers decided to limit their attendance to every second Sunday.¹¹⁹ In 1968 the chapel was closed and sold, and the Sunday school scholars transferred to Rockcliffe Anglican church.¹²⁰

Etterby

As its railway ran through the township, the Caledonian Railway Company built homes for its employees in Etterby.¹²¹ The Etterby Presbyterian Mission originated in house meetings held by William Morrison, an elder of Carlisle’s Warwick Road Presbyterian Church and an engine driver

¹¹² CAS (Carlisle), DFCM1/2/2: Circuit Minute Book 1891-1904, 22 Jun. 1893, 20 Sept. 1894; TNA, Census 1901.

¹¹³ CAS (Carlisle), DFCM1/2/50: Building Consent for Chapel, 1893; Kelly, *Dir. Cumb. & West.* (1910), 174.

¹¹⁴ DFCM1/2/52: Letters, 7 Jan. 1953.

¹¹⁵ TNA, Religious Census 1851: Cargo.

¹¹⁶ CAS (Carlisle) DFCM1/2/81: Carlisle District Property Trust Schedule, 1861.

¹¹⁷ CAS (Carlisle) DFCM1/2/6: Minute Book of Trustees for Village Chapels 1888-1917, p. 76.

¹¹⁸ CAS (Carlisle) DFCM1/2/1 Circuit Minute Book 1874-91: Circuit Quarterly Return 1889.

¹¹⁹ CAS (Carlisle) DFCM1/2/77: Local Preachers Minute Book 1875-1907.

¹²⁰ CAS (Carlisle) DFCM1/2/128: Circuit Quarterly Meeting Returns 1967-1976.

¹²¹ Cross reference economic activity in Stanwix.

for the company. A timber mission hall was built in 1881 by Warwick Road Presbyterian Church, the site having been provided by the railway company for a yearly rent of two shillings and sixpence. From the beginning most of the Mission's work was with the children of the company's employees, with meetings for adults on Sunday evenings.¹²² The hall was extended in 1890 at a cost of £360.¹²³ In 1913 the site was conveyed from the Caledonian Railway Company to Warwick Road Presbyterian Church for £25.¹²⁴ During the 1920s falling numbers and rising costs caused the Presbyterian Church to consider alternative uses for the Mission Hall.¹²⁵ In 1939 it was requisitioned by the War Office.¹²⁶ In 1942 it was decided to close the Mission due to a decline of religious activity there. By 1947 all forms of religious activity had ceased, and in 1948 the Mission Hall was sold to Carlisle Corporation to be used as a youth centre.¹²⁷

Roman Catholicism attained a strong presence in Etterby through the education of boys and girls. (See Stanwix: Education).

Linstock:

Bulmer's Directory of 1901 refers to a Quaker Meeting House in Linstock used by several denominations, though there is no corroborating record of Quaker activity in the township.¹²⁸ In 1851 the Wesleyan Methodist Association used a room in Linstock as a preaching room, attended by forty people, which was said to have existed since 1830. No further records of Methodist activity in Linstock have been found.¹²⁹

6. RELIGIOUS LIFE

¹²² CAS (Carlisle) D/FCP/3/184: Warwick Road Presbyterian Church: Correspondence, 1913.

¹²³ Kelly, *Dir. Cumb & West*. (1897), 247.

¹²⁴ CAS (Carlisle) D/FCP/3/184: 2 Jul., 28 Jul. 1913.

¹²⁵ *Ibid*, 1 Mar. 1920.

¹²⁶ *Ibid*, 23 Aug. 1939.

¹²⁷ CAS (Carlisle) D/FCP/3/186: Correspondence re sale of Mission 1947-48.

¹²⁸ Bulmer, *Dir. Cumb*. (1901), p. 269. No evidence of a Quaker Meeting house at Linstock in David Butler, *Quaker Meeting Houses of the Lake Counties* (London, 1978).

¹²⁹ TNA, Religious Census Returns (1851), Linstock, Parish of Stanwix.

As noted above, the religious life of medieval Stanwix was frequently punctuated by the violence of Scottish raids. In 1345, King David's soldiers set fire to Stanwix township, and it was destroyed by fire again in 1407 and in 1461.¹³⁰ This may have led to the gap of almost a hundred years (1366 to 1465) in a list of known incumbents of St Michael's which begins in 1300.¹³¹

Lawlessness among Stanwix parishioners was not unknown. Brawling in St Michael's church yard by an excommunicated parishioner named 'O. de. E.' was the subject of several mandates from the bishop of Carlisle c.1342, by which the parishioners were called upon to cleanse St Michael's of bloodshed through the church's ceremony of reconciliation.¹³² In 1574, in an instance of 'handfast marriage', the churchwardens of Scaleby and Stanwix presented Stephen James and Elena Blaicklocke to the Carlisle ecclesiastical courts. Though 'handfast', they had entered into marriage with other people.¹³³

Through the patronage of the bishop and its association with, first, St Mary's Abbey, and, then, the Dean and Chapter of Carlisle, the parish of Stanwix was frequently the prize of favoured clerics such as Richard de Aslacby. Arriving in Carlisle from York in 1353 as part of the retinue of Bishop Gilbert, he served his master at Rose before briefly becoming the last rector of Stanwix in 1358.¹³⁴ In 1638 Richard Welshman was collated to the vicarage by his uncle, Bishop Potter.¹³⁵ This state of affairs was interrupted briefly when, during the Parliamentary period, Stanwix and the neighbouring parish of Crosby on Eden, submitting to the dominant Puritanism

¹³⁰ BL, Cotton *Calig.* A XIII f. 14v; TNA: E199/7/16 m3 (Sheriffs' Records 1407); TNA: *Inquisitions Post Mortem* Edward IV 38, no. 51; *Cal. Pat.* 1343-1345 pp. 507-508; *Cal. Charter R.* 1343-1346, p. 459; *vide* Summerson, *Medieval Carlisle*, I, 272; II, 396, 447.

¹³¹ CAS (Carlisle) PR/117/26: Churchwardens' Account Book; Wood, 'Parish of Stanwix', 287-9.

¹³² *Register of John Kirkby Bishop of Carlisle 1332-1352, vol. i*, ed. R. L. Storey (Canterbury and York Society, 1993), 452, 622, 653; *vide* Daniel E. Thiery, *Polluting the Sacred: Violence, Faith, and the 'civilizing' of Parishioners in late medieval England* (Leiden, 2009), 52-3.

¹³³ Borthwick Institute, DRC 3/2: Carlisle Consistory Court book, 1573-8; Bouch *Prelates and People*, 238-239. Handfast marriages evolved as a loose form of cohabitation which could be ended if the relationship were unsuccessful. During the Reformation the arrangement was altered to make it a binding engagement leading to matrimony; *vide* Christine Peters, 'Gender, Sacrament and Ritual: The Making and Meaning of Marriage in Late Medieval and Early Modern England', *Past & Present* 169 (Nov., 2000), 63-96.

¹³⁴ *Register of Gilbert Welton*, 220, 518, 544.

¹³⁵ Wood, 'Parish of Stanwix', 288.

of the time, were united for a short period under Thomas Turner.¹³⁶ In 1658 another ‘minister of the word’, Joseph Nicholson, officiated at Stanwix, returning after the Restoration to the parish of Plumbland.¹³⁷

Carlisle diocese in the seventeenth century has been judged to be in ‘a pitiable condition’ caused by poverty, war and neglect, its incumbents often ill-educated and unable or unwilling to carry out their duties effectively.¹³⁸ Despite being presented to the living by the bishop, some Stanwix incumbents neglected the parish. In 1633 Robert Browne appeared at Carlisle Consistory Court charged with fornication and neglect of duty. In 1674 Jeremiah Nelson was accused of an offence against the 75th canon by frequenting a tavern.¹³⁹

After the Restoration succeeding bishops presented a stream of well-connected clerics. Nathaniel Spooner (1688-1703) married the sister of Bishop Nicholson,¹⁴⁰ while Thomas Benson (1705-1727) married the bishop’s daughter, which may explain the leniency with which Nicolson treated St Michael’s in his visitations.¹⁴¹ George Fleming (1703-1705), later to become bishop of Carlisle, was the son of Sir Daniel Fleming of Rydal.¹⁴² John Waugh (1827-1766) was the son of Bishop Waugh and son-in-law to Dean Tullie.¹⁴³ The most colourful of these post-Restoration clerics was Hugh Todd, a prebendary of Carlisle and vicar from 1685 to 1688.¹⁴⁴ A gifted antiquary, his manuscript writings include a respected history of Carlisle diocese, though his determined support of the Royalist cause and his High-Church Toryism, encouraged, no doubt, by observing the ejection of his father from his living at Hutton-in-the- Forest during the

¹³⁶ Lambeth Palace Library, Plundered Ministers 995: COMM.VI a/9, Augmentation Order Books 1650 -1660.

¹³⁷ Lambeth Palace Library, Plundered Ministers 983: COMM.III/2, Letter to Stanwix Patrons; Nightingale, *Ejected of 1662*, 188-98.

¹³⁸ Bouch, *Prelates and People*, 245, 258-9, 275-9.

¹³⁹ Borthwick Institute, DRC 3/63: Precedent Book: Carlisle Consistory Court 1630-33; DRC 3/4: Court book, 1669-74; Bouch *Prelates and People*, 279.

¹⁴⁰ Nicolson, *Misc. Acct.* 13.

¹⁴¹ Nightingale, *Ejected of 1662*, 198. Nicolson, *Misc. Acct.* 104-05, 241.

¹⁴² *ODNB*: William Gibson, ‘Fleming, Sir George, Second Baronet (1667–1747)’.

¹⁴³ H. Wagner, ‘A Pedigree of the Descendants of John Waugh, D.D.’, *CWI*, xiii (1895), 440–8; *ODNB*: David W. V. Weston, ‘Waugh, John (1661–1734)’.

¹⁴⁴ CAS (Carlisle), DX 1329/69: Todd’s institution to St Michael’s, Stanwix; *ODNB*: David J. W. Mawson, ‘Todd, Hugh (c.1657–1728)’.

Protectorate, caused him to exaggerate damage done by the Parliamentarians. He was the only antiquary to attest that St Michael's was used as a guard-house by General Leslie's soldiers in 1645.¹⁴⁵ Todd is perhaps best known for the controversy with Bishop Nicolson which resulted in Todd's temporary excommunication after he had questioned the bishop's right of cathedral visitation.¹⁴⁶ In Stanwix, he is remembered for raising as much income as he could from tithe rental to customary tenants in anticipation of his preferment to a better living. Later incumbents had great difficulty in renewing these agreements, and some tithes went unpaid.¹⁴⁷

Demonstrating the diocesan standards of the time, Stanwix was frequently held in plurality. Thomas Benson added the lucrative living of Dalston to Stanwix in 1714.¹⁴⁸ George Fleming received a prebend, the parishes of Kirkland and Stanwix and the archdeaconry of Carlisle.¹⁴⁹ In 1727 John Waugh was appointed by his father to the posts of vicar of Stanwix, rector of Caldbeck, prebendary of Carlisle Cathedral, and chancellor of the diocese.¹⁵⁰ Another famous incumbent, William Paley (1793-1795), was enabled through his friendship with Bishop Law and his reputation as a theologian to amass a series of lucrative positions including the vicarages of St Lawrence, Appleby, Dalston, Great Salkeld and Addingham, a prebendary stall in Carlisle Cathedral, the archdeaconry of Carlisle and the chancellorship of the diocese. He resigned Appleby in 1785 and in 1793 he vacated Dalston for Stanwix, remarking, 'Why sir, I had two or three reasons for taking Stanwix in exchange; first it saved me double house-keeping, as Stanwix was within a twenty minute walk of my house in Carlisle; secondly it was £50 a year

¹⁴⁵ CAS (Carlisle), DMH 10/3/2: Hugh Todd, 'History of the Diocese of Carlisle' MS, p. 148; D. Mawson, 'Dr Hugh Todd's Account of the Diocese of Carlisle', *CW2* lxxxviii (1988), 207–24; Nightingale, *Ejected of 1662*, 436–8, 487–8.

¹⁴⁶ CAS (Carlisle), DX 1329/48: Chapter Meeting, 1706; John Nichols, *Letters on Various Subjects, Literary, Political and Ecclesiastical, to and from William Nicolson DD*, 2 vols (1809) ii, 364–6.

¹⁴⁷ CAS (Carlisle) PR/117/24/1-14: Deeds concerning Tithe Leases.

¹⁴⁸ Nightingale, *Ejected of 1662*, 198; S. Jefferson, *History and Antiquities of Carlisle* (Carlisle, 1838), 265.

¹⁴⁹ *ODNB*, Gibson, 'Fleming, Sir George (1667–1747)'.

¹⁵⁰ *ODNB*: Weston, 'Waugh, John (1661–1734)'.

more in value; and thirdly, I began to find my stock of sermons coming over again too fast.’

Paley’s annual income was then about £900.¹⁵¹

Victorian incumbents of St Michael’s were equalled in their evangelical earnestness by many of their parishioners – the ‘opulent traders of Carlisle’ whose involvement in such worthy evangelical causes as the Bible and Church Missionary Societies was eulogised in the local press.¹⁵² Local banker, George Head Head, opened a reformatory for juvenile offenders with its own Anglican chapel in 1854.¹⁵³ Thomas Wilkinson – vicar for over forty years from 1840 and the proprietor of his own private academy – concerned himself with building not only the new church but also a church school, aided by parishioner subscription. His interest in education was so marked that he was appointed an inspector of schools for Scotland in 1880.¹⁵⁴ His average congregation numbered 400, many of them children.¹⁵⁵

The wealthy families which sponsored St John’s continued to patronise it well into the twentieth century.¹⁵⁶ This did not mean that the church was necessarily well attended. During the 1850s and 60s the incumbent bemoaned the amount of sickness suffered by the upper classes which prevented their attendance. This, together with the ‘mental degradation, boorishness and northern doggedness of disposition’ of the rest of his flock had led to a deficiency in numbers. He considered the upper classes remiss in not inducing the labouring population to attend.¹⁵⁷

The growing popularity of ritualistic worship in Anglican churches affected both St. Michael’s and St John’s. At St Michael’s, the establishment of a surpliced choir c. 1874 and the erection of a reredos in 1895 indicate the church’s gradual change from the views of its ‘High and Dry’ Georgian incumbents through the evangelicalism of its new church builders to the

¹⁵¹ Bouch, *Prelates and People*, 364; *ODNB*, James E. Crimmins, ‘Paley, William (1743–1805)’.

¹⁵² *Carlisle Patriot*, 15 Apr. 1826, p. 2; Kelly, *Dir. Cumb.* (1858), 208.

¹⁵³ Kelly, *Dir. Cumb.*, 1858, 208.

¹⁵⁴ *Carlisle Journal*, 3 Feb. 1880, 2.

¹⁵⁵ CAS (Carlisle) DRC Acc H3966, 1858 (Stanwix).

¹⁵⁶ Church memorial tablets and furniture in memory of inhabitants of Houghton Hall, Houghton House and Knells.

¹⁵⁷ CAS (Carlisle) DRC Acc. H3966: Diocese of Carlisle, Clergy Visitation Queries and Returns, 1858; 1861 (Houghton).

moderate ritualism practised by the then bishop, Harvey Goodwin.¹⁵⁸ During the late nineteenth century, ecclesiological change at St John's was opposed by Charles Bernard Hodgson, a descendent of one of the founders, St John's retaining its evangelical outlook, as evidenced by the parish magazine which, during the Great War, included the evangelical inset, *Home Words for Heart and Hearth*.¹⁵⁹

Twentieth-century incumbents of St Michael's were expected to be 'middle of the road' family men amidst parochial concern that an incumbent should be able to communicate with all social classes.¹⁶⁰ The building of a large council estate at Belah after the Second World War (see above) awoke St Michael's churchwardens to the necessity of working with the 'less affluent', but in the 1970s it was felt that the 'two units' had never successfully melded together.¹⁶¹ The establishment of a youth worker at St Michael's early in the twenty-first century demonstrated parishioners' prioritisation of inclusivity.

¹⁵⁸ CAS (Carlisle) PR/117/80/1: Faculties; PR/117/28: Churchwardens Account Book, 1843-1879; John Burgess, 'The Religious History of Cumbria 1780-1920' (Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, University of Sheffield, 1984), 56-8.

¹⁵⁹ Dent, *Cotton Barons' Church*, 45; CAS (Carlisle), PR/184/21: Houghton Parish Magazine, Apr. 1917.

¹⁶⁰ CAS (Carlisle) PR/117/ 54: Correspondence between Bishop and Vicar's Warden, Aug. 1987.

¹⁶¹ *Ibid*: Report of meeting of PCC members with the Bishop, 6 Dec.1978.