

Victoria County History of Cumbria Project

Parish/township: Stainmore

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STAINMORE

Stainmore was a large, rural township, chapelry and civil parish of 16,329 a.¹ It lay in the Pennine region, some seven miles north east of Kirkby Stephen, its eastern border sharing the county boundary with Yorkshire. Stainmore and its early variant Stanmoir (c. 990), meant ‘rock moor’ or ‘moor of the rock’.² This ancient name originally applied to a much larger territory whose boundary extended beyond the modern township,³ from upper Teesdale, Maize beck and Hilton on the bounds of Appleby, down to the high fells above Uredale and Wensleydale.⁴ The names of Brough–under–Stainmore⁵ and Athelstanemoor,⁶ implied

¹ Earliest figure available: 1901 census: www.visionofbritain.org.uk/ (accessed 10/02/2018);

OS 6” Map, Westm. Sheet XVII.SW (1920) records 16,328 a.

² *PNW*, II, 71. (Picts Chron. re. Saxonia to Rercross in 971), A. Woolf, *From Pictland to Alba 789-1070*, series, R. A. Mason ed., *New Edinburgh History of Scotland* (Edinburgh, 2007), 2, 210.

³ CAS (K), WD/HOTH/A988/11 (c. 1338-1377).

⁴ S. Walker, *Nine Standards: Ancient Cairns or Modern Folly?* (Kirkby Stephen, 2008), 20, 62-3.

⁵ See Brough under Stainmore.

⁶ W. Harrison, ‘Description of Britain’ (1577), in J. Johnson *et al.*, eds. *Holinshed’s Chronicles*,

ownership of an extended lordship, consistent with the honour and seigniorship of Brough castle,⁷ as a *villae integrae* (or entire vill).⁸ A second identity was derived from the status and origins of Stainmore Forest (origins lost),⁹ considered to have extended from near Bowes, through Brough–under–Stainmore and into Mallerstang.¹⁰ Both the *villae integrae* and hunting forest were attached to Brough castle.¹¹ Stainmore township was a remnant of these older territories,¹² comprising an area within Brough ancient parish and closely connected with the neighbouring township of Brough–under–Stainmore,¹³ which had the medieval identity *Burgh cum Stanesmore*.¹⁴ Stainmore township was in turn divided into two: North Stainmore lay north of the river Argill, and South Stainmore to its south, (also called East and Middle Stainmore, and Stainmoordale).

(London, 1807-8), I, 147, (*PNW*, II, 70).

⁷ Mannex, *Dir. Westm.* (1851), 115; *The Parliamentary Gazetteer of England & Wales*, IV (1843), 187.

⁸ A. J. L. Winchester, *Landscape and Society in Medieval Cumbria*, (Edinburgh, 1987), 32-33; H. Charlesworth, *Stainmore and Nine Standards – part 1*, (2021, forthcoming).

⁹ *PNW*, 2, 80.

¹⁰ Parson & White, *Dir. C. & W.* (1829), 536.

¹¹ R. Britnell, ‘Lords and Tenants’, in K. J. Stringer & A. J. L. Winchester, *Northern England and Southern Scotland in the Central Middle Ages*, (Woodbridge, 2017), (see) 219 (re multiple estates).

¹² OS 6” Map, Westm. Sheets XXIV, XVII, XVI (1863).

¹³ In documents referred to as ‘Brough’s’.

¹⁴ TNA, E 179/95/17 (1379 Poll tax).

Stainmore forms a dale at the south–eastern extremity of the Eden Valley. Though large parts of the township are remote and sparsely settled, it lay on an ancient route through the Pennines, which gave the township strategic importance. The Romans built a road through the township (ultimately connecting York and Carlisle), and the remains of Maiden Castle Roman fortlet, survive as earthworks.¹⁵ Parts of the Roman road became the modern A66. Stainmore was the fulcrum of competing territorial claims in the early medieval period, culminating in the Battle of Stainmore in c.954AD.¹⁶ Around a third of a mile from Stainmore’s eastern border, in Bowes Parish (Yorks.), stands the Viking–Era Rerecross (Rey Cross),¹⁷ beside the York to Carlisle road.¹⁸ A scheduled ancient monument,¹⁹ it was an ancient boundary marker, marking the border between England and Scotland, and by 1258, the Diocese of Glasgow.²⁰

The countryside was a patchwork of fields, moor, wooded valleys and ravines with scattered plantations, rock fields, karst scenery and scarps. Plentiful water and springs enabled settlement to be dispersed. Farming and mining were the predominant occupations, the decline of the latter and consolidation of the former led to population decline, prior to post–war resettlement and restorations by mostly professional people. Once home to Sir

¹⁵ NHLE, List Entry No. 1007183, Maiden Castle near Brough (accessed 31 Jan. 2022).

¹⁶ W. G. Collingwood, ‘The Battle of Stainmore in Legend and History’, *CW2*, II (1902), 231-41; SMR 3959.

¹⁷ *PNW*, II, 73.

¹⁸ Moved in 1990 from the south side of the A66 to the north side of the new dual carriageway.

¹⁹ NHLE, List Entry No. 1016467, Rey Cross, 670m west of Old Spital.

²⁰ *Ibid.*; W.G., Collingwood, *The Lake Counties*, Revised by William Rollinson (1988).

Cuthbert Buckle, lord mayor of London,²¹ Stainmore had a reputation for horse breeding, dairy farming and stock-rearing.

Landscape, Settlement and Buildings

Boundaries

The old boundary of Stainmore township was expressly recovered for the tithe commissioners in 1843,²² at a time when the pressures of the poor rate levy had necessitated boundary reforms.²³ The township boundary followed identifiable natural or manmade features, including the western limits of Brough and Sowerby parks, with which it was coincident.²⁴ The reversionary rights to the parks indicated that they were extant in 1203,²⁵ and their boundaries dated to pre c.1100.²⁶ Also included within the old boundary were Brough Intack and Hag Gap, separating the uplands of Stainmore Forest from the Brough outfield.

²¹ J. Burke, *The Genealogical and Heraldic History of the Commoners of Great Britain and Ireland: enjoying territorial possession or High official Rank but uninvested with Heritable Honours*, 2, (London, 1835), 573.

²² Encompassing 22,463 a.

²³ See Social History, below.

²⁴ See Landholding, below; H.R.M. Charlesworth, 'The Medieval Parks of Brough under Stainmore', *CW3*, 18 (2018), 169- 187.

²⁵ CAS (K), WDX71 (Letters of attorney).

²⁶ T. Williamson, *Environment, Society and Landscape in early medieval England: Time and Topography* (Woodbridge, 2013), 89.

The northern boundary followed the Swindale beck, ascended Coalgill Sike, and crossed Coneypotts Beck to terminate at Hanging Seal. Following the Commissioner's revisions, the new boundary left the Swindale beck at Wellhead Sike, followed field walls and a large dyke along the Middleton road, past Hazel Bank and across fields and walls to the Augill Beck. Re-joining the old boundary near Augill Castle, at Sowerby park it diverted around the estate of the Reverend John Dickinson,²⁷ then to Buscoe crossroads and Powbrand bridge. There it followed an old course of the Powbrand sike, turning northeast along a lost track parallel to the existing lane.²⁸ Climbing and skirting Limes Head, it turned south to Argill bridge and down Argill beck to the River Belah then upstream to the much contested moor top boundaries with Yorkshire and Durham.

Jeffrey's map of 1770 shows an area of disputed territory west of Rey Cross.²⁹ Hodgson's map of 1828³⁰ gives more detail: the western line, up to the summit of Round Table, was claimed by the manor of Bowes, while and the eastern line, as far as Rey Cross and Augill Pool, was claimed by the earl of Thanet as lord of the manor of Brough. The matter was settled largely in the earl's favour, the township and county boundary being fixed as a straight line.

Landscape

²⁷ CAS (K), WPR 23B/3/1/1.

²⁸ H. Charlesworth, *Fieldwork in the Stainmore Pass*, (CWAAS, 1986 unpub.) and Fieldnotes (see Brough Sowerby).

²⁹ Jeffrey, *Map of Westmorland* (1770).

³⁰ Hodgson, *Map of Westmorland* (1828).

Stainmore was shaped like a stepped amphitheatre cut into the Pennine escarpment. It was formed by a downfold of rocks (syncline) trending east from Brough where the Pennine and Dent Faults met and created massive disturbances in the rocks (visible in the Augill gorge).³¹ Stainmore began at an elevation of about 180 m. near Brough and rose to over 590 m. at Hanging Seal. The underlying Carboniferous geology is profiled in series by 2,500 ft. of rock bedding, from the Millstone grit and Tan Hill coals on the moor tops to sandstones, marine shales, mudstones and limestones.³² The strongly faulted landscape caused magma intrusions, and deposits of minerals, dolomites and metal bearing seams. The overlying drift deposits were mostly glacially derived from underlying rock, and boulder clay tills. North of the A66 the farmed soils were largely of acidic loams and clays of low fertility suitable for grazing and dairying. South of the A66 there were 13.8 km.² of base rich soils of moderate fertility suitable for some arable cereals, as well as grassland and woodland.

A belt of 5.8 km.² of land from Ewbank to Slapestones had potential high fertility suitable for arable and grassland, but was mostly sparse,³³ the limestone pavement at Slapestones being largely devoid of soils. Much of the land (above 400 m.) has a drift geology of blanket peat under very thick peaty soils of poor rough grazing. The river and beck valleys and gorges preserved relic woodland, some of it anciently coppiced (Augill beck),³⁴ with some ancient plantations, (Ewbank Park), and others more recently established.³⁵ Farming was assisted by

³¹ T.S. Turner, 'Structural Geology of Stainmore, Westmorland', *Proceedings of the Geological Association*, (1935), xlvii, 21.

³² A. Raistrick, *The Pennine Dales; Geology of the Appleby District*, 31.

³³ <http://www.landis.org.uk/soilscapes/index.cfm> (accessed 16 Apr. 2017).

³⁴ CAS (K), WD/HOTH/3/45/1549, accounts, 25.

³⁵ See Landownership, below.

a moderated climate as the dale received about 35 inches of rain, or half that of the surrounding mountains, and the weather was seasonally mild,³⁶ despite some severe winter weather. Camden described Stainmore as a ‘mountainous waste tract always exposed to wind or rain. . . , all the country around being a desert’.³⁷

Communications

Roads

The modern A66 is a continuous dual carriageway through Stainmore, with local access to South Stainmore near Palliard, and to Longrigg from Banks Gate (via a section of the old road), and to Borrowdale from the Punch Bowl. The route passes over Stainmore summit (441 m.) and is prone to heavy snow in the winter. Snow gates were added to the eastbound carriageway near Augill Beck in 2012.³⁸ Prior to bypass work in the early 1990s, the trunk road largely followed the line of the former Brough – Bowes turnpike (first enacted in 1742³⁹) and the Roman road except at Maiden Castle Roman fortlet, where all three roads deviate.⁴⁰ The Roman road passed through the fort,⁴¹ the turnpike skirted to the north,⁴² and the modern A66 passed to the south with the new section, built in the 1990s, passing closer to the south side of the fortlet.

³⁶ R.W. Brunskill, *Vernacular Architecture of the Lake Counties: A Field Handbook* (London, Faber and Faber, 1974), 21.

³⁷ Camden, *Britannia* (ed. Gough 1789), III, 26.

³⁸ <https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-england-cumbria-20669095>

³⁹ Parli. Arch., HL/PO/PU/1/1742/16G2; CAS (K), WDHH/17.

⁴⁰ I.D. Margary, *Roman Roads in Britain* (1973), 434.

⁴¹ RCHM, *Westm.*, xxviii-xxvii..

⁴² OS 6” Map, Westm. Sheet XXIV (1863).

The Roman diversion at Slapestones bridge ascended Longrigg and was mapped on a course curving down to a footbridge across the Powbrand towards *Verteris*.⁴³ The Roman Road continued under the A66 to Street House, where the agger descended the Punch Bowl gill to a field called Low Street,⁴⁴ ending at Cooper House on a course to join the other road near Augill Castle.⁴⁵ On the south side of the Augill was a large embanked road probably used to serve the mines, but of unknown date. Beside Augill bridge was a smelt mill, to which a tramway was built for transporting ore from a crushing mill about half a mile up the gorge.⁴⁶

The Brough–Bowes road was subject to further public Acts in 1769,⁴⁷ 1791⁴⁸ and 1812,⁴⁹ which increased powers to repair the road. The Bowes turnpike became a public road in December 1870.⁵⁰ The acts of 1769 and 1790 also resulted in the repair and widening of two more roads through Stainmore: that from Blackhouse Bottom, near Maiden Castle, past

⁴³ www.romanroads.org/gazetteer/cumbria/M82-me-brough.htm (accessed 10/07/2018).

⁴⁴ HER, SMR14309, R.A.H. Farrar, ‘Roman signal-stations over Stainmore and beyond’, *Roman Frontier Studies*, BAR International Series 71 (1980), 225.

⁴⁵ D. Drury, N. Hair, C. Howard-Davis, and M. Krupa, ‘Stainmore, Cumbria; archaeological investigation on the A66 Stainmore to Banks Gate road improvement scheme’, *CW2*, 98 (1998), 122.

⁴⁶ K.C. Dunham, *Geology of the Northern Pennine Orefield, Vol. 1, Tyne to Stainmore*, (London, 1990) 120.

⁴⁷ Parli. Arch., HL/PO/PU/1/1769/9G3n116.

⁴⁸ Parli. Arch., HL/PO/PU/1/1791/31G3n149.

⁴⁹ Parli. Arch., HL/PO/PB/1/1813/53G3n354.

⁵⁰ *North Eastern Daily Gazette*, 28 Feb. 1887, p.3.

Buckles (Oxenthwaite) Bridge⁵¹ over the River Bela on the township's eastern border to Kaber Cross; and the road from Barras to the collieries at Taylor Rigg, Tan Hill and King's pits. Buckles bridge was presented for being in decay in 1779.⁵² The only known Toll Bar in the township was at Mole Brow Bar-house (Barras), on the Coal Road, which in 1822 brought in a net revenue of £320, fell to £47 in 1861 and closed by 1867.⁵³ The earl of Thanet leased the tolls on the coal road from Barras to Takkan Tan.⁵⁴ In the 18th century, the London Lead Company used the Middleton road (modern B6276), as a carroway track,⁵⁵ and converted it to a turnpike road after 1817.⁵⁶

Leacett (or Legion) Lane agrees with the course of the Roman road over Langrigg towards *Verteris*. A lane leading north off Leacett Lane follows the township boundary and coincides with the perimeter of Brough Park, as does a bridlepath around Sowerby Park.⁵⁷ The track through South Stainmore was a farm gated road, as was the road through Borrowdale, with a

⁵¹ Shown on Jeffrey's map of 1770 and possibly Saxton's of 1579?

⁵² CAS (K), WQ/SR/418/31. Probably previously repaired by Sir Cuthbert Buckle (d.1593) who gave money to repair the road; HER, SMR14418, see Saxton's map 1579.

⁵³ M.E. Shepherd, *From Hellgill to Bridge End: Aspects of economic and social change in the Upper Eden Valley, 1840-95*, Studies in Regional and Local History Volume 2, (Hatfield, 2003), 187.

⁵⁴ CAS (K), WD/HH/198.

⁵⁵ A.H. Tingle, 'Grey Treasure from the Pennines', *Cumbria: Lakeland Life and Literature*, (New Series) vol,12, June 1962, 80-2. (Cumbria Magazine). For strings of 25 horses carrying 2 cwt. each.

⁵⁶ HL, HL/PO/PB/1/1817/57G3n96; CAS (C), WQ/RDP/11.

⁵⁷ Charlesworth, 'Medieval Parks', *CW3*, 179-80.

disused tramway parallel to its north. Another tramway started near Todd's House via a winding house to take coal to Brough.⁵⁸ The broad lane up to Long Crag was a droving route continuing over Wham Mouth into Teesdale.⁵⁹ The main road took a lot of the droving traffic until the turnpikes appeared. The Longrigg Roman road was linked by a raised causeway to the Cooper House road via a paved ford at Craco Dub,⁶⁰ where a drift road also converged, crossing over the Roman road. The broad remnants of another road lay beside Argill Lane south of Argill Bridge.⁶¹ Many farms were accessed by tracks, as were New Hall and High Ewbank from the Slip Inn. A track past Spurrigg End led onto the moor and the slate quarry. Other lanes accessing moorland pasture led to Foddering hill and Maudy Mea. The latter also accessed the telecom Vodafone tower, and more remnants of a raised roadway lay beside (the Roman) Roper Castle.⁶²

Railways

The line of the South Durham and Lancashire Union Railway ran through the township. It was built to carry iron ore from Ulverston to Teesside ironworks, and coal and coke from Durham coalfield, and opened in the summer of 1861.⁶³ As the railway was refused access to Brough township, it skirted South Stainmore with a viaduct across the Belah (1,040 ft. long

⁵⁸ HER, SMR14353.

⁵⁹ HER, SMR14377.

⁶⁰ HER, SMR3454.

⁶¹ HER, SMR14340.

⁶² HER, SMR15337.

⁶³ C. Awdry, *Over the Summit: How Britain's railways crossed the high hills*, (Peterborough, 1993), 113.

by 196 ft. high; the highest viaduct in England), designed by Thomas Bouch,⁶⁴ and another across the Mousegill.⁶⁵ A station was built at Barras, and cottages at the Summit (1,370 ft.) for railway workers. Originally single-tracked, the line was doubled between 1867 and 1874 to meet demand (except Belah viaduct). It closed in Jan. 1962.⁶⁶

The Railway company built a dammed reservoir at the Summit to feed a long water pick up trough for the steam locomotives. The Belah viaduct had six one foot diameter columns set in parallel rows of three, strengthened by cross-bracing at five foot intervals, with horizontal and diagonal tie-bars of wrought iron. Fifty feet wide at the base, it narrowed to about half that, its 16 spans supported from masonry abutments which survived demolition. Mousegill Viaduct, built of stone, was demolished by the Royal Engineers in Jul. 1963.⁶⁷ The road bridge at Black Hause has survived but the Bleathgill signal box was refused permission for residential use in 1970, and was subsequently demolished.

Post, carriers, buses, and telecommunications

The wires of the Electric Telegraph Co. followed the railway over Stainmore in 1861.⁶⁸

Carriers were recorded from 1787, culminating in c.1858 with Thomas Raine from Rampson,

⁶⁴ HER, Monument No. 510209, Belah Viaduct.

⁶⁵ HER, SMR14433, TNA, RAIL632/26, RAIL632/29.

⁶⁶ Awdry, *Over the Summit*, 114.

⁶⁷ J.L.R. Birkbeck, 'Demolition of Belah Viaduct', *Railway Magazine* (Nov. 1963), 17.

A. Jowett, *Jowett's Railway Atlas of Great Britain and Ireland from pre-Grouping to the present day*, (Wellingborough, 1989), 5, 53; TNA, Act, 13 July 1857 (20 & 21 Vic., cap. 40), RAIL1067/28 (amalgamation).

⁶⁸ TNA, RAIL632/11.

James Brunskill from Upmanhowe and Benjamin Blackett from Skirrygill to Kirkby Stephen on Mondays and Barnard Castle on Wednesdays. John Thompson from the Black Horse at the Slip Inn to Appleby on Saturday, Barnard Castle on Wednesday and Kirkby Stephen on Monday. James Holiday from the Greyhound at the Slip Inn to Appleby on Saturday, to Barnard Castle on Wednesday and to Kirkby Stephen on Monday.⁶⁹ Other carriers operated from Punch Bowl hill from the 1840's and some into the 1900's from the Blue Bell.⁷⁰

The Primrose Coaches, run by R&M Bisset Ltd and Graham Bros. operated a daily bus service between Tyneside and the Fylde coast from May 1928 until c. 1983. Ribble and Northern General (National Travel) joined in (sometimes competing), a stop provided at the Punch Bowl on Stainmore (useful for Kirkby Stephen or Barnard Castle).⁷¹ Within Stainmore 'lifts' were given by the school bus from Brough, and Wearmouth's Taxis were available.⁷² In 2021, bus services operated between Barnard Castle and Kirkby Stephen by services 572 and B66 up to twice daily.⁷³ Latterly the Primrose service was operated by Classic Coaches (JH Coaches in 2015).

The nearest Post Office was Brough. In 1910 there were post collections from wall letter boxes at the Slip Inn at 9.20 am, from Barras railway station at 6.00 pm, and from the Punch

⁶⁹ Kelly, *Dir. Westm.* (1858), 17.

⁷⁰ Census returns 1787, 1841, 1851, 1861, 1891, 1901.

⁷¹ www.ipernity.com/doc/davidslater-spoddendale/album/753602/@/page:2:18 (accessed 22/11/2021)

⁷² See Social History, below.

⁷³ www.rome2rio.com/ (accessed 10 Feb. 2018).

Bowl public house at 12.10 pm.⁷⁴ The postman, Mr Wilkinson would collect while delivering.⁷⁵ Wall boxes are still in use (2021).

The National Telephone Company were in Westmorland from c. 1897.⁷⁶ Brough Post Office telephone exchange opened c. May 1913 using BX (central battery–operated signalling),⁷⁷ and was automatic by 1935.⁷⁸ In 1931 Augill Castle’s telephone number was Brough 2; by 1936 it was Brough 22 and in c.1/1936 an RAC phone box was approved.⁷⁹ By 1965 Brough was ‘999’ enabled, and trunk calls by 1970. By 1987/8, the Brough exchange served 146 business users and 406 residential.⁸⁰ A mobile mast on Moudy Mea was granted to Racal Vodafone Ltd in c.1988.⁸¹ Broadband access was available from 2004. A hyperfast broadband service from a B4RN scheme is yet to be provided (2022).

Population

⁷⁴ Kelly, *Dir. Westm.*, (1910), 129.

⁷⁵ Beckwith archive, *Stainmore: within living memory*, 10.

⁷⁶ Kelly, *Dir. Westm.* (1897) 189.

⁷⁷ BT Archive, *List of All Telephone Exchanges in the United Kingdom*, compiled by DJS. Kay, Lancaster Telephone District, p. 11. – no separate figures for Stainmore.

⁷⁸ BT Archive, *List of All Telephone Exchanges*, 1935, 30.

⁷⁹ WCC, vol. 1935-6, 646.

⁸⁰ BT Archive, *Lists of Exchanges 1987 and 1988*.

⁸¹ Eden District Council, (email), 88/1310, 86/0650,

www.mast/data.com/0/address/address.aspx?AdID=60763 (accessed 4/2/2018).

Prior to census returns (beginning in 1787), estimates for Stainmore’s population require adjustment for boundary changes and omissions (see Table 1). The Protestation Returns of 1642 suffered avoidance; the 1671 hearth tax omitted many households recorded in 1674; and the inclusion of Stainmore in 1676 Diocesan returns is doubted.⁸² Stainmore accommodated c.42–46% of the Brough parish population in the late 1600s, with reports of high numbers of children and longevity⁸³ supporting a (later) multiplier of about five to convert households into people (see Table 1).

Table 1: Stainmore population estimates from surveys and taxations

Event/ date	Households /heads	Taxed	Adjusted	Multipliers	Population Projections
1674 Hearth tax	131		(South Str. excl.?)	x 4.75 x 4.5	622 589
1671 Hearth tax	(84)	84 assessed	None exempt	x 5.5	(462)
1641 Protestation Returns	(51)		males	$x \frac{100}{55} x \frac{100}{48}$	(193)
1604 Clifford Survey	97		(103, old boundaries)	x 4.75 x 4.5	461 436
1563	(140) 56		Brough u St. – 40% ?	x 4.75	(266)
1379 Poll tax E179/195/17	(189) 75.6		Brough u St. – 40% ?	x 4.75 x 4.5	359 340

⁸² A. Wiseman & Mary Clapinson (eds.), *The Compton Census of 1676: a critical edition*, (Oxford, 1986), 619, 627.

⁸³ CAS (C), DMH/10/3/2.

An estimated population of c.218 in 1379 followed dislocations from warfare, c. three visitations of plague,⁸⁴ and concessionary taxes⁸⁵ (see Table 1). By 1604 there were around 96–9 households on Stainmore,⁸⁶ representing a population of c.482.⁸⁷ The 1674 Hearth Tax recorded 131 households, suggesting an increase to c.635 persons and in the 1787 census, a reduction to 125 households⁸⁸ accommodated a population of 621 (Table 2). The national census showed a decline, with 530 persons recorded in 1801 and 502 in 1811, the Napoleonic wars being a likely factor. The highest recorded population of 707 in 1831, suggests increased investment, engineering, mining, droving and highway trade.⁸⁹ When the railway opened in 1861, the figure was 672. There followed a long decline to 218 in 1971 (see Table 2). There was some recovery thereafter, and a population of 264 was recorded in 2011.⁹⁰ The number of households, however, were almost the same as in 1861.

⁸⁴ G. M. Howe, *Man, Environment and Disease in Britain: A Medical Geography through the Ages*, (Harmondsworth, 1976), 120;

⁸⁵ W.M. Ormerod, 'An Experiment in Taxation: The English Parish Subsidy of 1371', *Speculum*, 63(1), 1988, 58-82, 73.

⁸⁶ CAS (K), WD/HOTH/3/34/1.

⁸⁷ Using a multiplier of 5.

⁸⁸ L. Ashcroft (ed.), *Vital Statistics, the Westmorland 'census' of 1787*, (Kendal, 1992), 15-31.

⁸⁹ I. Tyler, *Cross Fell and Mines of the Cumbrian Pennines*, (Carlisle, 2013), 506-509, 551 (re Borrowdale area).

⁹⁰ www.ukcensusdata.com/brough (accessed 10/7/2018).

Table 2: Census populations of Stainmore

Stainmore	Population total	North Stainmore	South Stainmore	House –holds	Houses occ Nth/Sth	Houses total	Male/ Female
2011	264			117		115	
2001	253						
1991	241						
1981	251						
1971	218						
1961	306			89		89	156/150
1951	387			106		106	196/191
1931	444			104		104	236/208
1921	490			98		98	247/243
1911	516			106			271/245
1901	501	284	217	109		112	258/243
1891	507	282	225		61/48	116	261/246
1881	494					115	254/240
1871	536						
1861	672	324	348	119			
1851	549	332	217	113	61/46	121	274/275
1841	611	360	251	113			
1831	707						
1821	616						
1811	502						
1801	530						
1787	621						

In 1841 about 60 per cent of the population of Stainmore resided in North Stainmore. By 1861, the population was more evenly distributed between North and South. Railway construction and employment brought in people born elsewhere. This was especially true in South Stainmore, where 40 per cent of inhabitants were born outside Westmorland in 1861, up 18.5 per cent in a decade. By 1901, North Stainmore was again the more populous quarter, with 57 per cent of the total township population, while the number born outside Westmorland, was less than 25 per cent, in both quarters.⁹¹

⁹¹ Census Returns.

Settlement

No comprehensive archaeological survey has been conducted into the full extent and age of prehistoric settlement on Stainmore. The evidence does show that habitation was dispersed, located at water sources and growing where advantageous, often despite altitude (e.g. Greencragg). Both medieval and probably Romano British sites lay on the boundary between enclosures and commons. Small greens at South Stainmore, Oxenthwaite and Stricegill distinguished small building clusters, though the later High Ewbank (c.1424) went into decline from c.1800. Nodes of building occurred along the main road at North Stainmore and Banks Gate; on the Middleton road at Blackmoor Gate; and also near the Slip Inn, in the 19th and 20th century, including railway cottages at Stainmore summit railway cottages.

Prehistoric Settlement

About 15 settlement sites across Stainmore have been attributed to the Iron Age/Romano–British period, with others unclassified. Hut platforms and fields near Leonards Crag have been dated by second century pottery, and twelfth century ware, with a deeper time profile suggested by a Bronze Age cup and ring marked stone,⁹² Neolithic flint, and a Mesolithic flint–working site nearby.⁹³ Aerial survey has mapped an associated dyke system of mostly Iron age/Romano–British date,⁹⁴ and a linear design across the Augill ravine,

⁹² HER, SMR14300.

⁹³ HER, SMR17715, Bluegrass; SMR4398, Spittal.

⁹⁴ N.J. Higham, ‘Dyke Systems in North Cumbria’, *Bulletin Board of Celtic Studies*, xxvii (1978), 142-155; N.J. Higham and G.D.B. Jones, ‘Frontiers, Forts and Farmers, Cumbrian Aerial Survey 1974-75’, *Archaeology Journal*, CXXXII (1975), 16-33.

characteristic of the Bronze Age.⁹⁵ At Dyke House a multivallate fort was classified Romano–British.⁹⁶ The Romans policed Stainmore with a system of signal stations, watchtowers and fortlets from the auxiliary cohort fort (*Verteris*) at Brough, linking York (*Eboracvm*) to Carlisle (*Luguvallium*). A *turma*,⁹⁷ of cavalry, or militia,⁹⁸ was stationed at Maiden Castle fortlet, where a vicus settlement developed.⁹⁹ Excavation underneath a farm below Maiden Castle found a Romano–British dwelling, and abundant pottery.¹⁰⁰

Medieval and Early Modern Settlement

The Eubanks of Virginia claimed their family seat was ‘atte Hye Jewbancke’,¹⁰¹ having allegedly ‘came into Westmorland with fire and sword in the tenth century’.¹⁰² In terms of place names, Old English derivations are suggested for Bleathgill (Blaythgill), Calva load (South Stainmore) and Thorney Gale (Longrigg, North Stainmore), Middle English for Palliard, (Palliot, N.St.) Upmanhowe and Mouthlock (Moghton) (S.St.) and Irish/Gaelic for Dowgill head (Dubgall) (N.St). Later ‘thwaites’ place names suggest Scandinavian

⁹⁵ H. Charlesworth, *Fieldwork in the Stainmore Pass* (1986, unpublished). See Brough.

⁹⁶ Including settlement near Dyke House, SMRs 3455, 3456.

⁹⁷ R.G. Collingwood, ‘Maiden Castle in Stainmore’, *CW2*, 27 (1926), 176 (*turma*, c. 30 men & 34 horses).

⁹⁸ E. Birley, ‘The Roman fort at Brough-under-Stainmore’, *CW2*, 58 (1958), 49.

⁹⁹ HER, SMR3999.

¹⁰⁰ T. Clare, ‘Report on the excavations of the native settlement below Maiden Castle in Stainmore (1976-7 and 1985), publication due 2019.

¹⁰¹ SE. Grose (ed.), *Nelson County Virginia Heritage, 1807-2000*, ‘Eubank Family’, Roger Tate Eubank, (Sebastian, Florida, google books), 116.

¹⁰² Quoting the Very Reverend Archdeacon Walter Frederick Ewbank (29/1/1918-23/3/2014).

re-occupation (or occupation) at Oxenthwaite, Borrenthwaite, (S.St.) and Littlethwaite (N.St.). Many of these settlements lay in the vicinity of the Argill and Mousegill Becks, central to the township.

Stricegill (Strycales, S.St.) indicated ‘Strik’s’ shieling, and Litts Garth (Lirtscarth, N.St.), ‘Lyrta’s pass’.¹⁰³ Shielings at Hird’s House and on Foddering Hill, (Swindale N.St., c.500m.) have not survived.¹⁰⁴ Small ‘greens’ appeared at Knowa (S.St.) and elsewhere, probably preceding Scandinavian settlement.¹⁰⁵ Vaccary farms increased from c. 11 in 1291, to 29 cow pastures in 1390.¹⁰⁶ Two vaccaries remain unlocated (Garefytestegh and Bretynhowe) and one is suspected at Dowcragg (N.St.).¹⁰⁷ In South Stainmore, New Hall was built pre 1422¹⁰⁸ (replacing Ewbank Hall, sold c.1250?),¹⁰⁹ and High Ewbank recorded by 1424.¹¹⁰

By c.1600, settlement reached near maximum extent and Fulling and Corn Mills were recorded on the river Belah.¹¹¹ Tenements were also then reported for North Stainmore at: Craghouse (x2) , Borrenthwaite (x 2), Thorney Gale (x2), newly recorded were Cocklake, Gillbank, Toddpits, (Leonards) Crag, Fawhouse, Palyeat Green, Swindell (c.three),

¹⁰³ *PNW*, II, 72-80 (ON).

¹⁰⁴ See Economic history.

¹⁰⁵ M. C. Higham, *Pre-Conquest Settlement in the Forest of Bowland*, 122-3.

¹⁰⁶ See Economic History.

¹⁰⁷ CAS (K), WD/HOTH/3/45/29.

¹⁰⁸ *Cal. Inq. p.m.*, XXI, no. 957.

¹⁰⁹ CAS (C), DCHA/11/4/1, 396.

¹¹⁰ *Cal. Inq. p.m.*, XXII, no. 306.

¹¹¹ CAS (K), WD/HOTH/34/1

Greencragg, Borrowdale two, Sowerby Park, Windmore, Borrowdalehead, Crakey (several), Penistone Green, Bluegrass two, Augill head, Blackmoor Gate, Swindellside and Dunhaw (numerous). Those on South Stainmore were Upmanhowe, Stricegill (x4), Oxenthwaite (x4), Barras (x4), Ewbank (x4) and Oakbank (see tables 2a, and 5 and maps).

Eighteenth Century

Dr Todd accounted for 56 ‘houses’ in 1720, with 94 households across Stainmore, suggesting two households per house. There was a ‘village’ of 12 families at High Ewbank,¹¹² following further conversion from seasonal to residential use in the 1690s.¹¹³ Building evidence post 1700 is sparse, confused by repeated (generic) names. Hence Low Dowgill occurs in 1749,¹¹⁴ but the settlement name Dowgill was extant pre-1589. Dummah Crag was recorded in 1735,¹¹⁵ but several Dunhow’s date pre-1600. Tenements at Argill house and bridge and Rakestraw were probably all referred to as Argill Bridge (S.St.) pre-1624,¹¹⁶ disguising their origins. Some peripheral and infill growth occurred and occupation of field houses and barns fluctuated. New Hall farm (S.St.) was rebuilt c.1713–20.¹¹⁷ As for the rest, Ing Head (N.St.) appeared by 1728,¹¹⁸ Well Head (N.St.) by 1731,¹¹⁹ Great Skirrygill (S.St.) by 1761,¹²⁰

¹¹² CAS (C), DMH/10/3/2.

¹¹³ CAS (C), D/LONS/L/12/3/7/9.

¹¹⁴ CAS (C), PROB/ Thomas Nicholson, WI, 1749.

¹¹⁵ CAS (C), PROB/ Michael Hoopes, WI, 1735.

¹¹⁶ CAS (C), PROB/1624/WX131, Mary Waistell, 1624.

¹¹⁷ CAS (C), DLONS/L/12/3/7/9 (considered early 18th century by RCHME).

¹¹⁸ CAS (C), PROB/1728/WINV145(a), Lancelot Nicholson, 1728.

¹¹⁹ CAS (C), PROB/1731/AINVX45, Thomas Rudd, 1731.

¹²⁰ CAS (C), PROB/1761/WI66, John Hilton, 1761.

Spurrig End and Cragg Green by 1770,¹²¹ and Rowantree Force by 1773 (N.St.).¹²² The Inn at Blewgrass was first attested in 1742;¹²³ New Inn (Cooper House), Slip Inn (Black Lamb), perhaps Slapestones¹²⁴ (White House/ Moorcock), and Blue Bell in 1770.¹²⁵ Lane cottage (near Punch Bowl, N.St.) appeared by 1797.¹²⁶

Nineteenth Century

Several new farmsteads and cottages were built in the first half of the 19th century. At North Stainmore, Greena was first recorded in 1807,¹²⁷ though by 1809, Faw House (c.1600) was lost.¹²⁸ Woodside (farm) was built by 1808,¹²⁹ and Banks Gate (on the main road) by 1813.¹³⁰ In 1828, Hardhills, Street House, Windmoor End (Farm), High House, Plaintree, and Primrose cottages were depicted.¹³¹ Swinging Gate was extant by 1823.¹³² A country mansion, Augill Castle was built in 1841, replacing a farm. Low Penistone (Green)

¹²¹ E. Birley, *Brough under Stainmore Parish Registers*, (Spurrock End, 1770); Thomas Jeffery, *Historic Map of Westmorland, 1770* (CWAAS Record Series Vol.XIV, 2001).

¹²² Birley, *Parish Registers*, (Roantree Force, 1773).

¹²³ CAS (K), WQSR/149/14.

¹²⁴ CAS (C), PROB/1594/WIN VX60, Thomas Ewbank, 1594 (property at Slapestones).

¹²⁵ *Jeffery's Westmorland* (1770).

¹²⁶ CAS (C), MM786 (Stainmore baptisms)

¹²⁷ CAS (K), WDHH/46. Could be Greenho., 1596 PR.

¹²⁸ CAS (K), WDHH/46.

¹²⁹ Birley, *Parish Registers*, 1808.

¹³⁰ CAS (C), MM786 (the family name Bank dates from 1586).

¹³¹ Hodgson, *Map of Westmorland* (1828).

¹³² Greenwood, *Map of Westmorland* (1823) (marked not named).

duplicated old Penistone Green pre 1843,¹³³ and remains occupied in 2021. Westerkell and Highground Houses were also extant by c.1843. In South Stainmore, Manor House was depicted in 1823;¹³⁴ Parkside (Woofergill) and Molds Bar in 1828;¹³⁵ Seats was first recorded in 1841.¹³⁶

The 19th century also saw the addition of several amenities in the township, including a school, built near Borrowdale before 1823 and another built near St Mary's church in North Stainmore in 1879.¹³⁷ Mouthlock Methodist chapel was built in 1831 above two cottages, while North Stainmore Methodist chapel was built in 1868.¹³⁸ At Borrenthwaite, Cragmere House (Inn) was referred to in 1832.¹³⁹ The Slip Inn declined from three occupied buildings in 1841, to two in 1851 (one unoccupied), then grew to six occupied and two empty in 1861.¹⁴⁰

In South Stainmore, Bank House was demolished for the incoming railway in 1861, though Barras station and hotel were built nearby.¹⁴¹ Temporary huts to serve the workforce were

¹³³ TNA, IR 29/37/72.

¹³⁴ Greenwood, *Map of Westmorland* (1823) (marked not named).

¹³⁵ Hodgson, *Map of Westmorland* (1828).

¹³⁶ Census returns 1851.

¹³⁷ See Social History.

¹³⁸ See Religious History.

¹³⁹ CAS (C), MM786.

¹⁴⁰ Census 1841-61.

¹⁴¹ Census 1861.

constructed at Belah Inn (lost) and Haselbank Inn, Middlefell House,¹⁴² Barras, Cockfield and New Hall. The four Summit cottages, Barras House and Barras Side appeared by 1871, as did Villa Park (N.St., adjoining the 1855 enclosure of Church Brough Intack). The Enclosure Award of 1890 encompassed Windmore Green (c.1841), Blackmore Green (c.1878),¹⁴³ Lane House (c.1797),¹⁴⁴ Westerkell house (c.1843), and the new North Stainmore school (c. 1879), quarrying the two houses at old school above it.¹⁴⁵ Clattern cottage (near Rampson, SS) was recorded in 1881 and Lowfield by 1891. Tufton Lodge was built for a gamekeeper in 1895.¹⁴⁶ Total house numbers reached 135 in 1861 to accommodate railway workers, declining to 112 by 1901.

Twentieth Century to Present (2021)

The Slip Inn fluctuated from six occupied units in 1901 to four by 1911, when Woofergill had become a byre,¹⁴⁷ and the hamlet at High Ewbank declined to two buildings.¹⁴⁸ Only one was occupied in 2018.¹⁴⁹ One significant new building in this period was the Methodist Chapel built at Mouthlock in 1909. From c.1930 mains electricity began to be rolled out,¹⁵⁰

¹⁴² Haselbank Inn probably named after barn standing in field of that name at 38385112; Middlefell Ho. (now lost marked at c.38525114 on MAF1/582).

¹⁴³ CAS (K), Brough Primitive Methodist Circuit, baptisms 1844-1885, *tr.*

¹⁴⁴ CAS (C), MM786.

¹⁴⁵ TNA, MAF 1/582.

¹⁴⁶ TNA, IR 58/19183.

¹⁴⁷ TNA, IR 58/19183.

¹⁴⁸ 1911 Census; from five on 1841 census.

¹⁴⁹ www.ukcensusdata.com/brough (accessed 10/7/2018)

¹⁵⁰ CAS (C), WCC minutes vol. 1929/30, 467.

with schemes later approved at North Stainmore in 1963, South Stainmore, Barras, Dowgill and Bleathgill in 1964.¹⁵¹ In 1932, the Stainmore Institute at Barras, South Stainmore, was built.¹⁵²

Post 1951, some property at Johnson's Plain was redeveloped for four (?) new houses,¹⁵³ but no social housing was built in the township. Of *c.* 63 field houses and barns that existed before 1900, around 31 have since been lost and three are ruinous.¹⁵⁴ Field houses at High House and Westerkell were lost post *c.* 2002 and Grey Lodge (farm *c.* 1692/3¹⁵⁵) was demolished by 1897 except for a barn.¹⁵⁶ Summit Cottages were demolished in the 1960s. Planning policy favoured agricultural use over 'unnecessary' residential development, with cottages for agricultural workers approved in the 1970's at Bleathgill and Barras.¹⁵⁷

Restorations, as at Longcrag, Blackmoor Gate and Hazel Bank saved many residential buildings for new owners. Barn conversions at Dyke House, Lower Mouthlock (1973), Augill Castle (1982), Cooper House (1984), Windmore End (1984) and Villa Park (1984)¹⁵⁸ added

¹⁵¹ CAS (C), WSRDNW/P/8/10, (1963-5), NW4334, NW4340, NW4364.

¹⁵² See Social History, below.

¹⁵³ OS 6" Map, Westm. Sheet NY81SW (revised 1951), NGR. 844149.

¹⁵⁴ extra-residential property; See Google maps (accessed Sept. 2021); TNA, IR 29/37/72; OS Map, 1:10,000, Westm. Sheets NY81NW/NE/SW/SE; NY80NE (1982).

¹⁵⁵ CAS (C), PROB/Robert Simpson, 1692.

¹⁵⁶ OS 6" Map, Westm. Sheet XVI (1863), Lat. 54°32'35" north, Long. 2°16'40" west; compare with revised edition 1897 Sheet XVI SE (NGR.820165).

¹⁵⁷ CAS (C), SDE/4/1/3.

¹⁵⁸ CAS (C), SDE/4/1/45.

to the housing stock, as did the conversion of St Mary's Church (1974).¹⁵⁹ Two houses at Cragg Green were made into a single dwelling in 1982.¹⁶⁰ Fir Tree Lodge was built post 1980.¹⁶¹ Craco farm was demolished c.1993 for the A66 road improvements,¹⁶² and Ing Head had been lost by 2002, by which time Eden View Farm was extant.¹⁶³ Currently (2021), a new dwelling is planned at Barras side cottage and at Bluegrass a barn conversion for residential use.¹⁶⁴ Of the 117 populated tenures (including redundant farms) on Stainmore in 2011, 97 were owned, 61 outright and 36 on mortgage. Ten were privately rented and three socially, with six living rent free.¹⁶⁵

Built Character

There is some information about the characteristics of Stainmore's early buildings. Of the farms in the Upper Eden, Thomas Machell wrote in c.1675 that 'their under Roomes were vaults.'¹⁶⁶ Cellars at Cooper house have a barrel-vaulted medieval appearance and like those at the Punch Bowl were storage for their Inns.¹⁶⁷ Those at Borrenthwaite (lost?)

¹⁵⁹ CAS (C), SDE/4/1/55, SDE/4/1/50.

¹⁶⁰ CAS (C), WSRDNW/P/7 (1972-4), NW8770, NW9120, SDE/4/1/40.

¹⁶¹ OS Map, 1:10,000, Westm. Sheet NY81SW, NGR 837115 (1982).

¹⁶² *A66 Stainmore-Banks Gate Improvement Cumbria: Archaeological Evaluation Phase 2*, JK Lambert, D Drury (Lancaster University, 1993), 52.

¹⁶³ EDC planning, 91/0879, dwelling refused c.3/1992.

¹⁶⁴ <https://my.eden.gov.uk/myeden.aspx> (accessed 5/12/2021).

¹⁶⁵ www.ukcensusdata.com/brough (accessed 10/07/2018).

¹⁶⁶ CAS (C), DCHA/11/4/1, 73.

¹⁶⁷ Local Inf. Observation of H Charlesworth c.1985.

accommodated a wide range of merchantable goods. Two cellars were recorded for Calva House,¹⁶⁸ with others at Thorney Gale,¹⁶⁹ Oxenthwaite,¹⁷⁰ and Borren House.¹⁷¹ Cellars could provide refuge from raiders and torching, and foundations for rebuilding.¹⁷²

The farms were mostly built of well coursed rubble from local limestone, sandstone and freestone quarried in the township (and well quoined and jammed). Timber was also included as part of the tenants' customary rights,¹⁷³ as was thatching in local heather, gorse, rushes, and peat, sandstone flags or, increasingly from the 18th century, imported slate. On exposed hillsides a low profile and south facing prospect was often preferred. Most houses in c.1910 did not have water supplied internally, except to the dairy.¹⁷⁴

Above their footings most buildings dated to no earlier than the rebuilding of the late 17th or early 18th^t century.¹⁷⁵ The longhouse was predominant (as at 12 of 19 medieval vaccaries), characterised by a domestic firehouse, dairy and adjoining byre/barn, the two often separated by a passage for draught and shelter when threshing¹⁷⁶ (e.g. Blackmoor Green). This pattern,

¹⁶⁸ TNA, IR 58/19183.

¹⁶⁹ CAS (K), WDHH/46, (9/1809).

¹⁷⁰ CAS (C), PROB/William Brunskill, WI, 1618.

¹⁷¹ TNA, IR 58/19183.

¹⁷² Robertson, *Plains*, 113.

¹⁷³ N&B, I, 307; CAS (K), WDDE 2/6/1.

¹⁷⁴ TNA, IR 58/19183.

¹⁷⁵ RCHM, *Westm.* (1936), 215-217.

¹⁷⁶ R. W. Brunskill, *Illustrated Handbook of Vernacular Architecture*, (London, 1978), 104-05.

characteristic of the Dales, was often compounded with byres on both sides of the house (Gillbank, Borrenhouse), or at one end (Far Dummah Hill, Windmore end farm) stretching the building under a single roofline to *c.* 27 m. or more, as at Borrenhouse which incorporated its bank barn door on the gable. Bedrooms were often in lofts and little different from the adjoining haylofts in the barns.¹⁷⁷ Additions included stables, grain lofts (Gillbank and Oxenthwaite), cart sheds and lean-to's, and long outhus rooflines as at Borrowdale and Littlethwaite, (the latter's roof subsequently raised).¹⁷⁸ Surviving cottages are mostly nineteenth century and later, often two storey rebuilds with few single storey survivals.

Extensive outbuildings were created on an irregular T-shaped plan at Rampson, a substantial, grade II listed, eighteenth century yeoman's house, which retains original interior detail.¹⁷⁹ The main doorway had a closed pediment doorcase and plain pilasters with moulded capitals and banded lintel. It incorporated parts of an earlier dwelling including a datestone inscribed 'S.W.M. 1630'¹⁸⁰ in coursed rubble sandstone with substantial quoin stones, wet-dash rendered and lime-washed, with a stone slate roof.

The Slip Inn is a rendered ashlar construction of double pile plan with a stepped M-shaped roof over five bays, frontage coping with skewput kneeler and accented quoining. A datestone suggested rebuilding, 'I.M.T. 1858'.¹⁸¹ The Grade II-listed Punchbowl Inn is

¹⁷⁷ Robertson, *Plains*, 116.

¹⁷⁸ Local inf., owners, *c.*8/2021.

¹⁷⁹ NHLE, List Entry no. 1144833, Rampson Farmhouse; NHLE, List Entry no. 1269101, Rampson Farmhouse and attached outbuildings; RCHM, *Westm.*, 215-217, rebuilt 1766.

¹⁸⁰ RCHM, *Westm.*, 215-217, 'W and M.S. 1630'.

¹⁸¹ www.cumbriacounthistory.org.uk/resource/gazetteer-old-cumbria (accessed 10/06/2021).

mostly of 18th and 19th century build, rendered with accented quoins, corniced stone chimneys, a symmetrical five bay front, panelled door, pedimented doorcase and Tuscan pilasters with stone surrounds to sash windows and graduated slate roof.¹⁸²

Augill Castle (Grade II),¹⁸³ the largest house on Stainmore, was built in 1841 in a castellated Gothic style for John Bagot Pearson. It was constructed of coursed limestone rubble with projecting embattled parapet and graduated Westmorland slate roofs. Two storeyed, it has 13 bays overall, with symmetrical frontage (4:1:4), central gatehouse and thin corner turrets,¹⁸⁴ flying buttresses, and cement bay windows with dressed stone surrounds. The door has a pointed head with a three light traceried window above. The square stair tower has a traceried window after one at Melrose Abbey, and the libraries stained glass is after Sir Walter Scott's at Abbotsford. The interior has re-used late 17th century panelling to the entrance hall, and ornate fireplaces. Noted in c.1911 were an oak drawing room, butler's and housekeeper's rooms, kitchen, dairy, store, scullery, wine cellars, night nursery and two bathrooms on the first floor. It was lit throughout with acetylene and had a gravity fed spring water supply. Outside was a large conservatory and rose house, a cottage, a four stalled, crenelated and lofted stable forming a coach house and cloister (listed Grade II, 6/1984)¹⁸⁵ with symmetrical seven bayed front (3:1:3), turreted with central tower. There was also a garage, cartsheds and greenhouse.¹⁸⁶ A section had to be rebuilt after the acetylene exploded in 1927.¹⁸⁷

¹⁸² NHLE, List Entry No. 1327039, Punchbowl Inn, A66.

¹⁸³ NHLE, List Entry No. 1144857, Augill Castle, Stainmore, Eden, Cumbria.

¹⁸⁴ Hyde and Pevsner, *Cumbria*: 191.

¹⁸⁵ NHLE, List Entry No. 1327038, Coach house and Cloister to north west of Augill Castle.

¹⁸⁶ TNA, IR 58/19183.

¹⁸⁷ *Nottingham Evening Post*, 2 Mar. 1927, p. 6.

The mansion at Borrenthwaite Hall developed from rebuilds made by the Ewbank's in 1756¹⁸⁸ and 1861,¹⁸⁹ a new wing being added in 1862. In c.1910–5 it had eight bedrooms, drawing room, bath and w.c., a (three storey lying-in tower) garret, dining and sitting rooms, cellar, dairy and back kitchen. There was a new water supply in 1914 and the old carbide lighting was changed to an electric supply from a turbine in the beck. Outer buildings included bee bowls, stone game house and lumber rooms, dog and coal houses, pig sty, lime house and loft, stables, cart and potting sheds. A small private chapel nearby is now ruinous.¹⁹⁰

The Royal Commission assessed nine buildings to be of 17th century date.¹⁹¹ At Stainmore summit there was a munitions store (lost, possibly Yardstone) and a Second World War pillbox standard type FW3/24, a concrete bunker in the shape of an irregular hexagon (5x2.4m, 1x3.96m) with embrasures of minimum exposure designed to maximise coverage, and also to minimise ricochet and blast.¹⁹² At Augill bridge are the well preserved (but

¹⁸⁸ Local inf., allegedly part funded from Virginia plantations. Wall paintings depicted black figures dancing in c.1985.

¹⁸⁹ CAS (K), WDDE14/1/1-4.

¹⁹⁰ HER, SMR15356.

¹⁹¹ RCHM, *Westm.*, 215-7.

¹⁹² <https://archaeologydataservice.ac.uk/archsearch/browser.xhtm/> ;

www.walktonbridge.co.uk/thewalks/the-pillbox-safari (accessed 30/6/2021), NY87901250; SMR4399.

unroofed) remains of a lead smelting mill constructed c.1843, converted c.1859/60 to be an iron foundry and out of use by 1894.¹⁹³

LANDOWNERSHIP

Pattern of Landownership

The township of Stainmore, together with the manor and castle of Brough (see BROUGH), formed part of the ancient hunting forest of Stainmore, held by the barons of Appleby/Westmorland.¹⁹⁴ Before township boundary changes of 1847,¹⁹⁵ the bounds of Stainmore township were exceeded by both the Forest and lordship of Stainmore.¹⁹⁶ Within the township's territory lay a number of parks and warrens, including Brough Park and Sowerby Park, which were in existence before 1203,¹⁹⁷ followed by Aldpark (Oldpark), the Deer Reservation and Ewbank Park.¹⁹⁸ The Forest was accounted for separately in the Brough court rolls,¹⁹⁹ and was in the jurisdiction of the castle constable and his forest officers.²⁰⁰ As well as opportunities for hunting and large areas for grazing, the lord of the

¹⁹³ Archsearch as above. Actual usage as a foundry is doubted.

¹⁹⁴ CAS (K), WDX1290; see map 1; see Local Government, below.

¹⁹⁵ CAS (K), WDKILV/2/1/4.

¹⁹⁶ See map; Stainmore extents – upland townships & lordships.

¹⁹⁷ The modern boundary cuts through these parks, which are therefore included.

¹⁹⁸ H Charlesworth, 'The Medieval Parks of Brough under Stainmore', *CW3*, 18, 2018, 169-190. See Economic History, below.

¹⁹⁹ CAS (C), WD/HOTH/3/45/ 1540 accounts. See Local Government, below.

²⁰⁰ *Cal. Inq. p. m.* III, no. 70.

manor also held the mineral rights on Stainmore, which included coal, iron, lead, silver and barytes.²⁰¹

The lords' wastes and commons were very extensive at c.16.000 a.²⁰² From c.1291 they developed vaccaries around the township,²⁰³ and purchased land in c.1250. About 1,186 a. of demesne persisted into the late 19th century.²⁰⁴ The other manorial interests were sold off by the 1960s, except for shooting rights on the grouse moor which were retained by the Tufton–Sackvilles. Post 1250 the only other mesne lordship emerged from alienated land beside the Swindale beck. The Ewbanks of Borrenthwaite Hall leased out a significant customary estate (accumulated from the 16th century), until the 1900s. The remaining territory was customary tenure, the proprietary rights preserved under the Forest Charter of 1217,²⁰⁵ and confirmed in 1741.²⁰⁶ Enfranchisement, which began in the 18th century, consolidated ownership into small freeholds, most of 50–200 a.²⁰⁷

²⁰¹ I. Tyler, *Cross Fell & Mines of the Cumbrian Pennines*, (Chester, 2013), 550-580.

²⁰² TNA, IR 18/10864; IR 18/10797.

²⁰³ *Cal. Inq. p. m.* III, no. 70. Vaccaries – cattle farms with enhanced, mostly wall-enclosed in-bye meadows.

²⁰⁴ TNA, MAF 1/582 (1888).

²⁰⁵ H. Rothwell, *English Historical Documents, vol. 3, 1189-1327*, (London, 1975), no.24, 337-340. Clauses 12, 17. G.M. Trevelyan, *A Shortened History of England*, (Harmondsworth, 1959), 132, 146-8; not servile – C.M.L. Bouch, *Prelates and People of the Lake Counties: A History of the Diocese of Carlisle*, (Kendal 1948), 20-22.

²⁰⁶ TNA, C 11/1301/25, Tufton v. Earl of Thanet, 1742; CAS (K), WDDE2/6/1.

²⁰⁷ CAS (K), WDHH/48, WDHH/43.

Manors and Principal Estates

The origins of Stainmore Forest may lie in the name *Athelstanesmore*,²⁰⁸ after a possible Saxon lord, or even King Athelstan (924–939) himself.²⁰⁹ Stainmore Forest and township formed part of the manor of Brough (comprising Winton, [Kaber]/ South Stainmore, Brough Sowerby, and Brough).²¹⁰ The lordship divisions (latterly townships) were adjudged and weighted into ‘foots’ and ‘rows’,²¹¹ with Stainmore having two, its weighting later justifying boundary revisions which removed over 700 a.,²¹² including most of the allotments for (Market) Brough Intack,²¹³ the Hag Gap estate, part of the former Brough Park, and about half of Sowerby Park.²¹⁴ Stainmore’s connection with Brough is further evidenced in the name *Burgh cum Stanesmore*, recorded in 1379.²¹⁵

²⁰⁸ S, Walker, *Nine Standards; Ancient Cairns or Modern Folly?*, (Kirkby Stephen, 2008), 63.

²⁰⁹ Unless simply an antiquarian’s invention? W. Harrison, *Description of Britain*, (1577), in *Holinshed’s Chronicles*, I, 147; W.D. Shannon, *Cumberland and Westmorland on Maps before Saxton*, *CW3*, 20 (2020), 130 (map).

²¹⁰ See map – Stainmore extents.

²¹¹ Rows fix on becks (and possibly associated tracks on nearby ridges) to describe divisions within Stainmore (North and South Stainmore). In Scots ‘foot’ is the lower part of the ‘street’ or ‘town’(ship).

²¹² TNA, IR 18/10864; Overseers deeds 16 Apr. 1696, and 1758; A Warrack, *Chambers Scots Dialect Dictionary*, (Edinburgh, 1930), foot: lowest part of street or town

²¹³ CAS (K), WDKILV/6/1.

²¹⁴ See Brough and Brough Sowerby.

²¹⁵ TNA, E 179/195/17, (n.b. also Kirkby Stephen *cum* Mallerstang [forest]).

The Forest of Stainmore was not named in the grant of Appleby barony to Robert de Veteripont in 1203,²¹⁶ but subsequent legal proceedings named the reversionary lands, including Brough and Sowerby parks (of c.331 and c.157 a.), as extant in 1203.²¹⁷ These demesne lands included the ‘Garth at Oxenthwaite’, suggestive of ancient cornage.

The grant to Robert de Veteripont was followed by a near continuous descent of familial inheritance from the Cliffords to the Hothfields. Possession of Stainmore was occasionally interrupted by the minority of an heir and was often gifted for widows’ dower rights. In 1242 Bishop Walter of Carlisle was given custody of the barony due to the minority of Robert de Veteripont (d. 1264).²¹⁸ He was accused in 1272 of causing waste in the woods at Yarnfiteskoue (probably partly in Brough Park, Stainmore),²¹⁹ Skrimeskoue and Carver woods (lost), and of making enclosures and vaccaries.²²⁰

In 1268, when the barony was divided between the child co–heiresses, Isabella and Idonea Veteripont by their Clifford and Leybourne guardians, Stainmore and its manorial assets were also divided.²²¹ While Idonea received the castle at Brough and half of the manor (including Stainmore), Isabella (d.1291) possessed the coal mines on Stainmore, agistment relating to

²¹⁶ J.E. Prescott, *The Register of the Priory of Wetheral*, (London, 1897), 393.

²¹⁷ J.L. Malay, *Anne Clifford’s Great Books of Record*, (Manchester, 2015), 776-789; CAS (K), WDX71.

²¹⁸ *The Pipe Rolls of Cumberland and Westmorland, 1222-1260*, ed. F. H. M. Parker, 103.

²¹⁹ *PNW*, 2, 67.

²²⁰ TNA, C 134/39/1; CAS (K), WDX/6.

²²¹ *Cal. Pat. 1266-1272*, V, 290-292.

Brough and Sowerby Parks, and two torella (rabbit warren mounds).²²² For want of an heir, Idonea relinquished her part of the inheritance to her sister's heir, Robert de Clifford, in 1307,²²³ but continued to reside at the castles of Brough and Mallerstang until her death in 1333.²²⁴

An enquiry into alienated Clifford lands in 1290/1,²²⁵ discovered two properties on Stainmore called 'Swynedale Greynes' and 'Lonnels Graines' (probably Swindalehead and Windmore end),²²⁶ which had been enclosed by men from 'Brough' (actually Helbeck manor). These were entered into the Brough (with Stainmore) manor court in 1269 for the term of the life of Isabell de Clifford for £6 p.a..²²⁷ Thereafter they reverted to being customary holdings of Helbeck manor.²²⁸ Subsequent Stainmore 'improvements' were charged for in the Brough

²²² TNA, C134/39/1, CAS (K), WDX/6. (IPM and extent of Isabella).

²²³ *Cal. Pat.*, I, 134.

²²⁴ Malay, *Books of Record*, 155; CAS (K), WD/HOTH/1/10, v.1, 151.

²²⁵ Following the Statute of Merton of 1235 authorising the enclosure of manorial waste where the common was sufficient; J. Richardson, *The Local Historians Encyclopaedia*, (New Barnet, 1985), 21, 25.

²²⁶ See Hodgson, *Map of Westmorland* (1828).

²²⁷ Malay, *Books of Record*, 232.

²²⁸ M. Blackett-Ord, *A History of Helbeck or Hilbeck*, (2015, unpublished), 4; ref. HM C 50 (re Windmore End as part of Helbeck manor in 1655)

(Clifford) manor courts.²²⁹ This continued until c.1791 after which they appear to be entirely dealt with in the Thanet /Hothfield Brough manor courts.²³⁰

When Robert de Clifford was killed at the Battle of Bannockburn in 1314, Brough and Sowerby Parks were named among his possessions.²³¹ Robert's widow, Matilda de Clare, (d.1327) was awarded the castle of Brough, along with Stainmore in dower.²³² The next heir, another Robert, died in 1344, jointly seized with his wife, Isabella Berkley, of Brough manor and its two parks within Stainmore.²³³ His widow remarried without licence to Sir Thomas Musgrave,²³⁴ whose family were often rivals to the Cliffords. Litigation over land and inheritance then ensued after the King enforced the dower right.²³⁵

Roger de Clifford (d.1389), and his wife Maud Beauchamp were seized with the mines on Stainmore and Old Park gill.²³⁶ Old Park, recorded from 1389/90 until 1461,²³⁷ appears to have replaced Brough and Sowerby parks, which were last referred to in 1344. As part of her

²²⁹ CAS (K), WD/HOTH/3/34/1, 111 (Wynder)

²³⁰ Blakett-Ord, *Helbeck*, 4; Verdict Book of the Homage Jury of Brough with Hilbeck 1791 HM misc.

²³¹ *Cal. Inq. p. m.*, V, 533.

²³² *Cal. Close*, II, 117; *Cal. Inq. p.m.*, VII, 52; TNA, C 134/3/17.

²³³ *Cal. Inq. p. m.*, VIII, 531, (extent missing), in; Malay, *Books of Record*, 358; CAS (K) WD/HOTH/1/10, v.2, 211.

²³⁴ R.R. Baxter, *ODNB*, Sir Thomas Musgrave, 40, 23.

²³⁵ *Cal. Fine Rolls*, V, 409-410.

²³⁶ *Cal. Inq. p. m.* XVI, 836-838; Henry Summerson, *ODNB*, Roger Clifford, 12, 110-1.

²³⁷ TNA, SC/11/26.

dower, Maud enjoyed the castle and manor of Brough and retained much of Stainmore, including the vaccaries and Old Park.²³⁸ Before Maud's death in 1402/3, the lordship supported another dower claim: that of Elizabeth, wife of Thomas de Clifford (d.1391).²³⁹ In 1422, Elizabeth still held a third of the barony and was jointly enfeoffed of the castle and manor of Brough.²⁴⁰ Locally she was an active manager,²⁴¹ at a time when the Clifford's were planning to extend the leasehold on their estates.²⁴²

High Ewbank and New Hall

The Ewbanks of Stainmore appeared in Machell's manuscript with a pedigree relating to the 12th to early 13th centuries, and a coat of Arms.²⁴³ This line ended with an heiress who allegedly married a Robert Vipont, Lord of Westmorland. A later line of Ewbanks were retainers of the Clifford's on Stainmore in 1407, and in 1638 Thomas Ewbank was bailiff there. While a line of Ewbanks continued at Ewbank/Borrenthwaite Hall (see below), Thomas Machell (1647–98),²⁴⁴ quoting Lady Anne Clifford, related that the Ewbank family had sold their High Ewbank estate to the Cliffords, including a 'Jewbank Hall' (lost) at

²³⁸ *Cal. Inq. p. m.*, XVIII, 779; TNA, C 137/36/37, E149/81/5.

²³⁹ *Cal. Close*, IV, 454; *Cal. Close*, V, 97-98.

²⁴⁰ *Cal. Inq. p. m.*, XXI, 952-957, 958; TNA, C 139/72/42; C 138/64/37.

²⁴¹ V. J. Rees, 'The Clifford Family in the later middle ages, 1259-1461', unpublished M.Litt. thesis, University of Lancaster, 1973, 189-190.

²⁴² Malay, *Books of Record*, 462, ftn 5.

²⁴³ CAS (C), DCHA/11/4/1, 202, 396, 399-400.

²⁴⁴ A.J.L. Winchester, *ODNB*, Thomas Machell, 35, 460-1; H. Colvin, *A Biographical Dictionary of British Architects* (London, 1978), 531-2.

(High) Ewbank.²⁴⁵ It was here, between the river Belah and the Mousegill beck, that common of grazing was enfeoffed to Allan de Cabergh in 1292.²⁴⁶ The tenure was socage, (free of wardship,²⁴⁷ and of military service), down to c.1403 when new vaccaries (cattle pastures)²⁴⁸ were created there at the capital demesne messuage of New Hall,²⁴⁹ and at High Ewbank,²⁵⁰ together with 200 a. of pasture and 100 a. of wood, (c.420 statute a.), probably Ewbank (Old), Park.²⁵¹ New Hall and a nearby deer reservation (of 50 customary or forest a.; c.70 statute a.) was leased by Robert Leigh, gentleman of Appleby, in 1604.²⁵² By c.1750, New Hall comprised 394 a.,²⁵³ and High Ewbank with the parks there, another 696 statute a.²⁵⁴

In 1806 there were 32 tenants (out of c.110) willing to enfranchise, though the process began in the 1700s.²⁵⁵ Palliot Farm was enfranchised in 1819,²⁵⁶ and there were 42 freeholders by 1820.²⁵⁷ By 1843 the earl of Thanet's demesne was only 1,180 a., three other owners held

²⁴⁵ CAS (C), DCHA/11/4/1, 396.

²⁴⁶ *Cal. Inq. p. m.*, III, 70.

²⁴⁷ F.W. Ragg, 'Appendix to "The Feoffees of the Cliffords"', *CW2*, viii, 267.

²⁴⁸ A. J. L. Winchester, *Landscape and Society in Medieval Cumbria*, (Edinburgh, 1987), 6.

²⁴⁹ *Cal. Inq. p. m.*, XXI, 958. (see map).

²⁵⁰ *Cal. Inq. p. m.*, XXII, 306.

²⁵¹ *Ibid.*

²⁵² CAS (K), WD/HOTH/3/34/1, 116, (lease dated 1587).

²⁵³ CAS (K), WD/HOTH/3/34/17.

²⁵⁴ CAS (K), WDRC/8/131.

²⁵⁵ CAS (K), WDHH/47; WDDE/9/3; WDHH/42, (n/a., fragile).

²⁵⁶ CAS (K), WDDE/2/1/2/1.

²⁵⁷ UK Poll Books, 1820.

over 200 a., and ten had between 100 and 200 a.²⁵⁸ Church Brough Intack enclosed c.80a. of common for the landowners in 1855 (with shares to the Lord of the manor and Rev. Jefferson). Following legal actions and debate during the 19th century²⁵⁹ both owners and occupiers became beneficiaries in the 1888 Stainmore enclosure award to both allotments and incremental intakes (totalling c. 3,310 a.).²⁶⁰

In 1941 the High Ewbank and New Hall estates, part of Blue Grass, and Tufton Lodge remained in the ownership of Veteripont Estates Ltd..²⁶¹ New Hall was occupied by G. W. Beckwith in 1910,²⁶² farming c.730a.²⁶³ (from High Ewbank in 1901).²⁶⁴ It was owned by Peter Beckwith and his family in 2018.

Other Estates

Ewbank Estate, Borrenthwaite Hall

In 1594 Thomas Ewbank of Borrenthwaite left a small estate, his inventory worth over £152 net.²⁶⁵ In 1597 his son, Michael, was admitted to improvements there,²⁶⁶ and demised a lease

²⁵⁸ CAS (K), WDRC/8/131.

²⁵⁹ *Cumberland & Westmorland Advertiser*, 13 Jan. 1880.

²⁶⁰ TNA, MAF 1/582, (see tables)

²⁶¹ TNA, MAF 32/202/27.

²⁶² Private conversation June 2018; TNA, IR 58/19184.

²⁶³ TNA, IR 58/19184.(partly in Kaber)

²⁶⁴ *Census 1901*, RG13/49/03.

²⁶⁵ CAS (C), PROB/1594/WIN VX60.

²⁶⁶ CAS (K), WD/HOTH/3/34/1, 109.

in his will dated 1620.²⁶⁷ By 1843 the Ewbanks possessed 303 a. on Stainmore,²⁶⁸ having bought Mouthlock in 1770, and Intack and Calf Garth in 1833. Light Trees was bought in 1849 and Calva in 1862.²⁶⁹ Land was also bought in Crosby Ravensworth parish and Melmerby in Cumberland.²⁷⁰ The house at Borrenthwaite was improved and refurbished in 1757 and 1861/2,²⁷¹ with a small chapel nearby and carriage road access.²⁷²

The male line of the Ewbanks failed twice in the 1800s. The name survived by adoption, with Matthew Robinson Wilson becoming M.R. Ewbank (d. 1872 aged 42) and with Dr. G.W. Dalston becoming Dalston–Ewbank. In 1941 they owned tenements at Calva, Borren House, Seats, Palliard, Slapestones, Upmanhowe, Rampson, West Dowgill, Mouthlock and Light Trees.²⁷³ Dr Dalston’s son, George Michael Dalston–Ewbank died in 1963.²⁷⁴ Borrenthwaite Hall was sold to millionaire John Middleton. After a bankruptcy,²⁷⁵ and a criminal sex case,²⁷⁶ it was put up for sale in 2005 and again in 2013.²⁷⁷ By May 2018, it had been resold.²⁷⁸

²⁶⁷ CAS (C), PROB/1620/WINVX35.

²⁶⁸ CAS (K), WDRC/8/131.

²⁶⁹ CAS (K), WDDE/9/3.

²⁷⁰ *Ibid.*; (CAS (C), PROB/1855/WINV854).

²⁷¹ *Ibid.*

²⁷² HER, SMR 15356.

²⁷³ TNA, MAF 32/202/27.

²⁷⁴ *Cumberland and Westmorland Herald*, 3 Aug. 1963, p. 1.

²⁷⁵ London Gaz., Issue 51230, 4 Feb. 1988, p. 1345.

²⁷⁶ *Westmorland Herald*, 6 Mar. 2004, p. 15.

Augill Castle Estate

Augill Castle was built in 1841,²⁷⁹ set in a 54 a. estate, by John Bagot Pearson (d. 1869²⁸⁰) of Kirkby Lonsdale following a family argument.²⁸¹ Most of the owners' estates lay in Kirkby Lonsdale, with homes at Biggins Lodge and Lune cottage.²⁸² The Revd Robert Clayton Heslop had a mortgage interest in 1875 when he advertised the premises as a prep school, but he fell into bankruptcy.²⁸³ In 1878 it was sold to Mr. Collins of London for £5,875.²⁸⁴ In 1888, John Indermaur, (1851–1925) the British lawyer and writer on the common law, was the owner.²⁸⁵ Uninhabited at the 1881 and 1891 censuses it had gained a reputation for spectral lights before sale at auction in 1892 for £560 to J. H. Jackson of Culgaith.²⁸⁶

²⁷⁷ www.zoopla.co.uk/property/new-house/borrenthwaite-hall/north-stainmore/kirkby-stephen/ca17-4eu/3834626 (accessed 3 June 2017).

²⁷⁸ Personal communication from Brian Reid, Melbourne, Australia, 21/03/2018.

²⁷⁹ Census 1841: TNA, HO 107/1158/15, 13.

²⁸⁰ CAS (C), PROB/1869/WCOD370.

²⁸¹ Mannex, *Dir. Westm.* (1851), 146.

²⁸² See Kirkby Lonsdale.

²⁸³ *Lancaster Gazette and General Advertiser for Lancashire, Westmorland and Yorkshire*, 16 March 1878; *Manchester Times*, Adverts and Notices, 16 Jan. 1875.

²⁸⁴ *Lancaster Gazette*, 17 Jul. 1878.

²⁸⁵ TNA, MAF 1/582;

<https://jstor.org/action/doBasicSearch?Query=au%3A%22John+Indermaur> (accessed 14/7/2018).

²⁸⁶ *North Eastern Daily Gazette*, 1 May 1896; *Northern Echo*, 16 Aug. 1892.

Following restoration in 1896,²⁸⁷ it was sold (having electricity) and 100 a. for £650 to Charles Jessop Dyson (1866–1920) who intended to repair the building and live there.²⁸⁸ His family were wealthy tea merchants from Barkisland, Halifax.²⁸⁹ The reporter G. W. Steevens, author of *With Kitchener to Khartoum* was at Augill on a summer lease in 1899, when the *Daily Mail* called him away to cover the Dreyfuss case in Paris.²⁹⁰ Paul Kester the American playwright and novelist (1870–1933), purchased Augill in the autumn of 1905.²⁹¹ He returned to Virginia the following Apr., selling to Dr. John Abercrombie (d.1914), who, in ill health, retired there with his family.²⁹² Born in Cheltenham, educated at Caius College, Cambridge and made F.R.C.P.,²⁹³ he became a JP and Sheriff of the County for Westmorland. He enfranchised the property in 1906,²⁹⁴ buying nearby Park House and 99 a. in 1907 for £2,600.²⁹⁵

²⁸⁷ CAS (K), WDB135/1/171.

²⁸⁸ *Northern Daily Mail and South Durham Herald*, 18 Aug. 1897, p. 1.

²⁸⁹ Andrews Newspaper Index Cards (1790-1976), see Social history.

²⁹⁰ *Northern Echo*, 2 and 5 Aug. 1899.

²⁹¹ <https://archives.nypl.org/mss/1641> (accessed 18 Mar. 2018); *Manchester Courier and Lancashire General Advertiser*, 3 May 1906, p. 6.

²⁹² ‘Obituary, May 9, 1914’, *British Medical Journal*, i, 2783, 1048-50; Census 1911, RG 14/579/2/12/31578; Probate London, 26 Jun. 1914.

²⁹³ Fellow of the Royal College of Physicians.

²⁹⁴ See Social history; TNA, MAF 9/356.

²⁹⁵ TNA, IR 58/19183.

Augill Castle was sold in 1919 and became the home of Major Henry Oxley Ingham (1868–1944) T.D., D.L., J.P., a timber importer from Cardigan House (and Headingley Hall), Leeds.²⁹⁶ In 1927, following a gas explosion and fire, he had the east wing rebuilt.²⁹⁷ In a long military career, he served in the First World War, commanding T.F. Depots 1914–19.²⁹⁸ He died at Augill Castle in 1944, a Lieutenant Colonel.²⁹⁹ Augill was offered for sale as a licensed hotel in 1954 and 1955,³⁰⁰ and in 1966 was bought by the antiques dealer Michael Hogarth.³⁰¹ Castle Antiques Ltd. was wound up in 1993.³⁰² The house was bought in 1997 after being empty for four years, by Simon and Wendy Bennett, who restored it as a Hotel and bed and breakfast, built a kitchen garden and planted a thousand trees.³⁰³ In 2015 it was put up for sale for about £2.5 million, but remained in the Bennett's ownership in 2018.³⁰⁴

²⁹⁶ *Census 1911*, RG14/500/4/27/27080; *Who's Who in Cumberland and Westmorland* (London, 1937), 126.

²⁹⁷ *Nottingham Evening Post*, 2 Mar. 1927, p. 6; Kelly, *Dir. Westm.*, (1934), 121.

²⁹⁸ *Who's Who*, 126.

²⁹⁹ National Probate Register 1945, 906, Llandudno, 6 Jan.; (tombstone, St Michael's Church, Brough).

³⁰⁰ *Yorkshire Post and Leeds Intelligencer*, 19 Jun. 1954, 30 Apr. 1955.

³⁰¹ *Westmorland Herald*, 20 Apr. 1987.

³⁰² *London Gazette*, 28 Jan. 1993.

³⁰³ *Guardian*, 30 Mar. 2008.

³⁰⁴ www.colliers.com/en-gb/uk/insights/property-news/2015/0804-iconic-augill-kirkby-stephen-cumbria-offered-for-sale (accessed 6 June 2017), www.boutiquehotelier.com (accessed 15/07/2018).

ECONOMIC HISTORY

Surrounded by high moorland summer pastures and well-watered incised valleys, Stainmore was dominated by a pastoral agriculture of meadows and woody browse suited to stock-rearing. Mines and quarries were mostly located on the upper fellside, especially in North Stainmore where the coalfields and lead mining supported family smallholdings and diverse cottage industries. Sheep rearing and flax growing developed and fed into a domestic textile industry. As markets grew, the Ewbanks expanded their leasehold interests while the lord of the manor's ability to charge economic rents was constrained by law. The railway brought cheap coal from outside and lobbying for sidings to serve local dairy traders. Following the Second World War, the intensification of farming, stocking, holding size, and the disappearance of most meadow, created a more 'uniform landscape'.³⁰⁵

Farming

The Agricultural Landscape

Romano-British stone-fenced fields and pottery were recorded at Maiden Castle vicus,³⁰⁶ and near Leonard's Crag.³⁰⁷ Large corral-shaped livestock enclosures may have helped

³⁰⁵ <https://books.google.co.uk/> (accessed 10/12/2018), Council of Europe Parliamentary Assembly 2006, Doc. 10648, 'The Costs of the Common Agricultural Policy' 140, 158 & 159 etc.

³⁰⁶ HER, SMR3999.

³⁰⁷ HER, SMR14300

increase hay cultivation.³⁰⁸ The medieval vaccary landscape, originating before 1291,³⁰⁹ likely replaced ancient stock-leasing ('daer-rath'),³¹⁰ while the early Norman deer parks evidenced a succession from Anglo-Saxon methods of deer entrapment.³¹¹

The parks were enclosed to preserve the lord's resources of woods (vert) and game, but also provided agistment grazing. The parks extant prior to 1203³¹² were Brough park (c.331 a.; 134 ha.) and Sowerby park (c. 157 a.; 64 ha.), with perimeters adjoining the western boundaries of the township. Both were disparked after c.1390, and the land fully tenanted by 1632.³¹³ Subsequent parks were created further east, among the vaccaries at Old Park c.74 a., (30ha.), in use c.1390–1500; the deer reservation c.73 a., (30 ha.), in use c. 1500–1650; and Ewbank Park c.420 a., (170 ha.), founded about 1424.³¹⁴ The latter included c.280 a. (113 ha.) of stinted pasture leased (in the 1690s),³¹⁵ to around eight families,³¹⁶ and retained as the lord's enclosed cattlegated pasture, and commercial plantation.

³⁰⁸ R. Fleming, *Britain after Rome: The Fall and Rise 400 to 1070*, The Penguin History of Britain, II, (London, 2011), 17.

³⁰⁹ *Cal. Inq. p. m.*, III, no.70.

³¹⁰ M.C. Higham, 'Pre-conquest settlement in the Forest of Bowland' in J.R. Baldwin and I.D. Whyte, *The Scandinavians in Cumbria*, (Edinburgh, 1985), 122-127.

³¹¹ H.R.M. Charlesworth, 'The Medieval Parks of Brough under Stainmore', *CW3*, 18 (2018), 179, 175.

³¹² The date of grant of the barony.

³¹³ CAS (K), WDX71.

³¹⁴ *Cal. Inq. p. m.* XXII, no. 306.

³¹⁵ CAS (C), D/LONS/L/12/3/7/9 (1692).

³¹⁶ CAS (C), DMH/10/3/2.

Ancient commons extended throughout the township. Those on Stainmore's western boundary were at least as old as the parks nearby, and named after the neighbouring settlements they served, with Market Brough Intack comprising *c.*416 a. (168 ha.) and Church Brough Intack *c.*80 a. (33 ha.). In 1843, Stainmore township residents had rights to 10,000 a. (4,047 ha.) of rough pasture on Stainmore Common, and also to internal gated commons. These commons of waste extended on the lanes and drifts, as in the case of Long rigg (Ling rig), *c.*182 a.; (74 ha.). Another 79 a. (32 ha.) along the road at Slipinn common was originally double the size, and stretched towards the Mousegill beck, until intacks were made there in *c.*1450–1550.³¹⁷ Two small areas were at Stainmore Common (N. St.) of *c.*32 a. (13 ha.), and Spur rig, *c.*11 a. (4.75 ha.). A more extensive common of *c.*130 a. (53 ha.) was at Slapestones prior to 1690 with funnel access to Stainmore common. Buscoe Moor, a bushy moor of *c.*62a. (25ha.), lying between Brough and Sowerby parks, was a funnel relict of the hunting landscape.³¹⁸ Farms were often sited on the edges of commons or pastures for convenience when feeding, watering and milking livestock.³¹⁹ An Act of 1879 (Award 1890) resulted in the enclosure of two areas of common. East Stainmore Regulated Pasture (North Moor), measuring 3,726 a. (1,508 ha.),³²⁰ and East Stainmore Regulated Pasture (South Moor), measuring 2,577 a. (1,043 ha.).³²¹

³¹⁷ CAS (K), WPR23B/3//1/1 (Tithe award).

³¹⁸ Charlesworth, 'Medieval Parks', 180.

³¹⁹ Higham, 'Pre-conquest settlement.' 124.

³²⁰ CL 122, (ex Westmorland) and CLs 1001 and 1075, (Durham).

³²¹ CL 21 (ex Westmorland) and CL 1001 (Durham).

Early arable farming was limited to use with pasture in rotation. However, field names such as Peas Close and Corn Field suggested the titheable arable acreage, recorded in 1843 at 190 a. (77 ha., 3%), may have previously been c.240 a. (97 ha.). Of the tithed land in 1843, (6,300 a, 2,550 ha.), about 60% was pasture and 35% meadow. Recorded wood summarised at 1.9% (20 a. in the tithe summary) covered 122 a. (49 ha.), but the evidence of wood-related field names suggests greater coverage, up to c.500 a. (202 ha.) in c.1450.³²² Soils were variable, being of base-rich moderate fertility south of the A66, and high fertility from Ewbank to Slapestones.³²³

Estate Management before 1600

Stainmore's parks contributed to seigneurial revenue. In 1291 and 1314 Brough and Sowerby Parks were yielding c.100s. p.a. in agistment income from herbage.³²⁴ Brough supplied six fallow deer from the parks and twelve red deer from the chase in 1315, for the garrison of Carlisle Castle.³²⁵ In 1291 two *torella* yielded 9d. yearly,³²⁶ (probably for rabbits from Coneypots). In Brough Park, the field 'hagg'³²⁷ implied protected, compartmentalised, coppice woodland for charcoal burning, with the bark of oak, ash and birch reserved for the tanning of leather (see below). Coppice ('spryng') woods in Brough park were retained on

³²² CAS (K), WPR23B/3/1/1, (+100 a. periodically at Ewbank park)

³²³ <http://www.landis.org.uk/soilscapes/index.cfm> (accessed 16 Apr. 2017).

³²⁴ TNA, E 149/1(27), C134/39/1.

³²⁵ TNA, C 54/133(Y); *Cal. Close*, 1313-1318, 239-240.

³²⁶ TNA, E 149/1(27).

³²⁷ ed. A. H. Smith, *English Place-Name Elements*, 221.

lease by the lord in 1540.³²⁸ Old Park replaced Brough and Sowerby parks c.1390 and c.1500 the deer herd was moved again to the Deer Reservation near Barras.³²⁹

Early undated hedged enclosures and cow pastures were made on Stainmore during the wardship of Walter prior of Carlisle (after c.1242).³³⁰ Thereafter, seigneurial policy changed towards generating income from the expansion of enclosures and vaccaries, and new tenancies termed ‘*appruamenta*’ (new improvements),³³¹ expanding hay production, stock capacity, and cash market revenues.³³² By 1291 there were 13 vaccaries beyond the parks, (mostly in Stainmore), with a written value of c.£26 15s. p.a.³³³ In 1314, 11 cow-houses (with meadow adjoining), burnt in Scottish raids after Bannockburn, were valued at 10s. each, with another five unburnt ones at 20s..³³⁴ This became 29 cow pastures by 1389/90

³²⁸ CAS (K), WD/HOTH/3/35/ 1540 accounts.

³²⁹ Charlesworth, ‘Medieval Parks’, CW3, 173-175.

³³⁰ *Cal. Inq. misc. (Chancery)*, I, no. 436, *Anne Clifford’s Great Books of Record*, ed. J.L. Malay (M.U.P. 2015), 91-2.

³³¹ David Johnson, *An improving prospect?*, (Stroud, 2016), 24, 40; The Statute of Merton, 1235 gave lords a right to enclose or ‘approve’ for their own benefit.

³³² Fleming, *Britain after Rome*, 281-4.

³³³ *Cal. Inq. p.m.*, III, no.70, Named vaccaries – Knolhowe, Skirrygill, Swinestone, lez Borowans, Mouthlock, Thorny Gale, Strice Gill, Caltrehowload, Aldpark, Calva, Hazelbank, Borrenthwaite, New Hall, Ewbank, Craghouse, Rampson, Bretynhowe, Mykylthwayte, Ukmanhow, Garefytestsg

³³⁴ TNA, C 134/39/1, W. Whellan, *History & Topography of the Counties of Cumberland & Westmorland*, (Pontefract, 1860), 729.

which were mostly burnt.³³⁵ However, the written value of all the vaccaries in 1425 was the same as in 1540 (£25 18s. 5d.), and approximated to the valuation of 1292.³³⁶

Unusually in Cumbria, many of Stainmore's vaccaries were concentrated together and lacked integral fellside pastures.³³⁷ Shares in the commons provided summer grazing, with rich in-byre meadows, beck-side wood pasture and browse near the farm (see map). There was evidence for leasing of four vaccaries in 1379, from Thomas Clifford to Roger Lord Clifford, with two tenants named.³³⁸ From 1337 the Cliffords used litigation (and force) to extend their pasturage from Leazehead towards Middleton.³³⁹ At Leazehead and Coneypots the Musgraves exercised rights to grazing for cattle and sheep by levancy and couchancy (which linked common grazing rights to farm productivity),³⁴⁰ which the Tuftons sought to extinguish in 1710.³⁴¹ Between the 15th and 16th centuries, efforts were made to extend tacks (leases, mostly on 'improvements' and intacks), resulting in increased valuations and an expanded market for the sale of the tenant-right to copyhold tenements.³⁴² In 1424, ten

³³⁵ *Cal. Inq. p. m.*, XVI, no. 836. (a Scottish raid in force prior to the battle of Otterburn/Chevy Chase).

³³⁶ CAS (K), WD/HOTH 3/45/29 (& 39 [misdescribed?]), 1540 accounts.

³³⁷ A.J.L. Winchester, *Landscape and Society in Medieval Cumbria*, (Edinburgh, 1987), 42-43.

³³⁸ *Book of Record*, ed. Malay, 344.

³³⁹ TNA, SC 8/12/583, etc.; see Winchester, *Harvest of the Hills: Rural Life in Northern England and the Scottish Borders, 1400-1700*. (Edinburgh, 2000), 96.

³⁴⁰ Winchester, *Harvest of the Hills*, 79.

³⁴¹ Malay, *Books of Record*, 930-1; CAS (K), WD/HOTH/1/10, v.3, 281.

³⁴² CAS (K), WD/HOTH/3/34/1, 104-119.

vaccaries were (part?) leasehold, held ‘as of fee’ of the lord’s (waste?) demesne with ten others ‘appruamenta’ (enclosed, or approved), presumably for life of the lord (as customary).

The Cliffords had built a new demesne farm at New Hall (c. 394 a.; 159 ha.) by 1422.³⁴³ By 1424 acquisition of the estate and demesne parkland at Ewbank added a further c.696 a. (282 ha.).³⁴⁴ Both were enclosed out of the lord’s waste and retained as demesne leaseholds in 1604, when the other vaccaries were in customary tenure.³⁴⁵ Cattlegates let within the 280 a. (113 ha.) of pasture at Ewbank Park were mostly managed from nearby farms until residence was adopted during the 16th–17th centuries.³⁴⁶

Services due from the tenants included boon coals and boonwork, sometimes remitted to money rents.³⁴⁷ The lord’s quarries provided a variety of building materials, and the lord’s mills at Oxenthwaite (corn) and Huntingside (fulling) were accounted for in South Stainmore.³⁴⁸ The lord of the manor also held the mineral rights on Stainmore, which included, coal, iron, lead, and barytes.

Tenant Farming before 1600

³⁴³ *Cal. Inq. p.m.*, XXI, no. 958.

³⁴⁴ *Cal. Inq. p.m.*, XXII, no. 306.

³⁴⁵ CAS (K), WD/HOTH/3/34/1.

³⁴⁶ CAS (K), WD/HOTH/3/34/1, 114, CAS (C), DLons/L12/3/7/9.

³⁴⁷ CAS (K), WD/HH/12.

³⁴⁸ CAS (K), WD/HOTH/3/34/1, 97-98 (i.e. Kaber/South Stainmore).

The first record of pasture in Stainmore is recorded in a gift from Torphin son of Robert to Bleatarn Grange before 1170,³⁴⁹ though it related to the old extent of Stainmore, within the seigneurial honor of Brough.³⁵⁰ Place names in Stainmore township suggested early transhumance, as evidenced in Stryscales,³⁵¹ ‘Striks shieling’ and Beldoo Hill,³⁵² ‘hill with a shelter’. ‘Herds House’, a remote shelter on Ley Seat survived to 1624,³⁵³ and House of Fell to 1561.³⁵⁴ Excavation discovered a shieling near Maiden Castle.³⁵⁵

Taking the initiative in 1260, Helbeck tenants made enclosures at Lanneslegraines and Swyne de Graynes,³⁵⁶ which were recorded by Brough under Stainmore manor in 1269, at a rent of £6 p.a. for the term of the life of Isabell de Clifford.³⁵⁷ Colonisation was suggested by field and place names, such as Bullthwaite, Oxenthwaite, Tewthwaite and Borrenthwaite, as well as in personal named fields (Nicholson park) and intacks (Dawsons intack).

³⁴⁹ J.E. Burton (ed.), *The Cartulary of Byland Abbey*, (Woodbridge, 2004), 208, 48, 24.

³⁵⁰ ‘Stainmore’ boundary extended from Winton to Warcop. See WARCOP, and Introduction, above.

³⁵¹ A.H. Smith, *Place Names of Westmorland*, EPNS, 42 (Cambridge, 1967), 2, 74.

³⁵² Smith, *PNW*, 2, 74. (‘shieling’ may just indicate peripheral to enclosure?)

³⁵³ CAS (C), DCHA/11/4/1, 184.

³⁵⁴ CAS (C), PROB/Richard Key/1561.

³⁵⁵ T. Clare, ‘Report on the excavations of the native settlement below Maiden Castle in Stainmore (1976-7 and 1985), CW3 (forthcoming), HER, SMR No. 3601.

³⁵⁶ Possibly Swindale Head, grains = fork in valley, A.J.L. Winchester, *Lake District Field-names: A Guide for Local Historians*, (Lancaster, 2017), 47.

³⁵⁷ CAS (K), Great Book of Record, vol. 2, 32-33 (reversion to Helbeck manor, see Hillbeck).

Appruamenta were improvements or enclosures made with the lord's approval.³⁵⁸ Piecemeal improvements created a patchwork of mostly irregular fields of pasture and meadow as evidenced in surveys of 1580–1620.³⁵⁹ From the 16th century, quicklime was applied, made in clamp kilns,³⁶⁰ using the townships limestone.

In 1314 all the vaccaries had meadows attached.³⁶¹ The productive hay crop with all the grazing was worth c.£16 13s. 4d. in 1345.³⁶² The Tithe hay provided much of the parish church's income (see BROUGH). The farming landscape established in the warm climate of the 13th century was then disrupted by disease and warfare. Vaccaries, farms and crops were burnt, vast booty in cattle and stock stolen, and prisoners taken by Scottish raids, (often hinged on Stainmore.)³⁶³ The economic effects were severe, partly compensated by counter-raids and by the lord's obligation to provide the materials for rebuilding. The medieval poaching records may be symptomatic of the economic distress.³⁶⁴ Tenants had valuable rights to turbary (peat and turf for fuel), to common of pasture, estovers, hedge boot,

³⁵⁸ M.C. Higham, 'Pre-conquest settlement in the Forest of Bowland', in J.R. Baldwin and I.D. Whyte, *The Scandinavians in Cumbria* (Edinburgh, 1985), 118-133.

³⁵⁹ CAS (K), WD/HOTH/3/34/1, 104, 105, 109 etc.

³⁶⁰ Johnson, *Improving prospect?*, 49.

³⁶¹ CAS (K), WDX/6; *Book of Record*, ed. Malay, 283.

³⁶² *Book of Record*, ed. Malay, 358. (figures for Stainmore alone are few).

³⁶³ See Local Government, below.

³⁶⁴ *Cal. Pat.*, II, 595; *Cal. Pat.*, III, 165, See Local Government, below.

barre boote, rayle boot, plough boot, cart boot, stakeboot, quarries (on their own land), and coals (added in rentals), to make leases, mortgages and sales.³⁶⁵

Brough and Sowerby parks were mostly tenanted prior to 1600. Field shape and plough riggs in the west of Sowerby park suggest some arable conversion after disparking (c. 1390), as do intacks into Busco Moor from Brough park, and fields within the park on the west.³⁶⁶

Inventories indicate many tenements were mixed farms of cattle, sheep, pigs and horses, growing oats, barley and flax prior to 1600, as in Miles Ewbank's will of 1584. He had also leased out over £48 value of (customary) property.³⁶⁷

Estate Management 1600–1800

High Ewbank was leased to about eight tenants in 1604, with rights to cattlegates of pasture within the park. In the 1680's they took up residence, and a limekiln was built in the park, perhaps for building, but also pasture conversion outside the park to in-by fields.³⁶⁸ Further leasehold income (in 1604) came from Borrowdale, and the New Hall estate, let for 21 years to Robert Leigh gent. of Appleby from 1587.³⁶⁹ His lease included the Deer Reservation c.70 a. (28 ha.).³⁷⁰ The deer however were an encumbrance for which 40/- was deferred from his lease for feed costs.

³⁶⁵ CAS (K), WDDE2/6/1, CAS (C), DLons/L12/3/7/9, 1704; TNA, C 11/1301/25 (Tufton v Earl of Thanet) 1742.

³⁶⁶ CAS (K), WPR23B/3/1/1 (error 1/3/1).

³⁶⁷ CAS (C), PROB/1584/Miles Ewbank.

³⁶⁸ CAS (K), WD/HOTH/3/34/17, undated estate map c. 1750, (by raising soil pH).

³⁶⁹ CAS (K), WD/HOTH/3/34/1, 115-116.

³⁷⁰ Charlesworth, 'Medieval parks', 173.

Confusion arose from a laxity of stewardship in the Clifford manors during the 16th century, which permitted the payment of fines for leases.³⁷¹ A market in the sale of copyhold land developed among the tenants, including conveyance of ‘tenant right’.³⁷² In 1620 the Clifford’s planned to sell the Stainmore tenants their tenant right, and were challenged for their non-performance.³⁷³ This followed the King’s Award of 1617, which had prevented the lords from making long leases as they had in Yorkshire.³⁷⁴ The customary right to fixed rents and fines in Westmorland further constrained sources of income. In 1653 Lady Anne asserted her rights, cancelled a preferential lease on New Hall,³⁷⁵ and won battles with her tenants in court.³⁷⁶ Thomas, 6th Earl of Thanet (1644–1729) restored order and lease-only terms on the (demesne) tenements at High Ewbank, New Hall and Bluegrass. He also enclosed Slapestones pasture c.130 a. (c.52.6 ha.) in 1699 at his own expense to provide an enhanced income for Stainmore’s school and chapel (see Religious History, below). Finally, a legal opinion delivered in 1741 fixed fines in the tenants favour, and disallowed arbitrary fines.³⁷⁷

³⁷¹ See Local Government, below.

³⁷² CAS (K), WD/HOTH/3/34/1, opp. 104, 105, 106, opp. 111.

³⁷³ Chatsworth House archives, L/45/31, (resulting in case-), TNA, C 2/Jas/C4/31.

³⁷⁴ CAS (C), D/LONS/L/13/1/3; R. T. Spence, ‘The Cliffords, Earls of Cumberland, 1579-1646 ; a study of their fortunes based on their household and estate accounts’, unpublished PhD thesis, University of London 1959, 234-235.

³⁷⁵ CAS (C), D/LONS/L/1/1/28.

³⁷⁶ *Book of Record*, ed. Malay, 908.

³⁷⁷ TNA, C 11/1301/25, Tufton v. Earl of Thanet, 1742; CAS (K), WDDE2/6/1, - fines fixed at 10d. per 1d. rent (lords death), 17d. for tenants.

Thereafter, the Tufton's sought to purchase new landed estates elsewhere.³⁷⁸ Most manorial leases, as at High Ewbank in 1693, Blewgrass in 1679, and Stainmore Mill in 1684 were for 21 years.³⁷⁹ There were also leases for 12, 11 and seven years. Allowances were made for building and repairing, as at New Hall in 1723.³⁸⁰

Tenant Farming 1600–1800

The Ewbanks of Borrenthwaite (Hall) were a leading family pre 1600.³⁸¹ In 1604 they had tenements and improvements at Borrenthwaite, Toddpitts, Greencragg and Thwaite head.³⁸² They built a property estate from a core of family farms at Rampsons and Borrenthwaite, buying Mouthlock in 1770 and resisting partible inheritance. They made interest on loans and bought lime for improvements.³⁸³ In 1722 Stainmore tenants paid £4 9s. 9d. for unprovenanced improvements.³⁸⁴

Hay remained the principal crop after 1600. At New Hall in 1765 hay in barns was worth £3 15s., and a hay stack £4.³⁸⁵ At Palliard the hay crop was worth £26 in 1755.³⁸⁶ In 1617 the

³⁷⁸ CAS (K), WD/HOTH/Box18/6.

³⁷⁹ CAS (C), DLONS/L/12/3/7/9.

³⁸⁰ CAS (C), DLONS/L/12/3/7/9, 1723, 4.

³⁸¹ CAS (C), PROB/Thomas Ewbank, 1594, (with 49 cattle & 132 sheep).

³⁸² CAS (K), WD/HOTH/3/34/1, 109.

³⁸³ CAS (K), WDDE/9/3.

³⁸⁴ CAS (C), DLONS/L/12/3/7/9, 1722-3, p. 4.

³⁸⁵ CAS (C), PROB/Thomas Holiday, 1765.

³⁸⁶ CAS (C), PROB/George Shaw, 1755.

grass and fogg on the ground at Borrenhouses was valued at £2.³⁸⁷ Many farms had running water supplied to a milk-house for dairying. Butter and cheese were listed at Borrenhouses (1617) and Littlethwaite (1662/2).³⁸⁸ In 1758 seven milk cows at Littlethwaite were worth £24 10s..³⁸⁹ There were similar numbers of beef cattle, and each holding had from three to over 30 head.³⁹⁰ At Oxenthwaite in 1662 there were six draught beasts (plough oxen) worth £24,³⁹¹ and at Swinstone Wath seven ‘Scotch’ beef cattle worth £7 10s. in 1738.³⁹² Most inventories included some sheep (though often not counted). New Hall recorded a flock of 317 sheep in 1765, with 238 ewes valued at £83 6s. and five rams at £2 12s. 6d. Many farms had a pig. Geese and poultry were kept in large numbers. At Borrenthwaite, one and a half hives of bees were valued at 16s. in 1620.³⁹³

Horses were traction for farm work, pack animals, and transport. New Hall had stabling and 13 horses, with two workhorses worth £10 in 1765. In 1594, Thomas Ewbank of Borrenthwaite bequeathed the services of his black stallion to his neighbours’ mares.³⁹⁴ Stricegill in 1755 had two Galloway horses with a foal. Valued for strength and endurance, the Galloways were well suited for work in the mines, the levels being specially engineered

³⁸⁷ CAS (C), PROB/Michael Ewbank, 1617.

³⁸⁸ CAS (C), PROB/George Shaw, 1662/3.

³⁸⁹ CAS (C), PROB/John Shaw, 1758, Robert Nicholson, 1763.

³⁹⁰ From 70 inventories, (1565-1700).

³⁹¹ CAS (C), PROB/Michael Brunskill, 1662.

³⁹² CAS (C), PROB/William Harrison, 1738.

³⁹³ CAS (C), PROB/1620/WINVX35 (Michael Ewbank).

³⁹⁴ CAS (C), PROB/Thomas Ewbank, 1594.

to accommodate their hauling and carrying.³⁹⁵ Some North Stainmore farms were smallholdings for miners, as at Windmore Green, Grey Lodge and the (lost) winding house beside plough riggs on Brough Intake.³⁹⁶

Corn crops including haver (oats, the major food crop), bigg (the worst kind of barley), and occasionally wheat, were grown. The bigg was good for brewing, after malting with coke.³⁹⁷ In 1593 at Oxenthwaite six bushels of bigg were sown, with eight bushels each of bigg and haver unsown.³⁹⁸ The difficulties and hardships of farming were exemplified by some bankruptcies, difficulties paying rentals, and fear and sympathy for the poor expressed in charities and bequests.³⁹⁹ It was usual for women and children to work on home and farm. Shepherds were often children, as were watchers at gates. Five families in 1787 worked in both farming and mining, and one was described as a ‘poor’ day labourer.⁴⁰⁰

Farming 1800–2016

During the 19th century, numbers of farm holdings increased from 62 in 1841 to 86 in 1895.⁴⁰¹ They declined to 78 in 1933 and 61 in 1964 before dropping to 47 in 1973 as the size of farms increased. The market in farms and leasehold property had been buoyant in the

³⁹⁵ CAS (C), DLONS/L/12/3/21 (1789).

³⁹⁶ SMR 14354.

³⁹⁷ Hodgsons map 1828 shows a cinder oven (for coke making) at Borrowdale.

³⁹⁸ CAS (C), PROB/Isabel Buckle, 1593.

³⁹⁹ CAS (K), WDDE/9/3. See Social history, below.

⁴⁰⁰ *Vital Statistics: The Westmorland ‘Census’ of 1787*, ed. L. Ashcroft, (1992), 20, 21.

⁴⁰¹ Census 1841: TNA, MAF 1/1575.

1800's but by the 1950's many failed to sell publicly.⁴⁰² The Ewbanks continued to invest, buying Intack and Calf Garth in 1832. This was followed by 112 a. (45 ha.) at Light Trees in 1849 and then Calva in 1862 for £2,450.⁴⁰³ By 1888 they had an estate of nine customary holdings of 474 a. (192 ha.) and three freeholds of 155 a. (63 ha.), most of which was leased.⁴⁰⁴ In 1899 they put Rampson, Light trees and Dyke house out to let, adding West Dowgill in 1937, on preferential terms of repair and improvement.⁴⁰⁵ They bought land on the better soils, and allowed their tenants money for improvements: Palliard received 9d per rood for drainage in 1863.⁴⁰⁶ By comparison, in 1802 the lords lease term of seven years on Bluegrass had been limited to a rotation system of two years pasture followed by two years fallow, then two years cereals followed by beans or clover with a requirement to spread a specified amount of lime and dung.⁴⁰⁷

In 1851 there were ten yeomen in both North and in South Stainmore.⁴⁰⁸ Farms of more than a single tenement (as at Mouthlock and Light trees), offered options of multiple lets or consolidation, as the market permitted. Some amalgamations occurred, as in 1860 when Bank House was demolished by the railway, later followed by Calva Load. Skirrygill and Rampson

⁴⁰² *Penrith Observer*, 30 Aug. 1955, p.10 (re Palliard farm).

⁴⁰³ CAS (K), WDDE/9/3.

⁴⁰⁴ TNA, MAF 1/994. (as well as property elsewhere)

⁴⁰⁵ *Penrith Observer*, 10 Oct. 1899, p.8, 24 Aug. 1937, p.1.

⁴⁰⁶ CAS (K), WDDE/9/3.

⁴⁰⁷ M.E. Gowling, *The Story of Brough-under-Stainmore*, (Kirkby Stephen, 2011), 111, CAS (K), WD/HOTH/26.

⁴⁰⁸ Mannex, *Dir. West*. (1851), 149.

combined pre 1888 to make a holding of c. 226 a. (91 ha.).⁴⁰⁹ Long Crag was joined with Leatherhow by 1910 and for many years became a barn. Spurrig End became an estate of 290 a. (117 ha.) by 1910, with amalgamation to Dummah Crag and Green Crag (now a ruin). Under the Fothergills ownership, Pennystone Green (now gone), was amalgamated with Low Penistone by 1910, and with Cumpstone House and the Blue Bell estate by 1943.

The Inclosure of East Stainmore commons in 1888 followed regulation under act of 1879,⁴¹⁰ which made the work cheaper, promoted stinting, and aggrandised holdings so ‘customary tenants, even very small ones, were given as much consideration as freeholders.’⁴¹¹ Buckles was 110 a. (45 ha.) in 1861 and 256 a. (104 ha.) in 1910.⁴¹² Lord Hothfield’s holdings saw large increments. New Hall was 413 a. (167 ha.) on the Tithe award, 500 a. (202 ha.) in 1861 and 726 a. (293.8 ha.) in 1910. As land was amalgamated into larger holdings, the number of smallholdings varied; those of between one and 20 a. (8 ha.) declined from 18 in 1843 to 11 in 1917, while holdings of 20–100a (40ha.) increased from 28 in 1843 to 49 in 1917. Smallholdings were let when they could be.⁴¹³ Rentals in 1911 included a single holding under 5 a. (2 ha.), 24 of up to 50 a. (20 ha.), 41 of up to 300 a. (121 ha.) and two of over 300a. (121 ha.).⁴¹⁴ By 1973 there were 47 holdings, one of under 5a. (2 ha.), and one of between 300–500a. (121–202 ha.).⁴¹⁵

⁴⁰⁹ TNA, MAF 68/994.

⁴¹⁰ HL, PO/PB/1/1879/42 & 43 V1n 87.

⁴¹¹ I. Whyte, ‘Wild, Barren and Frightful – Parliamentary Enclosure in an Upland County: Westmorland 1767-1890’, *Rural History*, 14, 1 (2003), 27, 31.

⁴¹² The 1910 acreage partly in Kaber township: TNA, IR 58/19184; Census 1861.

⁴¹³ *Penrith Observer*, 2 Jan, 1951, p.1.

⁴¹⁴ i.e. at New Hall and High Ewbank. TNA, MAF 68/2487.

A regulated pasture was created from the unenclosed commons on the north and south moors,⁴¹⁶ which in 2016 was in a higher stewardship scheme managed by the commoners. The rights to shooting on these grouse moors was divided between the Sackville–Tuftons holding the north moor (north of the A66), and the Trustees of Appleby castle grouse moor owning the south moor under the management of the Heather Trust.⁴¹⁷

Arable production declined in Cumbria,⁴¹⁸ and on Stainmore was haphazard. Plough riggs in Borrowdale and at Woodside probably date from the high grain prices of the Napoleonic wars, others to 19th century industry.⁴¹⁹ Riggs across Battle hill dated to demands in the First World War.⁴²⁰ There were peaks for wheat production: 4.5 a. in 1866, 2.5 a. of barley in 1870, 86.7 a. (35ha.) of oats in 1918, 52 a. (21ha.) of potatoes in 1917 and under two a. of mangold and cabbage in 1944. But arable farming eventually moved almost entirely away from cereals. By 1945, most arable was for fodder; there was just 30.5 a. (12 ha.) of rape, 10 a. (4 ha.) of kale and 4 a. (1.6 ha.) of Lucerne grown in 1964.

⁴¹⁵ TNA, MAF 68/5318.

⁴¹⁶ CAS (K), WDHH/31.

⁴¹⁷ <https://whoownsengland.org/2016/who-owns-englands-grouse-moors> ;
www.auctionheathertrust.co.uk/ (accessed 22/03/2018).

⁴¹⁸ Johnson, *Improving prospect?* 215.

⁴¹⁹ SMR 14354, RAF air photos.

⁴²⁰ Local inf. (E. Bousefield).

In 1870, 1,694 a. (686 ha.) of permanent grass was being grown for hay, with 3,134 a. (1268 ha.) available as pasture (as well as commons).⁴²¹ By 1906 there was 2,208 a. (898 ha.) for mowing, and 5,157 a. (2087 ha.) pasture,⁴²² becoming 2,262 a. (915 ha.) and 4,938 a. (1998 ha.) in 1917 under wartime maximisation,⁴²³ (when sledges, mowing and threshing machinery were photographed).⁴²⁴ By 1964 there was a decline to 2,020 a. (817 ha.) for mowing (in part of 11 tons of hay), and 3,032 a. (1227 ha.) for grazing, a total of 5,275 a. (2185 ha.) permanent grass, and another 4,352 a. (1761 ha.) of rough grazing. By June 1960, 56 tons of hay was produced (excluding that season's crop).⁴²⁵ Ensilaging had begun in Cumbria pre 1900 and due to wet summers and the two world wars became dominant across the landscape.⁴²⁶

Livestock numbers varied, rising during periods of wartime demand. Cattle rose from 1,249 in 1870 to 1,495 in 1906 but declined to 1,049 in 1911.⁴²⁷ During the war they rose again to 1,677 in 1917, declining to 1,594 in 1933⁴²⁸ and increasing to 1,976 in 1944.⁴²⁹ From a total of 2,416 in 1964, 314 were for dairy and 334 for beef. There were 2,741 cattle in 1973,⁴³⁰

⁴²¹ TNA, MAF 68/264.

⁴²² TNA, MAF 68/2202.

⁴²³ TNA, MAF 68/2829.

⁴²⁴ D. Robertson, *The Plains of Heaven*, 31, 38, 106.

⁴²⁵ TNA, MAF68/4699.

⁴²⁶ Johnson, *Improving prospect?* 214.

⁴²⁷ TNA, MAF 68/2487.

⁴²⁸ TNA, MAF 68/3696.

⁴²⁹ TNA, MAF 68/4107.

⁴³⁰ TNA, MAF 68/5318.

when four holdings were categorised as specialist dairy and another four as mainly dairy, whereas three were mostly cattle and another three mostly sheep, with 16 holdings described as mixed cattle and sheep.⁴³¹ The Ewbanks at Borrenthwaite earned over £83 from butter in 1871, and produced 1,227lbs. in 1873. They kept a herd of shorthorn cattle in 1948.⁴³² Sheep numbers declined from 11,525 in 1870 but had recovered to 11,812 by 1917 and 16,483 were recorded in 1973. Pig numbers fluctuated but rose to 84 in 1945,⁴³³ and poultry declined from 9,198 in 1933 to 566 in 1973. Horse numbers declined slowly from 209 in 1870 to 141 in 1944 of which 114 worked in agriculture.⁴³⁴ Doctor G.M. Ewbanke was noted as a breeder of high-class Hackney horses, (an ancient breed of possible Danish origins).⁴³⁵

Grants were made for upland improvement in May 1955 for 8.5 a. (c. 3.5 ha.) at West Dumma Hill, and for a marginal production scheme at Calva in 1956 to clear gorse and scrub and apply lime, slag and potash.⁴³⁶ The sale of farms however struggled at auction.⁴³⁷ In 1991 the difficulties of economic survival were expressed by the owner of Woodside whose income declined and costs rose 93%, though he farmed over 1800 a. with over 90 head of cattle and 1,700 sheep, and had invested £10,000 in a hill land improvement scheme.⁴³⁸

⁴³¹ TNA, MAF 68/5267.

⁴³² CAS (K), WDDE/7/1/2.

⁴³³ TNA, MAF 68/4144.

⁴³⁴ TNA, MAF 68/4107.

⁴³⁵ *Cumberland & Westmorland Herald*, 3 Aug. 1963, p.1; (No author), *Horses*, (Toronto, 1998), 31.

⁴³⁶ TNA, MAF 80/3258, 1955, 6; 1956, 2.

⁴³⁷ *Penrith Observer*, 30 Aug. 1955, p.10, 6 Sep. 1955, p. 7

⁴³⁸ *Newcastle Journal*, 21 Sep. 1991, p.17. (land partly in Hilbeck)

Despite calls for an environmental policy, larger holdings and overstocking were promoted up to 2005.⁴³⁹ Lime-burning persisted on Stainmore to c. 1940,⁴⁴⁰ but liming schemes were abolished from 1976 in favour of CAP stocking subsidies causing some reversion to moorland and heath.⁴⁴¹

The 1941 survey noted some part time farmers, and that a living was doubtful without by-employment as at Leatherhowe and Spurrig end.⁴⁴² By this time, the numbers employed on the land had also fallen. In 1787 there had been 115 in husbandry, nine shepherds and 16 labourers.⁴⁴³ By 1841 there were 62 farmers, many with wives, and over 20 outside labourers. In 1901 these figures had risen slightly, to 65 and 137. In 1944 (excluding farmers and their wives), there were 45 on the land,⁴⁴⁴ three POW's and 14 women but no WLA. Returns in 1973 showed 33 occupiers and c. 40 workers, and in 2011 just 16 males and 10 females.⁴⁴⁵ Since 1950, difficulties in farming and an ageing population have led to depopulation, the sale of redundant farmhouses to professional and retired incomers, amalgamation of remnant land, and diversification; though some smallholdings remained to 2019.⁴⁴⁶

⁴³⁹ Johnson, *Improving Prospect?*, 227.

⁴⁴⁰ *Penrith Observer*, 23 Feb. 1943, p.3.

⁴⁴¹ B. Davies, N. Walker, D. Bell & A. Fitter, *The Soil*, (London, 1992), 131.

⁴⁴² TNA, MAF 32/195/11.

⁴⁴³ CAS (K), WQ/SPC.

⁴⁴⁴ TNA, MAF 68/4107.

⁴⁴⁵ TNA, MAF 68/5318, www.ukcensusdata.com/brough , 2011, Stainmore, (accessed 10/7/2018).

⁴⁴⁶ www.facebook.com (accessed 10/03/2019), Banksgate farm, 58a. (23.5ha.) livestock.

Fishing and Forestry

Ancient coppice wood was attested from the lease market for ‘spryng’ wood at Battle hill (Brough park), in 1540.⁴⁴⁷ Confirmation came from excavations of charcoal pitsteads at Augill woods.⁴⁴⁸ Nearby, the field name ‘Hagg’ suggested further coppice compartmentalisation of ancient park wood along the Powbrand sike gorge.⁴⁴⁹ The wood survey of 1947 found oak, ash and birch but the tree form and stocking was poor.⁴⁵⁰ Swindale woods; c. 31.6a. (12.8ha.) in Stainmore, were described as coppice wood with standards probably derived from ancient management, though the tree form was bad. The Swindale name and the presence of oak and beech, suggests medieval pannage.⁴⁵¹ Most other woods, in the upper Augill 29 a. (11.7ha.), Argill 15 a. (6 ha.), Old park 31 a. (12.5 ha.), Snouthill 10 a. (4 ha.), Scroggy Bank 5 a. (2 ha.), Hocker gill 48 a. (19 ha.), and Ewbank 19 a. (8, ha.) were described as scrub, mostly birch/ash/oak and not suitable for economic management. Designation as SSSI covered most of them, assessing Swindale woods as favourable for ecological diversity, with Argill in recovery.⁴⁵² Belah’s woods and pastures had mixed

⁴⁴⁷ CAS (K), WD/HOTH/3/34/1, 97.

⁴⁴⁸ CAS (K), WDSO 185/7.

⁴⁴⁹ CAS (K), WPR23B/3/1/1., G. Barnes & T. Williamson, *Rethinking Ancient Woodland: The archaeology of woods in Norfolk, Studies in Regional & Local History, Vol. 13*, (Hatfield, 2015), 106.

⁴⁵⁰ TNA, F 22/363, F 22/578.

⁴⁵¹ PNW, II, 66.

⁴⁵² <https://designatedsites.naturalengland.org.uk> (accessed 28/11/2018).

assessments. The Argill woods were carpeted with wild garlic and bluebells often associated with ancient woodland.⁴⁵³

Plantations occurred at 13 locations in the Tithe Award, making up over 13 a. (5 ha.). Fields called ‘wood’ which were used as ‘pasture’ may have been old wood pastures, and made up nearly 45 a. (18 ha.).⁴⁵⁴ Most of Ewbank Park became conifer forest after January 1968 when Economic Forestry (Management Services) Ltd. was permitted to plant.⁴⁵⁵

Mills, Crafts and Industry

Mining and Quarrying

Extractive industry was first recorded in an inquisition in 1292, when sea coal at Brough under Stainmore (the manor) was valued at 3s. p.a.⁴⁵⁶ However, the name Augill (or Oregill),⁴⁵⁷ may attest to earlier workings.⁴⁵⁸ In 1424 another inquisition valued the sea coal at 13s. 4d., though the mines were unoccupied.⁴⁵⁹ In 1554 and 1573, the profit of one mine in South Stainmore was £5 8s..⁴⁶⁰ The lease of all the earl’s coalmines on Stainmore provided a

⁴⁵³ Barnes & Williamson, *Rethinking*, 132-3.

⁴⁵⁴ CAS (K), WPR 23B/3/1/1.

⁴⁵⁵ CAS (C), Westm. C. C. minutes, Apr. quarter 1968, 43.

⁴⁵⁶ *Cal. Inq. p.m.*, III, nos. 70, 53.

⁴⁵⁷ *PNW*, II, 74.

⁴⁵⁸ A. J. Winchester, *Landscape and Society in Medieval Cumbria*, (Edinburgh, 1987), 120.

⁴⁵⁹ *Cal. Inq. p.m.*, XXII, no. 306.

⁴⁶⁰ R. T. Spence, ‘The Cliffords Earls of Cumberland 1579-1646: a study of their fortunes based on their household and estate accounts’, Ph.D thesis, University of London, 1959, 383.

profit of £20 p.a. in 1638.⁴⁶¹ By 1693 John Banks and J. Johnson were paying £70 p.a. on their colliery lease, (later reduced).⁴⁶² Arrears were common, the lord complaining of renting by ‘poor idle fellows’, as in 1708 when John Banks owed £54 19s. 6d..⁴⁶³ Most accounts related to the Borrowdale colliery from c.1783–1789,⁴⁶⁴ and to the pits at Bluegrass, Loadman and Windmore.⁴⁶⁵

The sulphurous coal was sent by packhorse or cart to supply limekilns from Ravenstonedale to Ormeside. Limekilns on Stainmore were worked into the 1940s.⁴⁶⁶ This prompted road making in Borrowdale,⁴⁶⁷ and toll charges for repairing the wear to the South Stainmore coal road.⁴⁶⁸ Prices were poor at 6d. to 8d. per load (of six pecks) giving the workers only 1.5d. per load (7½ d. was paid at Bluegrass pit).⁴⁶⁹ The lime produced retailed at 4s. 2d. per hundred bushels.⁴⁷⁰ Coke was produced prior to 1828, from a cinder oven near Borrowdale farm,⁴⁷¹ facilitating local malting and brewing.⁴⁷² Stainmore coke from coal was a cheap fuel

⁴⁶¹ TNA, WARD 9/140.

⁴⁶² CAS (C), DLONS/L/12/3/7/9, 1693, 16.

⁴⁶³ CAS (C), DLONS/L/12/3/7/9, 1708.

⁴⁶⁴ SMR14461.

⁴⁶⁵ CAS (C), DLONS/L/12/3/11/1-14.

⁴⁶⁶ *Penrith Observer*, 23 Feb. 1943.

⁴⁶⁷ CAS (C), DLONS/L/12/3/11/5.

⁴⁶⁸ CAS (K), WDHH/190 ; WQS, 1683.

⁴⁶⁹ CAS (C), DLONS/L/12/3/11/9.

⁴⁷⁰ CAS (C), DLONS/L/12/3/11/11.

⁴⁷¹ Hodgson, Map of Westmorland (1828); SMR 14462.

⁴⁷² Making coke removed sulphurous flavour impairments.

from the 1670s.⁴⁷³ Further mines and collieries were at Mousegill (c.1870), Gillbank, ‘Black Bank’ (c. 1890), Light Trees (c. 1920),⁴⁷⁴ Low Pits, Broxty and Summit pit (closed 1910).⁴⁷⁵ In 1851 there were 47 coal miners on Stainmore, but the pits declined when the railway delivered cheaper coal from Durham. In 1910 Borrowdale coal sold for £1 a ton, and by the 1920s they were employing 12 underground and one on the surface but the pits were nearly worked out, and closed in 1934.⁴⁷⁶ An ‘invention’ to draw coals in Borrowdale,⁴⁷⁷ operated tubs on a tramway to Windmore. A winding house (lost) also hauled tubs across Brough Intake by tramway, then by gravity to a weigh-bridge at Milkingstile cottage on the Middleton road.⁴⁷⁸

The extraction of metal ores, mostly galena (for lead and silver), were first recorded from Augill mine in 1689,⁴⁷⁹ though were probably older. Some iron was also found, including haematite in 1845.⁴⁸⁰ This prompted the conversion of Augill smelt mill to a forge (though never apparently used). There were three forges in Brough manor in 1292,⁴⁸¹ but their exact

⁴⁷³ CAS (C), DCHA/11/4/1, 69.

⁴⁷⁴ CAS (K), WDDE1/9/3, & WDDE1/9.

⁴⁷⁵ I. Tyler, *Cross Fell and Mines of the Cumbrian Pennines*, (Chester, 2013), 576-8, (n.b. Gilmanby mine ‘Stainmore’ was in Bowes parish).

⁴⁷⁶ Tyler, *Cross Fell*, 579.

⁴⁷⁷ CAS (C), DLONS/L/12/3/11/26.

⁴⁷⁸ SMR 14353. See Brough.

⁴⁷⁹ R. Smith & S. Murphy, ‘Mines of the West Pennines’, *British Mining*, No 91 (2011), 154.

⁴⁸⁰ R. Burt, M. Atkinson, P. Waite, R. Burnley, *The Lancashire and Westmorland Mineral statistics with the Isle of Man*,

⁴⁸¹ TNA, E 149/1/27.

locations and the source of any iron used was unknown.⁴⁸² There are kiln remains of unknown date on the scarp edge at Spur rig.⁴⁸³ Lead mines were at Tarn Gill (c.1753–1866), Bluegrass (c.1782), Millstone Howe (c.1800), Bluebell (c.1810), Leather How (c.1820), Ewebank Park (c.1826–37), Augill (c.1780, 1843–96), Barrons Cross and Cabbish (c.1847–64, 1905–30).⁴⁸⁴ The mines at Tarn Gill (near Deadman gill), were sending ore down to John Smiths smelter at Brough by 1838. The smelt mill near Highground was built c.1781–2 by William Gorst and Matthew Atkinson, rented at £3 3s. in 1800,⁴⁸⁵ but a lease was rescinded in 1804 and by 1811 the mill was derelict.⁴⁸⁶

By 1762 gunpowder was being purchased from Kirkby Stephen for the Augill mine,⁴⁸⁷ (leased in 1761).⁴⁸⁸ A crushing mill was built post c.1800 as stipulated in a take note,⁴⁸⁹ later powered by a water wheel, with a tramway built down to the smelt mill. Production was slow, extracting only 261 tons by 1837, when a pump wheel (28'x4' with a pond above it), was constructed to reach deeper deposits.⁴⁹⁰ In 1843 the North Stainmore Mining Company

⁴⁸² See Brough.

⁴⁸³ SMR 14386.

⁴⁸⁴ Tyler, *Cross Fell*, 552-6, SMR14482 (Barons Cross), SMR14478, SMR1847, SMR14469, SMR14370.

⁴⁸⁵ CAS (C), DLONS/L/12/3/7/7.

⁴⁸⁶ Tyler, *Cross Fell*, 576.

⁴⁸⁷ T. S. Willan, *An Eighteenth-Century Shopkeeper: Abraham Dent of Kirkby Stephen*, (Manchester, 1970), 18.

⁴⁸⁸ CAS (K), WDDE1/9/1.

⁴⁸⁹ CAS (K), WD/HOTH/3/25/9; SMR 5682.

⁴⁹⁰ SMR 14368 & 9.

was allowed 19 tons of lead duty free to construct a new smelt mill near the bridge.⁴⁹¹ The company operated for 16 years with 17 shareholders but raised only 1,701 tons by 1847, losing £12,000,⁴⁹² and winding up in 1897.⁴⁹³ Re-opened by the North Westmorland Mining Company in 1882 with £7,000 capital,⁴⁹⁴ it raised 41 tons of lead concentrate in 1882–3 closed in 1896, and dissolved in 1898.⁴⁹⁵ The Cabbish and Parlour veins produced 319 tons of lead from 1854–64, and re-opened in 1905 for barytes. Up to 1920 it produced 21,327 tons, and probably reached 25,000 tons before closure in 1930.⁴⁹⁶ Latterly a traction engine and a mobile ore crusher were used. The McKechnie Brothers Ltd. obtained permission to explore and work barytes at Cabbish up to 1962.⁴⁹⁷

Quarries were ubiquitous on Stainmore, and the ones at Oxenthwaite were linked to the building of Brough castle and church.⁴⁹⁸ Widespread freestone from sandstone and limestone bedrock was available to the tenants to delve for building and walling but not for sale.⁴⁹⁹

⁴⁹¹ SMR. 3439.

⁴⁹² Tyler, *Cross Fell*, 552.

⁴⁹³ CAS (C), DX/344/2/12.

⁴⁹⁴ TNA, BT31/3213/18741.

⁴⁹⁵ Geological Survey of Great Britain, *Geology of the Northern Pennine Orefield vol. 1*, (London, 1949), 140., Tyler, *Cross Fell*, 552, *London Gazette*, 28 Jan. 1898.

⁴⁹⁶ V. Brammal, 'The Mining, Manufacture and uses of Barytes in the neighbourhood of Appleby, Westmorland', *Trans. Inst. of Mining Engineers*, vol. lxi, (1921), 42., Tyler, *Cross Fell*, 555.

⁴⁹⁷ www.cumbria.gov.uk/planning-environment , WCC4559 (accessed 3/01/2019).

⁴⁹⁸ CAS (C), DCHA/11/4/1, 389.

⁴⁹⁹ Parson & White, *Dir. C. & W.* (1829), 536.

Two masons were listed in 1787, three in the 1861 census, and two joiners. Millstone was quarried from Millstone Howe and Dowcragg,⁵⁰⁰ in 1424 which also provided for other parts of the barony. Slate quarry moss, leased for 10s. (for getting roof and quarry tiles), was often described as the Lime quarry and probably included both commodities.⁵⁰¹ Lime for improving acid soils and building was produced locally and used around the Eden valley.⁵⁰² After 1945, Westmorland County Council had working quarries at Slapestones, Bleathgill, Band and Barytes up to 1979. Applications to quarry limestone for improvements to the A66 were mostly unsuccessful, but other quarries at Slapestones, Barras, High Greygritts and Borrow Pit were granted up to c. 1994 and 2009.⁵⁰³

Manufacturing

There was a possible mill on Stainmore in 1425,⁵⁰⁴ and in 1554 a profitable corn mill in Stainmore manor.⁵⁰⁵ In 1604 there was a ‘new water corne mille in Stainmore’ (Oxenthwaite mill),⁵⁰⁶ with a fulling mill at ‘Cald Keld’ (see KABER).⁵⁰⁷ The varied lease and (declining)

⁵⁰⁰ CAS (K), WD/HOTH/3/45/29.

⁵⁰¹ CAS (C), DONS/L/12/3/7/9.

⁵⁰² See map for limekilns.

⁵⁰³ www.cumbria.gov.uk/planning-environment, 3/93/9015, 3/08/9009, 3/90/1059, 3/93/9012, 3/770716 (A66 to 1978).

⁵⁰⁴ M. E. Gowling, *The Story of Brough-under-Stainmore* (Stainmore, 2011), 61.

⁵⁰⁵ TNA, WARD 9/140.

⁵⁰⁶ CAS (K), WD/HOTH/3/34/1, 97, SMR 14343, (accounted for in Kaber, South Stainmore).

⁵⁰⁷ CAS (C), PROB/Nicholas Walker/1607.

rental terms appeared to correspond with the decline in arable production, (though the mill also served Kaber). In 1787 two (or three) millers were recorded at Stainmore.⁵⁰⁸

The cattle economy delivered bull hides for the tanning industry,⁵⁰⁹ to tanners in Barnard Castle,⁵¹⁰ and sometimes within Brough parish, where in 1580 William Rudd had £9 8s. 4d.–worth of skins in lime pots, £4 of leather in tubs, and 46s. 8d. in bark for tanning the leather.⁵¹¹ As the bark resource diminished it is likely that the cheaper and quicker option of using peat or ‘tanners turfs’,⁵¹² (at seven year harvests), was reverted to.⁵¹³ Locally, tanning was served by cattle rearing, and a resident butcher was recorded in 1787.⁵¹⁴

Crafts & Retail

Inventories provide evidence for textile crafts, listing spinning wheels, looms, frames, line, wool and cloth. At Borrenthwaite, in 1594, there was lyne and yarne worth 9s; in 1584 Miles Ubank had 39 stone of wool; and in 1633 Annas Ubank had four yards of woollen cloth.⁵¹⁵ In 1787 there were 138 people working in knitting or as seamstresses, and 12 in spinning and

⁵⁰⁸ *Vital Statistics*, ed. Ashcroft, 19.

⁵⁰⁹ Cows were unsuitable due to stretch marking from giving birth.

⁵¹⁰ CAS (C), PROB/Robert Jackson/1580.

⁵¹¹ CAS (C), PROB/William Rudd/1580, (at Leatherhowe perhaps).

⁵¹² CAS (C), DCHA/11/4/1, 69.

⁵¹³ CAS (K), WPR23B/3/1/1, (field name ‘Peat Pots’, near Slapstones pasture).

⁵¹⁴ *Vital Statistics*, ed. Ashcroft, 27.

⁵¹⁵ CAS (C), PROB/1594/Thomas Ewbank, PROB/1584/Miles Ubank, PROB/1633/Annas Ewbank.

weaving. The manufacture of white yarn stockings was recorded,⁵¹⁶ a major by–employment with agriculture,⁵¹⁷ though mostly temporary work from Sept. to Feb.⁵¹⁸ When the Yosgill cotton mill in Hillbeck township was working (1784–92) it attracted labour, including children aged 12, 8 and 10 from Greencragg.⁵¹⁹

In 1851 there were eight dressmakers and a shoemaker, and a wheelwright was recorded in 1776.⁵²⁰ A hawker was noted in 1861, as well as two victuallers and grocers. In 1841 there was a baker at the Slip Inn, a tailor, and a blacksmith at Newton Garth. Hayloft Publishing Ltd, was founded at Great Skerrygill in 1988, and incorporated in 2003.⁵²¹ Post c.1960 there was an influx of professionals and sole traders with craft skills.⁵²² In 2011 there were 10 employed in retail, five in manufacturing, 128 in industries and about 36 professionals.⁵²³

Markets & Fairs

⁵¹⁶ *The Universal British Directory 1791*, (1791).

⁵¹⁷ D. Defoe, *A Tour through the whole Island of Great Britain*, (London, 1962), ii, 270.

⁵¹⁸ T. S. Willan, *An Eighteenth-Century Shopkeeper: Abraham Dent of Kirkby Stephen*, (Manchester, 1970), 64.

⁵¹⁹ CAS (C), DLONS/L/12/3/10/10.

⁵²⁰ CAS (C), PROB/1776/Thomas Summer, Parkhouses.

⁵²¹ www.hayloft.eu/ (accessed 12/12/2018).

⁵²² Pers. inf. (author 1980s): clockmakers, weavers, TV set builders, journalists, artists, writers, photographers.

⁵²³ Census 2011: www.ukcensusdata.com/brough (accessed 10/07/2018).

The early Brough Fair near the Bowes/Middleton roads junction, was on an overlooking hill, at Brough Intack, behind a socketed dyke, likely prehistoric in date.⁵²⁴ The fair helped to facilitate the trade between Ireland and the Lake District, (for metal and axes), and Yorkshire (for flint and sickles) etc. An important early cattle fair⁵²⁵ extant before granted a charter in 1331,⁵²⁶ its proximity to the county boundary during an outbreak of cattle plague in 1661, prompted the removal to Brough hill in Warcop parish.⁵²⁷

Transport Services⁵²⁸ and the Visitor Economy

The ancient currency of retail and hospitality in the Stainmore pass was suggested by the upstanding remains of buildings beside the Roman Road at Maiden Castle.⁵²⁹ The nearby hospital at the Old Spital in Durham, and ‘Palliard’ (‘straw bed’) indicate refuge stops on Stainmore.⁵³⁰ The provision of stabling and coaching expanded at the Punch Bowl, Bluebell, Slapestones Inn and the Slip Inn (Grey Hound and Black Horse).⁵³¹ Further hostelries developed at Cooper House (Salutation Inn), the Bay Horse (at Low Pits) and beer houses at

⁵²⁴ C. Fell, ‘The Great Langdale stone-axe factory’, *CW2*, 50 (1950), 1, 10; SMRs 14443, 14358, 14349.

⁵²⁵ A. B. Appleby, *Famine in Tudor and Stuart England*, (Liverpool, 1978), 93-4.

⁵²⁶ CAS (K), WD/HOTH/1/11; Whellan, *History*, 729.

⁵²⁷ M. Finch, *Portrait of The Howgills and the Upper Eden Valley*, (London, 1982), 81. See WARCOP.

⁵²⁸ For carriers see Introduction.

⁵²⁹ HER, SMR 3999, (vicus).

⁵³⁰ *PNW*, II, 73.

⁵³¹ Parson & White, *Dir. C. & W.* (Leeds, 1829), 538-539, Hodgson, *Map of Westmorland* (1828).

Swinging Gate (on the Middleton road), Cumpstone, Dummah hill and Long Crag (at Wham Mouth). The 1787 census enumerated four working carriers, two recorded as coal carriers.⁵³²

In the 1930s, Stainmore (transport) café was built with parking, and a filling station for travellers.⁵³³ Another garage and filling station at Banks Gate,⁵³⁴ working in 1938 and 1942, closed in the 1990s, after being by-passed in 1992, and was derelict in 2009.⁵³⁵ A Jaguar motor engineering business operated from Borrenthwaite Hall up to c. Mar. 2003.⁵³⁶

Railway construction brought an influx of c.150 navy construction workers⁵³⁷ to build the Summit cutting and cottages, reservoir, signal box, Barras station and sidings, Mousegill and (famous) Belah Viaducts.⁵³⁸ Begun as a single track mineral line to take Durham coal to the iron and steel smelters in Furness, it also brought holiday makers to Blackpool and the Lake District, and appreciation from ‘The Rambler’ (on a ‘circular tour ticket’).⁵³⁹ When, in 1894,

⁵³² *Vital Statistics*, ed. Ashcroft, 17, 21, 25, 26.

⁵³³ Kelly, *Dir. Westm.* (1934) – North Road Garage, motor garage, refreshment rooms.

⁵³⁴ G. Gauld, *Cliff Allison: From the Fells to Ferrari* (Dorchester, 2008), 9.

⁵³⁵ J. Turnbull, *The Impact of Motor Transport on Westmorland c. 1900-1939*, (CWAAS Extra Series, no.51, Kendal, 2021), 61, 68-69.

⁵³⁶ www.thenorthernecho.co.uk/news/7039571.brothel-charge-couplr-sell-home/ . (accessed 14/11/2022).

⁵³⁷ D. Robertson, *The Plains of Heaven* (Kirkby Stephen, 2012), 126.

⁵³⁸ TNA, RAIL 632/32/4 (Map), RAIL 632/64 (siding request); A. Jowett, *Jowett’s Railway Atlas of Great Britain and Ireland from pre-Grouping to the present day* (1989), 5, 8, 53.

⁵³⁹ *Leeds Times*, 11 Sept. 1880, p.2.

a party from Bradford arrived for the grouse shooting on the North Stainmore Moors they embarked at Kirkby Stephen station.⁵⁴⁰ Many of the railway and mine workers lodged locally; in 1861, 28 railway workers lived at the Slip Inn.

Since 1945 building refurbishments have created holiday lets at Borrowdale, Pennistone, Mouthlock, Leonards Crag, Upmanhowe and Fir Tree Lodge, with hospitality and some opulence offered at Augill castle.⁵⁴¹ Caravan parks were established at Augill bridge (see BROUGH) and Argill Caravan park in 2004.⁵⁴² The latter, at Argill House, included Fell and Dales catering, and land at Bleathgill within a higher level stewardship scheme.⁵⁴³

SOCIAL HISTORY

From the Middle Ages until the 1800s, the community living in the dispersed settlements across Stainmore were mostly pastoral yeomen farmers and farm labourers, with some miners, craftsmen, tradesmen and carriers. Despite the absence of their lords, the local community sometimes benefited from their largesse: Lady Anne and the Tuftons expanded their charitable spending to chapel and school, though there were flashpoints of hostility

⁵⁴⁰ *Leeds Mercury*, 13 Aug. 1894, p.5.

⁵⁴¹ www.bedandbreakfast.co.uk/ (accessed 1/12/2018).

⁵⁴² <https://democracy.eden.gov.uk/>, Eden District council minutes 16/12/2004, 3 (04/0897) (accessed 17/05/2019).

⁵⁴³ incorporated 17th Mar. 2015, www.argillcaravanpark.co.uk (accessed 17/05/2019); publications.naturalengland.org.uk/, Higher Level Stewardship, *Environmental Stewardship Handbook* (4th edn, Jan. 2013) (accessed 21/05/2019).

between lords and tenants.⁵⁴⁴ Until the establishment of a resident gentry in the 19th century, the Ewbanks, Brunskills and Buckles were among the most socially prominent residents, who led the management of the communities' schools, councils, charities and infrastructure. The Victorian–built Augill Castle became the residence for doctors, JP's, Sheriffs and Deputy Lieutenants to the 1950s. Incoming professionals, crafts people and artists restored many redundant properties after 1945. Stainmore had its own school from 1594 to 1971 and administered its own poor law from 1698 to 1836.

Social Character

Middle Ages

Except for the use of the parks and forest for hunting, the lords of Stainmore were largely absent, their authority represented by their officers and retainers. In part, Stainmore contained the old Brough Fair site (at Intack), which was important for the communities' social and economic needs. Land constraints engendered distress and rebellion in the 16th century.⁵⁴⁵ Most tenancies were of in–bye customary holdings held by cornage (military border service), and tenant right.

16th to 18th centuries

Within the security of their heritable lands, tenants sought prosperity by using their manorial rights to assign and lease their property. In 1674 there were only seven exemptions from hearth tax for poverty.⁵⁴⁶ The Ewbank's emerged as local leaders, serving as overseers and

⁵⁴⁴ See Local Government, below.

⁵⁴⁵ See Economic history, the Pilgrimage of Grace.

⁵⁴⁶ TNA, E 179/353. Two were widows.

officers. Jonathan Ewbank was bailiff in 1718,⁵⁴⁷ and held the pews at the front of the chapel opposite Lord Thanet's.⁵⁴⁸ Textiles and weaving supported poorer families, and knitting accompanied neighbourly visits on 'furth neets' for some 'crack' and singing.⁵⁴⁹ As textiles and trades declined at the end of the 18th century attention turned towards agriculture, mining and servant employment.

19th century onwards

The clamour of industry brought a new soundscape of mineral railways, blasting, steam engines and locomotives hauling trains (used to prescribe a regimen of time, and dissolving the separation of isolation).⁵⁵⁰ Augill Castle brought the entry of a (sometime) resident gentry, bourgeois cultural interests and soirees. Methodism promoted self-help, Bands of Hope, school and meeting houses, but found hostility from the 'gentry party', and conflict during the Lax scandal.⁵⁵¹ From c.1860 railway employees were active in the community, contributing parish officers. Their cooperation was reciprocated but the landed coterie led the 19th century reforming improvements in inclosures, roads, and transition to parish status.

⁵⁴⁷ CAS (C), D/LONS/L/12/3/7/9, f.22 (1718).

⁵⁴⁸ CAS (K), WPR 23/B6/1/1 (in 1713).

⁵⁴⁹ F. B. Chancellor, *Around Eden: an anthology of fact and legend from and around the Eden valley*, (Appleby, 1954), 63-64.

⁵⁵⁰ D. Robertson, *The Plains of Heaven*, (Kirkby Stephen, 2012), 132.

⁵⁵¹ See Religious History, below; *Derby Daily Telegraph*, 1 Jan. 1910, p.4.

Hay yields sustained seasonal work, itinerancy,⁵⁵² ‘boon’ days, and suppers with their helpful neighbours.⁵⁵³ The community engaged with enclosure and commons regulation.⁵⁵⁴ Though larger landowners aggregated their holdings, smallholders also profited from reformed regulations, while long legal cases excluded many interlopers, who had formerly been tolerated.⁵⁵⁵

Post war schools and chapels closed and redundant buildings were sold to incomers, retirees, professionals and the self-employed. In the 1980’s divisions arose over M.O.D. plans for ‘dry training’ at Slapstones, and occasioned threats, dangerous behaviour, telephone tapping, and loaded shotguns.⁵⁵⁶

Cottagers

Percivall Patterig had a cottage and garden on waste near Bluegrass in 1604.⁵⁵⁷ In 1694, overseers were asked to find a house for John Hedrington and his very poor family, or to build one on the wastes.⁵⁵⁸ In 1787 there were 12 cottagers and c. 12 people described as

⁵⁵² M. E. Shepherd, *From Hellgill to Bridge End: Aspects of Economic and Social Change in the Upper Eden Valley, 1840-95*, Studies in Regional and Local History II, (Hatfield, 2003), 139.

⁵⁵³ Robertson, *The Plains*, 85.

⁵⁵⁴ CAS (K), WDDE 4/1-7.

⁵⁵⁵ CAS (C), DBS 4/177.

⁵⁵⁶ Pers. Inf. (author).

⁵⁵⁷ CAS (K), WD/HOTH/3/34/1 (missed on 1584 survey; possibly ‘Hardhills’).

⁵⁵⁸ CAS (K), QS/O/3, see also 1683.

poor.⁵⁵⁹ The railway company built four cottages at the Summit, plus two at Barras occupied by 1871. Two were added at Chapel house by 1861 (to one given by John Hilton),⁵⁶⁰ two at Primrose cottages by 1881, and another two at Lane cottages by 1891. In 1881 and 1891 there were 14, but eight only in 1911. Summit cottages, sold in 1958, were demolished shortly afterwards.⁵⁶¹

Migrants

Some Stainmore families had connections with the wider world. Annas Ewbank of Light trees mentioned a legacy from Mr Anthony Slater of London in 1633.⁵⁶² Isabel Buckle's granddaughters were living in London in 1593, when she appointed (Alderman) Cuthbert Buckle her supervisor. William Davis, in 1598, described as of London and Brough under Stainmore, was servant to Sir Cuthbert who gave large bequests to his Stainmore cousins, £120 to the children of William Brunskell, £150 to the children of Henry Ubanke and £150 to his nephew Robert Brunskell. A vintner, in 1577 he traded Westmorland lead, delivered to London wharves.⁵⁶³ Richard Bovel shopkeeper and haberdasher of London left £50 in 1699 for his poor Stainmore relatives and in 1708 the administration of Anthony Cleasby of Stainmore was countersigned by his creditor Christopher Cleasby of Southwark, gent.⁵⁶⁴ John Bird of Windmore end gave £300 in 1842 to Elizabeth the wife of Richard Alderson of

⁵⁵⁹ CAS (K), WQSP/C.

⁵⁶⁰ J. Burgess, *Methodism in Westmorland, the Appleby, Brough and Kirkby Stephen localities*, The Wesleyan Historical Society, 1980 (not paginated).

⁵⁶¹ *Penrith Observer*, 3 Jun. 1958, p.14.

⁵⁶² CAS (C), PROB/1633/Annas Ewbank, Light Trees.

⁵⁶³ CAS (C), CBME/1/9/9/17.

⁵⁶⁴ TNA, PROB 11/452/34.

London (victualler at the Marquis of Anglesea).⁵⁶⁵ Robert Ewbank of London received a gold sealing ring from cousin Michael Ewbank of Borrenthwaite in 1620 and with £70 financed a venture on the 'Thomas & John' out of Colchester to Virginia in 1635/7.⁵⁶⁶ In 1805, Eleanor Ewbank, consort to Henry Johnson of Virginia returned to Rampson to die there aged 35.⁵⁶⁷ Writing his Will when returning from Virginia in 1760, Henry Baxter of Stricegill forgave those who had wished him ill.⁵⁶⁸

Many families were of longstanding residence, from the 16th century the Buckles (to the present), the Ewbanks (to the 1960s) and the Weightmans (to the 1830s). However, migrants into the community were not uncommon. While resident on Stainmore in 1710 Amasis Kitty obtained naturalisation.⁵⁶⁹ Captain Hack Bencken of the West Indian trade (a slaver) died in 1757 at Thorda Gate (Stainmore), aged 34.⁵⁷⁰ By 1841, 113 residents were from outside the county (18.5%). In 1851, 171 were from outside Brough parish (31.2%, 96/75, north/south), with a peak of 250 in 1861 (37.2%, 103/147). Alexander Pearson's wife was from St John's, Antigua,⁵⁷¹ and in 1911, 217 residents were from elsewhere (42%, 123/94). Marriage partners

⁵⁶⁵ London Metropolitan archive, CLL/B/192/F/001/MS11936/571/1311258, insurance 1839.

⁵⁶⁶ TNA, HCA 30/547, no.20 (BR14590).

⁵⁶⁷ Brough MI's. they were married at Brough under Stainmore, 18 Jul. 1793, (he of St Mary-le-Bone).

⁵⁶⁸ CAS (C), PROB/1772/Henry Baxter, Stricegill.

⁵⁶⁹ possibly married 29 Nov. 1726, St Giles in the Fields?; ('Kitty' often a slave name.)

⁵⁷⁰ Brough MI's. (unpublished); A Hak Betken was baptised 23 May 1722 at St Mary le Bone; TNA, PROB 31/396/624 (of Sandsted, near Bremen)

⁵⁷¹ Census 1851.

were often from neighbouring dales, and dances in the 1960s were reached courtesy of the Wearmouth's taxi service (carrying twelve or more).⁵⁷²

Communal Life

A number of communal events on Stainmore were linked to agriculture. The Stainmore agricultural society began in 1895, its shows, (mostly sheep) held at Mouthlock,⁵⁷³ with 275 entries in 1899, included a hurdle jump, trotting matches on the road and the Swaledale Brass band.⁵⁷⁴ The village hall on North Stainmore was the location of the Stainmore sheep show, founded c.1958 for Swaledale, Blackface and Herdwick breeds, with crafts, photographic, baking, stick-making and children's events.⁵⁷⁵ To claim their fair holiday in 1827 Stainmore school pupils performed a barring out ceremony, barricading the door to recite their demands in poetry.⁵⁷⁶

Friendly societies

Stainmore had no friendly societies of its own, but there were Oddfellows in Brough and Kirkby Stephen.⁵⁷⁷ An Oddfellows cortege took Mark Mounsey of Bleathgill edge for burial

⁵⁷² Beckwith archive, *Stainmore: within living memory*, 30.

⁵⁷³ J.F. Curwen, *The Later Records relating to North Westmorland or the Barony of Appleby*, (Kendal, 1932), 109.

⁵⁷⁴ *Penrith Observer*, 19 Sept. 1899.

⁵⁷⁵ www.teesdalemercury.co.uk/country-life/its-a-family-affair-as-brogdens-take-top-prizes-at-stainmore-sheep-show- accessed 23/3/2020.

⁵⁷⁶ CAS (K), WDDE/11/2/1.

⁵⁷⁷ CAS (K), WDSO 301.

after an accident in 1919.⁵⁷⁸ Chris Beckwith of Manor House joined the Kirkby Freemasons.⁵⁷⁹

Social activities of religious organisations

Mouthlock Methodist chapel held an annual temperance festival. Their concerts were followed by a dance with the Meteor or Gaiety Bands, but interrupted in 1910 by a ‘free fight’ over the Lax affair. Monies raised by the Anglican annual harvest festival in 1937 went to Newcastle Infirmary, and in 1938 they charged 6*d.* per head entry to their socials.⁵⁸⁰ Queen Victoria’s jubilee in 1897 was celebrated on the recreation ground, where Royal engineers (stationed there), organised games and fireworks. The Stainmore string band played dance music and Miss Rennison the organ, in a flower-filled church. Cricket was played between Winton and South Stainmore, the Queen and Dr Dalston–Ewbank were cheered and a ‘vast’ bonfire lit on Barras hill.⁵⁸¹ George V’s coronation in 1911 saw feasting for 500 people with Walkers string band and medals for the children.⁵⁸²

Village institutes and reading rooms and the Women’s Institute

Stainmore had two W.I.s: on North Stainmore, the county primary school was the usual W.I. venue, and on South Stainmore at the school there, until the Institute was built in 1930. An Institute was proposed by Mrs G. M. W. Ewbank in 1924 and the W.I. raised much of the funds to build it. North Stainmore W.I. had 36 members when established in *c.* Mar. 1927

⁵⁷⁸ *Cumberland & Westmorland Herald*, (Oct. 1919, *The Way*, 24).

⁵⁷⁹ Beckwith archive, obituary, 14 Apr. 1975 (Uther Pendragon lodge).

⁵⁸⁰ CAS (K), WPR23B/6/1/1.

⁵⁸¹ *Penrith Observer*, 29 Jun. 1897, p.7.

⁵⁸² CAS (K), WPC11/2/1.

which became 40 in 1938 before the Glasgow exhibition visit. Lectures covered calf-rearing, dairy farming and first aid, demonstrations; jam making and bottling. Evening classes were trialled in 1933. They entertained with bingo, whist drives, beetle drives, concerts, conundrums, lecture talks with slides and film, and dances, modern and country (: with the Stainmore string band). Talks ranged from travels, 'Romany', teaching and nursing abroad, and the wartime Land army, to birds and flowers of the Pennines. By Sept. 1938, G.M.D. Ewbank and J.W. Walker were appointed as chief air wardens (ARP's) for north and south Stainmore.⁵⁸³

The two groups were also much engaged in fund raising and supporting local and national causes. In 1929, North Stainmore supported the miners' relief fund with money and clothes,⁵⁸⁴ and Newcastle infirmary with money and eggs. In 1940 the W.I. were sending money, gloves and scarves to local soldiers and raised £20 for the Spitfire fund. In 1948 North Stainmore requested extra rations for the children's party and (nationally) for farm workers, and competed for the best potato chocolate cake. In 1951 south Stainmore W.I. collected for the Hungary relief fund, and in 1952 with a fancy dress ball (to the Ramblers Band) for the Institutes debt and repair fund. In 1954 and 1955 they lobbied the education committee to improve sanitation at south Stainmore school, and their birthday party in Feb. 1955 attracted c.160. Five members attended International Day in 1957. In 1958 they collected for St Dunstan's, and for the World Refugee appeal in 1959. In Aug. 1961, the two W.I.'s combined for a day's outing to Holker Hall and the Lakes.

⁵⁸³ CAS (K), WPC 11/2/3.

⁵⁸⁴ CAS (K), WPR 23A/12/2/1, at request of Lord Lieutenant to Major Henry Oxley Ingham at Augill castle.

The closure of the South Stainmore branch came in 1962, followed by North Stainmore W.I. in 1973, due to poor attendance and people moving away. The W.I. reformed as a single group in 1979,⁵⁸⁵ registered with the charity commission (Apr. 1996–Mar. 2009), and was still active in 2020. In Nov. 2019, they had 28 members and nine committee members meeting in the Brough Methodist Church schoolroom.⁵⁸⁶

Village halls and community centre

North Stainmore Board School (built 1879) closed in 1958 and became the Village Hall. Building improvements and extensions were approved in Jan. 1978.⁵⁸⁷ The South Stainmore Institute was built as a two roomed community centre in 1930 (see charities) with councillor James Bowron its Honorary Secretary in Jan. 1931.

Inns and alehouses

Inns licensed in May 1742 were; George Shaw for the Palyard, William Whelpdale for Blewgrass, Jonathan Nicholson at Cragg–green, Ann Brunskill at Borrenhouse, Elizabeth Lenix at Lirtsgarth,⁵⁸⁸ and Matthew Coats for Dummahill. The latter was possibly the Punch Bowl, which can be traced back to the 17th century.⁵⁸⁹ In 1910, the Punch Bowl had stables for 14 horses, Bluegrass for two (five at Blue Bell), and Slapestones two.⁵⁹⁰ In 1829, eight

⁵⁸⁵ Beckwith archive, Stainmore, 18.

⁵⁸⁶ J. Goodwin ed., *The Way* (Nov. 2019), p.17.

⁵⁸⁷ CAS (C), SDE/4/1/24.

⁵⁸⁸ CAS (K), WQSR/149/14.

⁵⁸⁹ A king's pardon for Captain Atkinson in c.1664 arrived too late at the Punch Bowl (see Kaber).

⁵⁹⁰ TNA, IR 58/19184.

were listed, including two at the Slip Inn and one at Bank,⁵⁹¹ and in 1861 there were also hostelries at Haselbank (Inn) and Maiden Castle. The Slip Inn had an upstairs dancefloor.⁵⁹² Alehouses, that refuge for the poorer sort, were mostly around the North Stainmore coalfield on Dummah hill, at Windmore End and Swinging gate. A tunnel (suitable for contraband) lay between the Punch Bowl and Cooper house (the Salutation).⁵⁹³ Augill castle was offered for sale as a licensed hotel in 1954 and in 1997, but otherwise no working hostelries remain.⁵⁹⁴

Games and recreation

Annual summer sports days on the recreation ground included hound trailing, horse, motor-cycle and go-kart racing, Cumberland and Westmorland wrestling, fell-races, an unmarried ladies race, and blindfold wheelbarrow race, ladies nail-driving, quoits and clay pigeon shooting, and afternoon children's sports.⁵⁹⁵ Football and cricket were played on the recreation ground, levelled in 1935.⁵⁹⁶ J. Walton was Honorary Secretary to the South Stainmore football club in 1931. Mr G.M. Dalston-Ewbank, a keen all round sportsman, was gun-loader for the Kaiser on his visit to Lowther in 1912, and was chairman of the Brough Motor Club ('Sporty boys'). Parts of Stainmore were used for car rallying.⁵⁹⁷ At the 1977 Jubilee celebrations a mixed sex, cross-dressed football match was held.⁵⁹⁸ At home nap was

⁵⁹¹ Gowling, *The Story*, 124.

⁵⁹² Robertson, *The Plains*, 93.

⁵⁹³ Pers. Inf. (author)

⁵⁹⁴ *Yorkshire Post and Leeds Intelligencer*, 19 June 1954.

⁵⁹⁵ Beckwith archive, Stainmore, 25; *The Way* (Jul. 2019), 17.

⁵⁹⁶ CAS (K), WPC 11/2/3.

⁵⁹⁷ Pers. Inf. (author).

⁵⁹⁸ Beckwith archive, Stainmore, 18.

a popular card game. Until recently fox hunting occurred and in the 1980's Jack Souter sought to discourage badger baiting.⁵⁹⁹

Nineholes near the Stainmore border referenced the ancient strategy board game of nine-men's morris (or merels),⁶⁰⁰ as Penistone may another game.⁶⁰¹ A possible cockpit beside the Punch Bowl, suggests gambling and cock-fighting,⁶⁰² latterly a venue for darts, pool and dominoes.

Within Stainmore chase were five parks, some used for seasonal hunting and hospitality.⁶⁰³ To claim her inheritance, Lady Anne Clifford warranted the 'killing of a stag in Stainsmore' in Jul. 1616.⁶⁰⁴ Her retainers then hunted, and performed the ancient ritual act of 'unmaking' the animal. Hunting was occasioned by the King's visit in 1300,⁶⁰⁵ and when he ordered deer from the park and chase in 1315.⁶⁰⁶ Venison pots were a custom of patronage up to 1724.⁶⁰⁷

⁵⁹⁹ Pers. Info. (author)

⁶⁰⁰ A. Warrack, *Chambers's Scots Dialect Dictionary* (London/Edinburgh, 1930), 380.

⁶⁰¹ *PNW*, 2,78.

⁶⁰² Pers. Info. Tom Clare (a re-purposed signal station?, SMR1840)

⁶⁰³ Charlesworth, 'Medieval Parks', *CW3*, (2018), 169-190.

⁶⁰⁴ JL. Malay (ed.), *Anne Clifford's autobiographical writing, 1590-1676*, (Manchester, 2018), 41.

⁶⁰⁵ J. Bain (ed.), *Documents relating to Scotland*, (Edinburgh, 1884), 2, 1175.

⁶⁰⁶ TNA, C 54/133(Y).

⁶⁰⁷ CAS (C), DLONS/L/12/3/7/9, *passim*, (see Brougham).

After enclosure, the common was used for grouse shoots, the sporting rights valued at £4,696 in 1910,⁶⁰⁸ and traditionally ended with a shepherd's supper.⁶⁰⁹ Prized guns were handed down, as Joseph Milner did to his son in 1765.⁶¹⁰

Education

There was one school in the township from the 16th century and two by the early 19th, although the 'number of children in the district in proportion to the total population was very large.'⁶¹¹ The Powbrand Sike, used as a divisor for assessment to Stainmore Chapel may also have divided the schools' catchment areas.⁶¹²

Stainmore endowed free school

The will of Sir Cuthbert Buckle, Lord Mayor of London, founded a free school in 1594,⁶¹³ with an £8 annuity from his Spittle estate (see Bowes) for a schoolmaster to teach pupils to 'read, write, cypher and cast accounts' and for 12 trustees.⁶¹⁴ Originally built by the parishioners in about 1594,⁶¹⁵ or 1601,⁶¹⁶ on three roods at New Close in Borwins, it became

⁶⁰⁸ TNA, IR 58/19184.

⁶⁰⁹ Beckwith archive, *Stainmore*, 27.

⁶¹⁰ CAS (C), PROB, 1765, W, Joseph Milner, Barrows, Stainmore.

⁶¹¹ TNA, ED 2/458 [3/1878]

⁶¹² CAS (C), DRC22/248, letter 28 Aug. 1912, as of 1832. (see Religious history)

⁶¹³ TNA, PROB 11/84/123.

⁶¹⁴ See Local Government, below.

⁶¹⁵ J. Platt (ed.), *The Diocese of Carlisle 1814-55; Chancellor Walter Fletcher's 'Diocesan Book', with additional material from Bishop Percy's parish notebook* (Surtees Society & CWAAS, vol. XXII, 2015), 183.

ruinous and was rebuilt and enlarged by the Earl of Thanet in 1698, with two rooms for about 30 pupils.⁶¹⁷ A deed of 1699 enriched the salary to teach grammar to the boys (otherwise of free school status), with the Earl of Thanet as patron,⁶¹⁸ and the expectation that the schoolmaster should be in holy orders.⁶¹⁹

Cuthbert Aiskell, master in 1594, was followed by Edward Waller to 1608.⁶²⁰ Robert Bovell master from 1608 to 1652 left money for repairs,⁶²¹ and was followed by Willyam Waller, buried in 1659.⁶²² In 1659 Thomas Waistell entered the vacancy,⁶²³ and was last appointed,⁶²⁴ in Apr. 1689,⁶²⁵ (with Mr Richard Shepherd possibly caretaker in 1691).⁶²⁶

⁶¹⁶ CAS (C), DCHA/11/4/1, f. 434, Thos Waistell's own testimony c. 1676 (Wase's Survey).

⁶¹⁷ *The Complete Peerage*, ed. G.H. White, XII (London, 1953), 694-696, Thomas Tufton, 1644-1721.

⁶¹⁸ CAS (K), WDDE/11/1/12

⁶¹⁹ See Religious History, below.

⁶²⁰ CAS (K), J. H. D. Bate, *Westmorland Schools, 1500-1700*, (Manchester University, Med. c.1968-9); CAS (C), DCHA/11/4/1, f. 434.

⁶²¹ TNA, PROB 11/221/893.

⁶²² H. Brierley, *The Registers of Brough under Stainmore 1556-1706* (CWAAS, Kendal, 1923).

⁶²³ CAS (C), DCHA/11/4/1, p.434 (his own testimony).

⁶²⁴ CAS (C), DRC5/2, 45, also schoolmaster at Brough Free School, 1664-70/80 (see Brough).

⁶²⁵ CAS (C), DRC5/5.

⁶²⁶ CAS (C), DRC22/248 (letter of 1691), [Rector of Cliburn 1689-1739, PROB/1740/W/327, clerk, Cliburn].

James Watson followed in Mar. 1700,⁶²⁷ then Robert Cragg curate and schoolmaster Jul. 1709–1712,⁶²⁸ (see Religious History). He was followed in Jun. 1713 by Deacon John Bracken (1707–1732),⁶²⁹ and his namesake foster son (1731–1754).⁶³⁰ In the 1750s an assistant teacher, Mr Loy, was paid 17s. 6d..⁶³¹ The Revd James Fenton was licensed curate and schoolmaster in Oct. 1754,⁶³² staying in post until his death aged 56 in Dec. 1780,⁶³³ when William Bird was appointed.⁶³⁴ He resigned in 1784 and was replaced by John Mason Fenton.⁶³⁵

⁶²⁷ CAS (C), DRC1/5. (to the ‘capella apud Newclose’ from Longmarton), PROB/1747/W401, Clerk, Crosby Ravensworth.

⁶²⁸ CAS (C), DRC1/6, PROB/1713/WX11, Curate & schoolmaster Stainmore Chapel.

⁶²⁹ CAS (C), DRC1/6.

⁶³⁰ www.clergydatabase.org.uk/jsp/persons/index.jsp (accessed, 8/1/2020); CAS (K), WDDE/5/4, Probate Jun. 1754, of Stainmore.

⁶³¹ CAS (K), WDDE/9/1 [CCed., probably Richard Loy (ID. 137162, Schoolmaster, Grammar Sch. Alston c. 1752? others might include; Ambrose Benson, 1881, William Jordan, 1891, Agnes Robson, 1901.)]

⁶³² CAS (C), DRC1/7.

⁶³³ CAS (C), PROB/1781/A(S); MI, Dec. 1780, aetat 56. (unpub.)

⁶³⁴ CAS (C), DRC1/8, 26, PROB/1822/WCOD20, Clergyman of Crosby Garret.

⁶³⁵ CAS (C), DRC1/8, 114; CAS (C), PROB/1836, John Mason Fenton, Admon., MI. d. 10 Apr. 1836, aged 77 yrs.

No Latin was taught in 1822, attendance fell, and there were complaints.⁶³⁶ Mr Samuel Winskill was schoolmaster by 1829,⁶³⁷ James Sawrey in 1836 and Thomas H. Spence in 1861.⁶³⁸ James Wharton, appointed 1865, was ‘a worthless but practically irremovable schoolmaster’, his son taking charge when he moonlighted to teach nearby.⁶³⁹ The township had no trustees in 1869 and no efficient schools, but needed two for 107 places (60/45). The school building was low, small (24x15’), ruinous, and had no teacher’s house.⁶⁴⁰ Wharton was pensioned, and in Nov. 1878 the Board school (now public elementary) was confirmed by the East Ward Union, with £20 given for further education.⁶⁴¹

In 1879 the new school for 80 children was built, and in 1910 average attendance was c.43. The master, John Ritzema,⁶⁴² was ‘good’, but also ‘good with a cane’.⁶⁴³ Teacher Sally Greenop was in the Land army in 1915,⁶⁴⁴ and in c.1925 Miss Dixon rode to school on a

⁶³⁶ 9th Report, Further Report of the Commissioners for enquiring concerning charities 1823, 666.

⁶³⁷ Parson & White, *Dir. C. & W.*

⁶³⁸ Platt (ed.), *The Diocese*, 427, CAS (C), DRC1/9, 175.

⁶³⁹ TNA, ED 49/8105, p.2, 4 & 8.

⁶⁴⁰ TNA, ED 2/458.

⁶⁴¹ TNA, ED 49/8105, ED2/458 (including North Stainmore school; and removing free schooling obligation); Order in Council, 29 Jun. 1878, No. 206, Stainmore Endowed school, 5.

⁶⁴² Kelly, *Dir. Westm.* (1910), 130.

⁶⁴³ Beckwith archive, Stainmore, 24.

⁶⁴⁴ Robertson, *Plains of Heaven*, 44.

motorbike.⁶⁴⁵ The school was badly damaged by fire in Jun. 1930.⁶⁴⁶ It had 36 pupils and two teachers in 1939,⁶⁴⁷ a Miss Evelyn Lattimer (and later M. Simpson) as infant teachers, with Mrs Sarginson headmistress.⁶⁴⁸ The building provided 612 sq. ft. in two rooms and during the Second World War also schooled evacuees from Barrow.⁶⁴⁹ In 1966 there were only eight pupils, but the school report showed good literacy and musicality. An electricity supply was agreed in 1964 but notice of closure came in Aug. 1969.⁶⁵⁰ Sold c.1971 to the Carlisle Diocesan Pastoral committee,⁶⁵¹ it became an outdoor pursuit centre.

North Stainmore School

In 1818 it was observed that in Stainmore ‘the poorer classes are not without the means of instruction.’⁶⁵² A school was depicted near Borrowdale colliery on maps in 1823 and 1828,⁶⁵³ as a county primary (CP), at an altitude of 350m. It was replaced by a new day school built next door in 1830,⁶⁵⁴ teaching 25 males and three females at the expense of their parents.⁶⁵⁵

⁶⁴⁵ Beckwith Archive, Stainmore, 8.

⁶⁴⁶ TNA, ED 21/42078, 5.

⁶⁴⁷ TNA, ED 60/561.

⁶⁴⁸ Beckwith archive, Stainmore, 4.

⁶⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 10.

⁶⁵⁰ CAS (C), W.C.C. minutes 1964-1965, 158; 1969- 1970, 184.

⁶⁵¹ CAS (C), W.C.C. minutes 1971-2, 151, 337, 482.

⁶⁵² *Educ. of Poor Digest*, 1610.

⁶⁵³ Greenwood’s map 1823, Hodgson’s 1828.

⁶⁵⁴ *Educ. Enq. Abstract*, 1833, 1015; *The Parliamentary Gazeteer of England and Wales*, iv, (London, 1843), 187 (see ‘Schoolhouse table’) & Census 1841, 1851.

⁶⁵⁵ *Educ. Enq. Abstract*, 1833, 1015.

In 1851, the teachers were Elizabeth Donaldson (25), who lived on site, and Dorothy Dent (68) of Banks Gate (c. 1 mile away).

This School house was unused for a period of c.20 years before it (and Old School house) were demolished post 1890.⁶⁵⁶ School house (Lane house) was probably used in the interim (c.1868–1879),⁶⁵⁷ and eight children walked to Brough school in 1878.⁶⁵⁸ The Board school was built near St Mary's in 1879 for 48 children. Jeannie B. Thomson started in Aug.1880, and experienced attendance fall at hay time, an insufficient book supply, and lack of grant.⁶⁵⁹ James Hutchinson was schoolmaster in 1901, and in 1909 the building was enlarged and improved, but the Board of Managers for Stainmore all resigned in 1910 from strain during the Lax affair,⁶⁶⁰ when Mrs R. W. Lambert was mistress.⁶⁶¹ Numbers fell to 13 by 1938 but were achieving higher than average results. Miss Brooks, headmistress in 1952 had been evacuated to Stainmore during the Second World War from Barrow in Furness.⁶⁶² After closure in c.1958, it became Stainmore village hall and nursery.⁶⁶³

Other schools

⁶⁵⁶ See 1890 enclosure award and Economic history.

⁶⁵⁷ Local inf., Eddie Bousefield. (see Schoolhouse table).

⁶⁵⁸ TNA, ED 2/458.

⁶⁵⁹ CAS (K), WDS94/1 (under article 19(D)).

⁶⁶⁰ TNA, ED 21/18270; see Religious History, below.

⁶⁶¹ Kelly, *Dir. Westm.* 1910, 130. (Jeannie Thompson, 1881, Arthur Price, 1891, Joseph Wilkinson, 1901, Fannie Sage, 1911).

⁶⁶² *Penrith Observer*, 3 Jun. 1952, p. 5.

⁶⁶³ TNA, ED 21/63129

Augill Castle was briefly a prep school academy advertised c.1875–77 by the Revd Robert Clayton Heslop, curate of Stainmore who went bankrupt.⁶⁶⁴ In Apr. 1981 Maranatha Ministries from Surrey got permission to convert Mouthlock cottages into a residential teaching centre (completed Dec. 1983).⁶⁶⁵ They advertised to evangelise at home, were incorporated in July 1995 and dissolved c.Mar. 2000.⁶⁶⁶ Borrenthwaite Hall provided an American summer school c.1988.⁶⁶⁷

Further education

Senior girls went to grammar school at Kirkby Stephen, boys to Appleby.⁶⁶⁸ John Brunskill of Upmanhow bought textbooks for Appleby in 1733–37 and hired masters for writing and dance.⁶⁶⁹ In 1864, E. Abbot at Balliol College, Oxford, ex-pupil of J. Irving, won the Oxford University Gainsford verse prize.⁶⁷⁰ Min Beckwith took the train from Barras to Kirkby school and used Belah viaduct to practice her cycling in the 1930s.⁶⁷¹ William

⁶⁶⁴ *Manchester Times*, 16 Jan. 1875, *Lancaster Gazette & General Advertiser for Lancashire, Westmorland and Yorkshire*, 16 Mar. 1878; see Religious history, below.

⁶⁶⁵ CAS (C), SDE/4/1/40 (1981).

⁶⁶⁶ *The Third Way*, Jan. 1988, <https://app.duedil.com/company/gb/03078045/maranatha-ministries> , www.companiesdb.org/company-maranatha-ministries-services-limited.html (accessed, 15/06/2020).

⁶⁶⁷ Pers. Inf. (author).

⁶⁶⁸ Beckwith oral history (2019).

⁶⁶⁹ E, Hinchcliffe, *Appleby Grammar School: Chantry to Comprehensive* (Appleby, 1974), 52.

⁶⁷⁰ *Carlisle Journal*, 17 May, 1864, p.2.

⁶⁷¹ Beckwith oral history (2019).

Brogden having attended Stainmore school for three years qualified for a grant to Appleby grammar in 1936. The governors rejected this as his railwayman father had land at Stowgill. The decision could not be corrected retrospectively despite the Revd A. W. Dickens' protests.⁶⁷²

Social Welfare

Charities

Cuthbert Buckle's will of 1594 left money for 20 parish maidens.⁶⁷³ Testators in the 16th and 17th centuries regularly left small sums to the poor or 'poor men's box' and in 1662, Henry Buckle gave 5s. to Grace Walker 'and my shoos', 5s. to the blind woman of Kaber, and money for shoes and 'some old clothes' to Roland Rigge.⁶⁷⁴ He also left £5 yearly for Stainmore's most needy. This became what was known as 'Poor's estate', worth £67 13s. 4d. in 1703, Richard Bovel of London having added £50,⁶⁷⁵ William Johnson of Mouthlock £5, Hugh Patrick £5, William Middleton of Lightrees £1 13s. 4d., and Michael Bovel of Stricegill £1.⁶⁷⁶ However, over £40 was lost by Stephen Cleasby, and the poor stock was replaced by two cattlegates in Brough bought in Apr. 1756 by John Hodgson, which provided 10s. p.a. for the poor.⁶⁷⁷ In 1823 the Poor Commissioners found that part of the Littscarth rent was mis-applied. It decided that £5 5s. (after some deductions) should be distributed to those poor

⁶⁷² TNA, ED 49/12782.

⁶⁷³ TNA, PROB 11/84/123.

⁶⁷⁴ CAS (C), PROB/1662/Henry Buckle.

⁶⁷⁵ TNA, PROB 11/452/34.

⁶⁷⁶ *9th Report*, 1823; CAS (K), WPR23B/6/1/1.

⁶⁷⁷ *9th Report*. 1823, 667.

not in receipt of a weekly pension, and that a separate account be kept of this charity distinct from the poor rate.⁶⁷⁸

The residents of Stainmore township received a share of the charities available to all Brough parishioners,⁶⁷⁹ usually with conditions. On Stainmore, Bracken's charity was created by will in 1754,⁶⁸⁰ leaving £30; the interest of £20 for repairs and books for the school, with £5 at interest for books for poor children and £5 to poor householders on St John's day.⁶⁸¹ Mary Rakestraw died in c.1783, leaving £10 for the poor; in 1796 it was all distributed to 17 poor persons. In 1973, Poor's estate (with seven trustees) had £23.57, with £1 for books at Stainmore chapel, the remainder for the poor.⁶⁸² Poor's estate was inactive in 2019, but the North Stainmore parish hall, nursery, endowed school foundation, Institute and recreation ground charities survived.⁶⁸³

Some public quarries and recreation grounds were created by the enclosure award of 1890.⁶⁸⁴ The parish hall, open for meetings, lectures, classes and recreation spent 34% of its income of

⁶⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, 668.

⁶⁷⁹ See Brough.

⁶⁸⁰ CAS (K), WDDE/5/4.

⁶⁸¹ *9th Report*, 1823, 666.

⁶⁸² M.L. Clarkson, *Review of Charities in the County of Westmorland: Undertaken on behalf of Westmorland County Council, 1967-73* (Kendal, 1973), 38.

⁶⁸³

www.apps.charitycommission.org.uk/Showcharity/RegisterOFCharities/SearchMatchList.aspx?RegisteredCharityNumber=0&SubsidiaryNumber=0 (accessed, 20/11/2019).

⁶⁸⁴ CAS (K), WQ/RI/27, TNA, IR58/19183.

£2,460 in 2017. The endowed school foundation spent its income in charitable grants, and the recreation ground was overspent over the last five years to 2018. The Institute had spent over £1,800 in the five years to 2019. The Brough and District Old People's Welfare Committee founded 1962 included Stainmore in its ambit, providing amenities, outings, Christmas gifts and meals on wheels. With a committee of 16 it raised c. £150 locally for its needs,⁶⁸⁵ charged 4/- a meal, the parish council providing 2/6 and the containers.⁶⁸⁶ Dr Bernard Newsome gifted Longcrag house and estate with a library of rare and first edition books to the National Trust in c.1987.⁶⁸⁷

Poor Relief

No known Churchwardens or Overseers accounts for Stainmore survive, and few details of their work can be found in other records. In May 1691, John Dixon whose family had lived for c.16 years on Stainmore obtained an order for the Stainmore overseers to find them a house at a reasonable rent.⁶⁸⁸ In 1713, his claim that he and his wife were very aged, poor and infirm was upheld and they were ordered to be 'badged as poor people,'⁶⁸⁹ and paid 10*d.* per week.⁶⁹⁰ Margaret Dixon was awarded 6*d.* per week in 1714, plus arrears of 4*s.* 6*d.*⁶⁹¹ There

⁶⁸⁵ Clarkson, *Review of Charities*, 33.

⁶⁸⁶ CAS (C), W.C.C. minute book 1968, 337.

⁶⁸⁷ Pers. Inf. (author)

⁶⁸⁸ CAS (K), WQ/O/3.

⁶⁸⁹ <https://wrap.warwick.ac.uk/324/> (accessed 20/3/2020), Steve Hindle, *Dependency, shame and belonging: badging the deserving poor, c. 1550-1750*, Cultural & Social History, Vol. 1 (No. 1.), (2004), 6-35 [n.b. under the Poor Act of 1697].

⁶⁹⁰ CAS (K), WQ/O/4.

⁶⁹¹ CAS (K), WQ/O/4.

were some payments for funerals and in 1749 six named males received boarding money (as able-bodied poor?), some had allowances for tobacco and payments for woven and dyed textiles produced. In May 1749, Mark Richardson's wife obtained a dole of 6s. for bread and 6d. for a quarter of tobacco.⁶⁹²

There were also private acts of charity; philanthropic Thomas Tufton (1644–1729),⁶⁹³ admitted elderly widows and infirm tenants from Stainmore to St Anne's Hospital in Appleby from the 1680s, including Elizabeth Johnson, admitted Jun. 1690, and Anne Harrison, aged 72 and widow of Miles, admitted Apr. 1701.⁶⁹⁴ His poor survey provided dole to 87 Stainmore households in 1692 (£14) and 71 in 1698 (£13/10/-).⁶⁹⁵ In 1787, c.35 people (c. 5.6%) were in poor households of whom 10 or 11 (c. 1.6%) were supported at the townships expense, two were single women (one widow), and two single men. Additionally John Armstrong was out of health and on the township with his wife and five daughters.⁶⁹⁶ There were 24 persons receiving out relief in 1804 plus ten children under five and 19 under 14's, 14 over 60's or disabled, and 18 non parishioners were also assisted.⁶⁹⁷ Litscarth became the poor house c.1812, (for c. £105 defrayed by township) having been conveyed by Michael Ewbank in Jun. 1796. In 1815 it supported 19 incumbents, another six occasionally.⁶⁹⁸ The

⁶⁹² CAS (K), WDDE/9/1.

⁶⁹³ *Complete Peerage*, XII, pt.1, 694-696.

⁶⁹⁴ Bodleian Library, MS Don.c.85, p.133. (see Appleby)

⁶⁹⁵ CAS (K), WDHOTH/2/11.

⁶⁹⁶ L. Ashcroft (ed.), *Vital Statistics: the Westmorland 'Census' of 1787*. (Curwen Archives Trust, 1992).

⁶⁹⁷ *Poor Law Abstract*, 1804 (Parl. Papers 1803-4 (175) XIII), 551.

⁶⁹⁸ *Poor Law Abstract*, 1818 (Parl. Papers, 1818 (82) XIX), 485.

estate, together with four or five a. donated by the commoners, raised £11 11s. p.a. in 1821 (for the poor stock).

In 1851 there were four boys (aged 5–9), including two brothers, from Stainmore in the Kirkby Stephen workhouse. Thomas Allison, 38 was in the workhouse in 1881 and in 1911 Thomas Richardson, single, 64 a former farm labourer, both from Stainmore.⁶⁹⁹

Medicine

Doctors living on Stainmore were usually retired, though Dr Ralph Buckle in 1673 and Dr Ewbank in 1688 may have come from Stainmore.⁷⁰⁰ A Mr Kiplin of Stainmore (James Kiplin, of North Crakey?)⁷⁰¹ ‘reputed a conjure’⁷⁰² may have been traditionally skilled in treating animals and people.⁷⁰³ In 1787, Dr Harrison of Kirkby Stephen was assisted by Joshua Ewbank,⁷⁰⁴ and in 1788/9, Thomas Harrison was paid £7 for attending to Reuben Coates’ fractured leg from a mining accident at Molds bar.⁷⁰⁵ In Jun. 1916 and Apr. 1917 Stainmore Parish council requested that Dr J. Bainbridge of Brough be exempted from enlistment due to local need.⁷⁰⁶ In 1891, Dr George W. Dalston–Ewbank LRCP. & S.

⁶⁹⁹ TNA, HO 107/2439b/312 (316, 317); RG 11/5201/81; RG 14/315/55.

⁷⁰⁰ CAS (C), DCHA/11/4/3, 105; Brough parish registers, (see Brough).

⁷⁰¹ CAS (C), PROB/1675/WINVX 66, James Kiplin.

⁷⁰² CAS (C), DCHA/11/4/1, 310.

⁷⁰³ S. Friar, *A Companion to the English Parish Church* (Stroud, 1998), 138 (‘white witch’).

⁷⁰⁴ CAS (K), WDDE/9/1.

⁷⁰⁵ CAS (K), WQ/O/11.

⁷⁰⁶ CAS (K), WPC11/2/1.

(Edinburgh),⁷⁰⁷ living at Borrenthwaite Hall, was working as ‘physician and surgeon’⁷⁰⁸ in the area. Mrs Bell from Rampson and ‘kindly’ Maggie Bayles (1893–1969)⁷⁰⁹ of Manor Cottage, were the ladies called upon to ‘lay out’ those who died and they also helped to deliver the babies at home.⁷¹⁰

The Brough Health Centre, serving Stainmore,⁷¹¹ formed when the Brough and Kirkby Stephen medical practices merged to form the Upper Eden Medical Practice in about 1995,⁷¹² which operated a weekly midwife clinic. During the Covid 19 pandemic, help for the self-isolating on Stainmore was offered by the local district councillor Graham Simpkins of Brough,⁷¹³ and Brough Parish council (including Stainmore) adopted a High Consequence Infectious Disease (HCID) policy, implemented on 27 Mar. 2020.

RELIGIOUS HISTORY

Stainmore township was part of the parish of St Michael’s Brough under Stainmore. The tithes belonged to St Mary’s Abbey York, until c.1344 and then to Queen’s college

⁷⁰⁷ Kelly, *Dir. Westm.* (1910), 130.

⁷⁰⁸ Census, 1891.

⁷⁰⁹ Pers. Inf., Margaret Buckle (Buckles 2021), 1939 Register (*Genealogist*) - Mary Margaret Bayles.

⁷¹⁰ Beckwith archive, Stainmore, 30.

⁷¹¹ *The Way*, Jul./Aug, 2019, 36. See Brough.

⁷¹² *Cumberland & Westmorland Herald*, 19 Dec. 2016.

⁷¹³ www.brough-cumbria.info/ (accessed 20/5/2020).

Oxford.⁷¹⁴ The first chapel of ease, St Stephen's, was located in a school (built c.1594⁷¹⁵ or 1601⁷¹⁶) and consecrated in 1608, but was poorly endowed and derelict by 1699 when Earl Thanet intervened to build a new chapel. This was independent of Brough by 1721,⁷¹⁷ when Queen Anne's bounty augmented the living. The church was rebuilt in 1843. Stainmore became a united benefice with Brough in 1954.⁷¹⁸ Another Anglican chapel, St Mary's, was built at North Stainmore in c.1857–61. There were Primitive Methodist chapels built on North Stainmore in 1868 (following a meeting house built in 1830), and South Stainmore in 1831 and 1909. There was a private chapel near Borrenthwaite Hall. A small, low building,⁷¹⁹ it was unlikely to accommodate more than six or eight people, and was a ruin by the 1890s.⁷²⁰

Church origins and Parochial Organisation

Stainmore's first known place of worship, St Stephen's chapel of ease, was in the schoolhouse founded by the will of the Brough-born Sir Cuthbert Buckle (1533–1594). A

⁷¹⁴ See Brough. *The Register of John Kirkby 1332–52 and the register of John Ross, Bishop of Carlisle 1325–32*, Vol. 1, ed. R. L. Storey (Woodbridge, 1993), 753, 754.

⁷¹⁵ J. Platt (ed.), *The Diocese of Carlisle 1814–55; Chancellor Walter Fletcher's 'Diocesan Book', with additional material from Bishop Percy's parish notebook*, Surtees Society & CWAAS, XXII (Stroud, 2015), 183.

⁷¹⁶ CAS (C), DCHA/11/4/1, 434 (testimony of Thomas Waistell, c. 1676; Christopher Wase's survey).

⁷¹⁷ F.A. Young Jr., *Guide to the Local Administrative Units of England, Vol. II, Northern England*, (London, 1991), 466.

⁷¹⁸ *Penrith Observer*, 7 Dec. 1954, p. 2.

⁷¹⁹ Its dimensions were around 4 m. × 3 m.

⁷²⁰ SMR 15356; grid ref. 385592/513401.

chancery decree of May 1601,⁷²¹ which released the provisions of Sir Cuthbert's will, stipulated that the schoolhouse be consecrated as a chapel of ease for divine service by the vicar of Brough and his curate, for the holy sacrament, prayers and baptisms. The building was consecrated by bishop Robinson of Carlisle in 1608, and dedicated to St. Stephen, perhaps in reference to the original mother church at Kirkby Stephen and from the name, to the surrounding moors.⁷²² Michael Ewbank had donated three roods of land at Borwens for the building (in 1613), which the inhabitants had erected at their own expense, with £6 towards maintenance.⁷²³ Rebuilt in 1699 and again in 1843, Stainmore chapel was licensed for baptisms in 1608 (recorded from 1708), and licenced for marriages by Bishop Harvey in Aug. 1885.⁷²⁴ No official district was assigned to this donative perpetual curacy until Aug. 1871.⁷²⁵

A second chapel of ease, St Mary's on North Stainmore, was completed and consecrated in 1861 for £800,⁷²⁶ by the Revd Lancelot Jefferson MA, Vicar of Brough at his own expense. Endowed with £120 7s. 6d. in trust,⁷²⁷ it was dedicated to St Mary, in remembrance of the nearby chantry chapel at Brough to St Mary the mother of Christ and St Gabriel the

⁷²¹ CAS (K), WDDE/11/1/2.

⁷²² M. Bagshaw, *Slow Travel: Yorkshire Dales: local characterful guides to Britain's special places* (Chalfont St Peter, 2019), 36.

⁷²³ CAS (K), WDDE/11/1/4.

⁷²⁴ CAS (K), WPR23B/1/2/7.

⁷²⁵ Lambeth Palace archives, file 44907; CAS (C), DRC 22/248 (letter of Rev. T Westgarth, 28 Aug 1912).

⁷²⁶ Bouch, *Prelates and People*, 459, 462; *Westm. Gaz.*, 21 Sep. 1861, p.5.

⁷²⁷ CAS (C), DRC 22/248.

Archangel.⁷²⁸ It was frequently held by the incumbent of St Stephen's. In 1972 it was made redundant and converted into a dwelling.

In 1940 Stainmore became part of the Rural deanery of Appleby and Kirkby Stephen. With the resignation of the Vicar, the Revd A. W. Dickens in Dec. 1954, the parish of Stainmore became a united benefice with the parish of Brough with Stainmore.⁷²⁹ The two parishes became one in 1973.⁷³⁰ The chapel continues to be used with weekly services provided by the vicar at the time of writing (2021).

Advowson and endowment: St Stephen's

Buckle's endowment was from a £8 rent charge on his Spittle estate, paid at Pentecost and St Martin Bishop in winter. In 1672 Lady Anne gave £3.⁷³¹ Vacant from c.1693, with nobody obliged to impose a curate to the donative, the first chapel building became ruinous.⁷³² A new chapel building was completed by Feb. 1699⁷³³ and Earl Thanet enclosed Slapstones pasture, thereby adding £10 to the salary. In 1720, the £18 income was augmented by a grant of £200 from Queen Anne's Bounty, to £30 p.a..⁷³⁴ In 1731, Raisgill Hall estate in Orton was

⁷²⁸ Platt, *Diocese of Carlisle*, 373; Gowling, *Brough-under-Stainmore*, 71–2.

⁷²⁹ Lambeth Palace archive, F95904, (Order in Council 21 Oct. 1952), *London Gaz.*, 24 Oct. 1952.

⁷³⁰ *London Gaz.*, 18 Dec. 1973, 27.

⁷³¹ CAS (C), DCHA/11/4/1, 434.

⁷³² L.P.A. Library, QAB/7/3, f. 4331.

⁷³³ CAS (C), DRC 22/248.

⁷³⁴ L.P.A.L., QAB/7/5/K1209, f. 247.

purchased for £400, raising the total income to c. £33 p.a..⁷³⁵ In 1761, the yearly value from Orton was £16 10s., and from Stainmore £16, providing £32 10s..⁷³⁶ In 1763, complaints to the earl from the Bishop of Carlisle and others over the low income of Slapestones led to six years of litigation, repossession, and an increase from £15 to £37 10s. p.a..⁷³⁷ On James Fenton's recommendation, Knowa was purchased in 1763, creating a glebe of c. 31a..⁷³⁸ Fenton's salary was £26 15s. in 1777..⁷³⁹

In 1828, the glebe was worth £18 10s. and the improvement value was £56 10s. (the 2d. yearly to the clerk increased to 20s. per family in 1827)..⁷⁴⁰ In 1843, the curate held 237 a. on Stainmore and in 1851 the income was c. £58 p.a..⁷⁴¹ The apportionment from the enclosure of Stainmore Common in Mar. 1890 saw adjustments, as ecclesiastical income was separated and c. 104 a. provided 19½ stints on the common..⁷⁴² Added to this were c. 73 a. in Orton and Tebay, with two beast gates on Tarn Pasture and unlimited common on Tebay Fell in 1894..⁷⁴³

⁷³⁵ CAS (C), DRC22/248, 1731 Terrier.

⁷³⁶ L.P.A.L., QAB/7/3/F4331.

⁷³⁷ CAS (C), DRC22/248, 1828 Terrier; *Leeds Intelligencer*, 12 June 1770, p. 3.

⁷³⁸ L.P.A.L., QAB/7/5/K1209, fol.247; F44909, (17.11.20).

⁷³⁹ CAS (C), DRC22/248, 1777 Terrier.

⁷⁴⁰ CAS (C), DRC22/248, 1828 Terrier. (the 2d yearly per family

⁷⁴¹ HO 129/573/46, 96.

⁷⁴² TNA, MAF 1/582.

⁷⁴³ CAS (C), DRC22/248, May 1908 Terrier.

In 1906 the income was £112 plus 16s. from shooting (£100 net in 1903).⁷⁴⁴ An annual charge of c.£12 for enclosing Slapstones was met by a grant of £12 p.a. from the Ecclesiastical Commissioners.⁷⁴⁵ Fees for marriage after banns were 1s., 1s. 6d. and 2s. 6d., and by licence 3s. 6d. and 7s. 6d.. In Oct. 1909 the Commissioners acquired c. £796 of Cape of Good Hope Consolidated 3½ per cent stock and c. £1,105 of Midland Railway Company 2½ per cent debenture stock.⁷⁴⁶ In 1910 the living was £110 net (177 a. glebe),⁷⁴⁷ rising to £125 in 1911.⁷⁴⁸ In 1935 the glebe produced £30, QAB £24, the Ecclesiastical Commission £182 and dividends £113 making £329 net.⁷⁴⁹ When Kirkby Thore and Temple Sowerby were united in Mar.1940, capital transferred to Stainmore added £20 p.a.⁷⁵⁰

With the approval of George Clifford (d.1605), the advowson of the chapel was vested in the lords of the manor. Tithes were paid to the parish church ‘as if the chapel didn’t exist’.⁷⁵¹ The lord’s advowson briefly lapsed in May 1930 when it reverted back to the Archbishop of York.⁷⁵² It was said to have been in abeyance for some years.

⁷⁴⁴ *Crockford’s Clerical Dir.*, 1911, 886–87.

⁷⁴⁵ L.P.A.L., QAB/7/3/F4331; *London Gaz.*, 18 May 1906.

⁷⁴⁶ L.P.A., file 44907.

⁷⁴⁷ Kelly, *Dir. Westm.* (1910), 129; D. Robertson, *The Plains of Heaven*, (Kirkby Stephen, 2012), 120–1.

⁷⁴⁸ *Crockford’s Dir.* (1915), 1622.

⁷⁴⁹ *Crockford’s Dir.* (1938), 358.

⁷⁵⁰ L.P.A.L., QAB/7/4/1/8559 (Tithe Act 1936), *London Gaz.*, 8 Mar. 1940, p. 1373.

⁷⁵¹ *Charity Com. 9th Report*, 1823, 665.

⁷⁵² CAS (K), WPR 23B/6/1/1, 4–5.

Parsonage

The curate, James Fenton (in office 1754–80) asked the governors in 1763 to purchase Knowa (house and messuage) freehold for a parsonage as the curates could not afford customary fines. It was bought from the Revd Gilpen Gorst of Appleby with £200 from Mary Countess Dowager Gower (Thanet's heir) and £200 from the governors of QAB. The enfranchised estate was to pay 14s. p.a. free rent plus boon coals and 7½ *d.* in lieu of the tithe of corn and hay.⁷⁵³ House and barn were slated, the farm including cow-house, stable yard and garth. Though described as a 'fit residence' in 1815,⁷⁵⁴ the water supply was prone to fail in drought and the water needed boiling. In 1837 a new building was built nearby with four bedrooms.⁷⁵⁵ It was in poor condition but fair repair in 1914.⁷⁵⁶ Dilapidations in 1948 required renewal of ceilings to bedrooms over the dairy and drawing-room and the staircase and landing amounting to *c.* £49, with full repairs of £145. In 1954 it still used a septic tank, and oil lamps for lighting.⁷⁵⁷ It was sold off in Mar. 1955 for *c.* £239. The incumbent farmed the glebe himself to enhance the income, but from 1939 but the farm buildings were unsafe and uninsured.⁷⁵⁸

Religious life

Pre-1699

⁷⁵³ CAS (C), DRC22/248, Terrier 1828.

⁷⁵⁴ Platt, *Diocese of Carlisle*, 182.

⁷⁵⁵ Kelly, *Dir. Westm.* (1910), 129;

⁷⁵⁶ L.P.A.L., NS/7/1/2129.

⁷⁵⁷ CAS (C), DB6/Files/348.

⁷⁵⁸ CAS (C), DB6/Files/348.

Though settled since ancient times, no evidence of worship has been found in Stainmore township before the 16th century. Since the Middle Ages, its inhabitants journeyed to St Michael's church in Brough (and nearly five miles from Ewbank and Palliard) to worship and to receive the sacraments.⁷⁵⁹ This continued after Stainmore's first chapel of ease, St Stephen's, was founded. Although it was licenced for baptisms, none are recorded there before 1708. It was not licenced for marriages until 1885, though a few marriages were recorded for 1711–38. St Stephen's was never licenced for burial. Easter and Christmas day worship was also owed to the mother church at Brough and on the first Sundays from May through to Aug., for which attendance £4 was granted from the parish rate.⁷⁶⁰

Stainmore residents had been involved in the Pilgrimage of Grace, led by the bailiff Christopher Blenkinsop, who 'enrolled' (as captain) Sir Robert Thompson, vicar of Brough, under fear of death who then 'took a sacring bell and rang it, and bade the said St Luke's day as holy day.'⁷⁶¹ At least three from Stainmore: Robert Patrick, Henry Gibson, and John Spencer of Newhall were executed with Blenkinsop, their bodies (or parts) displayed with many others on Gibbet Hill, Stainmore, while Sir Robert 'disappeared' in the Tower of London.⁷⁶² This may have pacified the area somewhat during the 17th century and discouraged outright catholic recusancy.⁷⁶³

⁷⁵⁹ L.P.A.L., QAB/7/3/F4331 (23).

⁷⁶⁰ Platt, *Diocese of Carlisle*, 183.

⁷⁶¹ *Cal. SP Dom.*, XII, part 1, 302, 235.

⁷⁶² See Brough.

⁷⁶³ Gowling, *Story of Brough*, 74.

Stainmore's involvement⁷⁶⁴ may have also encouraged the cleric Henry Dethick (1547/8–c.1613)⁷⁶⁵ B.L., to purchase Palyeat Grene on Stainmore (giving oversight of the king's highway) in 1597.⁷⁶⁶ That year he resigned the rectory at Great Salkeld and was appointed Chancellor at Carlisle.⁷⁶⁷ The master of Greetham Hospital at Hartlepool, he was made a queen's commissioner for the suppression of heresies in York province.⁷⁶⁸

Informal prayer meetings at Stainmore's schoolhouse had prompted the consecration of the chapel in 1608. Henry Blenkinsop of Helbeck, though Catholic, had been prominent in legally defending Buckle's bequest, suggesting there was some accommodation of Catholics.⁷⁶⁹ As resident lords and with some property in Stainmore, the Blenkinsops' ability, leadership, and preferment as officers and probate supervisors was testament to their social involvement and local standing. Three recusants were each taxed 8*d.* in 1625/6: Robert Pannell, Annas his wife and Elizabeth, wife of Robert Hedley.⁷⁷⁰ Of 19 Catholics listed in the

⁷⁶⁴ See Local Government.

⁷⁶⁵ *Alumni Oxon., 1500–1714*, vol. 1, 398 (d. 1613, ae, 67); Nightingale, *Ejected of 1662*, 359.

⁷⁶⁶ CAS (K), WDHoth/3/34/1.

⁷⁶⁷ Chancellor Prescott DD., 'The Officers of the Diocese of Carlisle', *CW2*, 11 (1911), 115.

⁷⁶⁸ T. Rymer, *Foedera*, xvi, 385; <https://archbishopsregisters.york.ac.uk> Register 31; 37, 62, 63, 114, 117 (accessed 28/05/2020).

⁷⁶⁹ CAS (K), WDDE/ 11/1/2.

⁷⁷⁰ TNA, E 179/195/65A.

parish in 1641/2, Margrett Aiskell widow, Catharan Burie and Sybill Pearson were probably from Stainmore.⁷⁷¹

The new chapel was Calvinistic in the absence of a communion rail, and pew to pew communion followed in the 17th century.⁷⁷² Among the worshipers were the servants of Lady Anne Clifford when she was at Mallerstang. Lady Anne also copied St Stephen's building arrangements at Ninekirks (Brougham).⁷⁷³ Stainmore's first curate from 1608–1652 was Robert Bovell a 'squarson'⁷⁷⁴ of Buckles, who left 20s. to the poor and money for school repairs.⁷⁷⁵ Nothing is known of his successor, William Waller, who was buried as schoolmaster in Aug. 1659.⁷⁷⁶ Thomas Waistell, another *litteratus* from the community,⁷⁷⁷ followed the same year, but after c.1693⁷⁷⁸ the curacy fell into abeyance (see Education) until re-formed by the establishment of a new chapel by Thomas Tufton, earl of Thanet, by tripartite deed with the trustees and bishop.⁷⁷⁹

⁷⁷¹ M.A. Faraday, *The Westmorland Protestation Returns 1641/2*, CWAAS, Tract Ser., XVII, (Kendal, 1971), 9.

⁷⁷² Platt, *Diocese of Carlisle*, xxxv.

⁷⁷³ ODNB, R.T. Spence, 79, (though she eschewed the puritan convictions of her mentors, and used the Book of Common Prayer).

⁷⁷⁴ A prosperous squire-cum-parson. A. Bryant, *The Age of Elegance 1812–1822*, (Edinburgh, 1958), 159.

⁷⁷⁵ TNA, PROB 11/221/893.

⁷⁷⁶ Brough under Stainmore registers.

⁷⁷⁷ CAS (C), DRC5/2, 3, 4 & 5; (*litteratus* – sufficiently educated, literate and scholarly).

⁷⁷⁸ CAS (C), DCHA/11/4/1, 434.

⁷⁷⁹ Advised by his own private chaplain.

1699 to 1840s

The presence of a chapel in the school building led to some opposition from trustees. The Revd Fisher of Brough also resisted the new chapel and 1696 tried to persuade the workmen to stop.⁷⁸⁰ Completed in 1699, the new chapel was also called Newclose Chapel.⁷⁸¹ It was to have a master qualified for reading prayers appropriate to the pastoral needs of an isolated community ‘where many lived to a great age and could not go to Brough for such.’ The chapel was rebuilt (or repaired⁷⁸²) on the same ground formerly consecrated, to cost ‘£100 or more so at £400 or more charge’.⁷⁸³ In Jun. 1697, Earl Thanet recommended William Clark(e)⁷⁸⁴ (curate of Bolton 1687–9), and in 1698 James Watson, deacon, curate and priest of Long Marton, but was obstructed by the vicar of Brough.⁷⁸⁵ The vicar was admonished by the bishop (and pacified) before Watson was licensed curate in March 1700.⁷⁸⁶ In Jun. 1708, he left for Crosby Ravensworth where he died in Sept. 1747, and where his successor at Stainmore, Robert Cragg, had been schoolmaster (appointed May 1705). Deacon Robert Cragg was appointed to St Stephen’s in July 1709,⁷⁸⁷ and became priest in Sept. 1709. Dying

⁷⁸⁰ CAS (C), DRC22/248

⁷⁸¹ CAS (C), DRC1/5. (the chapel was oriented east–west suggesting the school was removed north–south).

⁷⁸² Religious Census 1851 (TNA: HO129/573).

⁷⁸³ CAS (C), DRC22/248 (letter from Mr Carleton May 1696); *Charity Com. 9th Report*, 1823, 665.

⁷⁸⁴ CAS (C), DRC/22/248.

⁷⁸⁵ See Brough.

⁷⁸⁶ CAS (C), DRC1/5.

⁷⁸⁷ CAS (C), DRC1/6, appointed May 1708.

in 1713, his will contained bequests for all-weather riding gear, two canes and diverse books of sermons.⁷⁸⁸

Deacon John Bracken from Thrimby chapel, was nominated in 1713⁷⁸⁹ and ordained priest in May 1724. He was succeeded on death in 1731 by his son of the same name, who matriculated from Queens College Oxford aged 19 in Apr. 1728,⁷⁹⁰ and was licensed curate of Stainmore in Jun. 1736,⁷⁹¹ dying there May 1754.⁷⁹² He left useful bequests to the parish⁷⁹³ but his incumbency was marred by a dispute with the trustees over the Slapestones income. Having persuaded Robert Dickinson to advance some of the rent, he threatened the other bidders that he would stint it with sheep if they did not bid enough. The rent had been £10 but in some years was £12, which obliged them to stint more cattle to make it pay. In 1744 Bracken was persuaded to lower the rent but in 1746 he took an action against them.⁷⁹⁴ The dispute continued after Bracken's time, with the property subjected to vandalism under cover of night.

The Revd James Fenton (1724–80), appointed curate at Appleby St Lawrence in May 1754,⁷⁹⁵ was licensed to Stainmore that Oct..⁷⁹⁶ Made rector at Crosby Garret in 1763,⁷⁹⁷ he

⁷⁸⁸ CAS (C), probate May 1713.

⁷⁸⁹ CAS (C), DRC1/6.

⁷⁹⁰ *Alumni. Oxon. 1715–1886*, vol. 1, 148.

⁷⁹¹ CAS (C), DRC5/22.

⁷⁹² CAS (C), DRC5/33.

⁷⁹³ See Charities.

⁷⁹⁴ CAS (C), DRC22/248.

⁷⁹⁵ CAS (C), DRC5/33.

(curiously) resigned that position in Aug. 1769 for the Stainmore curacy where he remained until his death in 1780, aged 56.⁷⁹⁸ His estate, valued at under £300, was granted to his son John Mason Fenton, gent. (1759–1836) in July 1781.⁷⁹⁹ Fenton became the assistant curate⁸⁰⁰ to William Bird (1746–1822) MA Cantab.. Bird was nominated to Stainmore in Feb. 1781,⁸⁰¹ but resigned in 1784 for his rectory at Crosby Garret (1769–1822) where he owned the manor.⁸⁰² After Bird, John Mason Fenton, was licensed curate in Oct. 1784.⁸⁰³ He reputedly spent a ‘great deal’ of his money there,⁸⁰⁴ possibly to rectify some neglect of schooling (see Endowed School). Like his father he resigned a position as rector (at Brougham),⁸⁰⁵ for the Stainmore curacy. Buried at Brough in 1836 aged 77, he left a £4,000 estate,⁸⁰⁶ with property in Bowes parish.⁸⁰⁷ During his curacy, anti-clericalism may have fostered disputes over title

⁷⁹⁶ CAS (C), DRC1/7.

⁷⁹⁷ CAS (C), DRC1/8

⁷⁹⁸ CAS (C), DRC5/49, DRC5/54, DRC5/59; Brough MI’s 1780; Brough PR’s buried 5 Dec. 1780.

⁷⁹⁹ CAS (C), PROB/1781/A(5).

⁸⁰⁰ CAS (C), DRC1/8, (29/7/1781).

⁸⁰¹ CAS (C), DRC22/248, 26.

⁸⁰² Kelly, *Dir. Westm.* (1906), 47; Crosby Garret MI’s, 1822; CAS (C), PROB/1822/WCOD20 (probate 16 Apr. 1822).

⁸⁰³ CAS (C), DRC1/8.

⁸⁰⁴ Platt, *Diocese of Carlisle*, 289.

⁸⁰⁵ CAS (C), DRC1/8 (appointed June 1786).

⁸⁰⁶ CAS (C), PROB/1836/AB.

⁸⁰⁷ Poll for Knights of Shire, Yorkshire, Gilling West (130), Bowes, 1807.

payments to Brough parish (Queen's College), with periods of non-payment in 1828–34,⁸⁰⁸ and action against Margaret Tallentire of Win(d)moor End in Jul. 1836.⁸⁰⁹

John Hastwell's house at Oakbank on South Stainmore was registered in Oct. 1760 for protestant (probably Inghamite⁸¹⁰) dissenting worship by Arthur and Mary Hastwell, Palmer Nicholson, Isaac Johnson and Mary Sewell.⁸¹¹ North Stainmore followed in Jan. 1810, when a house at Dumahill was registered for John and Thomas Cleasby, John Gill, Robert Hird, Edmund Ellwood, Jno. Pool, Jos J. Abbott & I. Graham.⁸¹² Another house, occupied by Mrs J. Alderson, was registered in Dec. 1813.⁸¹³

John Wesley visited Arthur Johnson (probably at Bleathgill, Stainmore) in Jun. 1766 and again in 1768.⁸¹⁴ Wesleyan Methodism was adopted and had 12 members by 1793.⁸¹⁵ Primitive Methodism arrived in 1823 with Thomas Batty from Middleton,⁸¹⁶ who was

⁸⁰⁸ Platt, *Diocese of Carlisle*. 287.

⁸⁰⁹ CAS (C), DRC3/30.

⁸¹⁰ J. Burgess, *Methodism in Westmorland, the Appleby, Brough and Kirkby Stephen localities* (Wesleyan Historical Society, 1980), 1.

⁸¹¹ CAS (C), DRC3/16.

⁸¹² CAS (C), DRC3/25.

⁸¹³ CAS (C), DRC3/26.

⁸¹⁴ Robertson, *Plains*, 55.

⁸¹⁵ *Westmorland Herald*, 26 May 1990, (Penrith library); J.A. Bainbridge, 'John Wesley's travels in Westmorland and Lancashire North-of-the-Sands', *CW2*, 52 (1952), 113.

⁸¹⁶ W.M. Patterson, *Northern Primitive Methodism: A record of the Rise and Progress of the Circuits in the Old Sunderland District* (London, 1909), 108, 113.

protected from gentry mobs by local Wesleyans.⁸¹⁷ School House (Lane Cottage),⁸¹⁸ was built for meetings on waste near the Punch Bowl on North Stainmore in 1830, with free sittings for 60, and 20 standing.⁸¹⁹ At Mouthlock on South Stainmore, a chapel of the Primitive Methodist Connexion was founded by indenture in Sept. 1830 for £2, by John Hilton a carrier there;⁸²⁰ three cottages (for the poorer members) were built in 1831 on 120 sq. yds of land with the meeting house above having 64 free sittings and 62 others.⁸²¹

1840s to Present Day

Stainmore's Parsonage was rebuilt in 1837⁸²² for James Sawrey (c. 1794–1884).⁸²³ Born at Melling and educated at St Bees College 1820,⁸²⁴ he was curate at Claughton in 1828,⁸²⁵ before coming to Stainmore in Jul. 1836.⁸²⁶ It was he who petitioned to rebuild the chapel in a more commodious form on the present site (licensed in Aug. 1842), at the sole cost of the earl of Thanet.⁸²⁷ The new parsonage was licensed for divine service in the interim,⁸²⁸ with the new chapel being consecrated in July 1844.⁸²⁹

⁸¹⁷ J. Burgess, *A History of Cumbrian Methodism* (Kendal, 1980), 120.

⁸¹⁸ www.myprimitivemethodists.org.uk (accessed 21/05/2021), IR 58/19184.

⁸¹⁹ TNA, HO 129/573/47. (see Schoolhouse table and Census 1841, 1851).

⁸²⁰ TNA, C 54/10865, pt. 64, f. 31–35.

⁸²¹ TNA, HO 129/573/50.

⁸²² CAS (C), DB6/Files/348.

⁸²³ The Genealogist (website), death 1884, 2nd qtr, Darlington aged 90.

⁸²⁴ Platt, *Diocese of Carlisle*, 427.

⁸²⁵ *Pigots Directory Cumberland, Lancashire and Westmorland* (1828/9), 95.

⁸²⁶ CAS (C), DRC1/9, 175.

⁸²⁷ CAS (C), DRC22/248; DRC3/31.

In 1851, Sawrey reported the average attendance was only 25, citing the roads and weather in excuse, but Benjamin Blackett the Methodist minister at Mouthlock had a larger congregation that day and an average attendance of 75.⁸³⁰ Railway navvies in 1865 helped build an extension to the chapel in 1865.⁸³¹ In 1851, there remained a Wesleyan Methodist congregation averaging 40 at North Stainmore, led by Thomas Birkbeck, but they had no building, service or scholars.⁸³² The Primitive Methodists at School house (North Stainmore), led by Jacob Burnop of Newton Garth in 1851,⁸³³ built a new chapel on the nearby main road in 1868,⁸³⁴ using locally quarried stone and on land offered by Thomas Fothergill. Some seats cost one shilling a year by 1881.⁸³⁵ John Coates managed c.30 Primitive Methodists at North Stainmore in 1851, with no regular place of worship.⁸³⁶

⁸²⁸ CAS (C), DRC1/9, 318.

⁸²⁹ CAS (C), DRC1/9, 360.

⁸³⁰ TNA, HO 129/573/46.

⁸³¹ Patterson, *Northern Primitive Methodism*, 117; *Westmorland Herald*, 26 May 1990.

⁸³² TNA, HO 129/573/49.

⁸³³ TNA, HO 129/573/47.

⁸³⁴ Date–stone.

⁸³⁵ www.myprimitivemethodists.org (accessed 21/05/2021).

⁸³⁶ TNA, HO 129/573/48 (Blackmoorgate crossed out).

Sawrey was incumbent of Stainmore church in 1855,⁸³⁷ but by 1858 he was succeeded by the Revd John Irving MA (Oxon).⁸³⁸ Irving was also the first curate of the new chapel of St Mary's on North Stainmore, built for £800.⁸³⁹ Miss Jesse Turnour of Augill Castle laid the foundation stone in Aug. 1857,⁸⁴⁰ with the building completed and consecrated in 1861 by the vicar of Brough, the Revd Lancelot Jefferson MA, who gave the land and building at his own expense.⁸⁴¹ It was a chapel of ease to the new ecclesiastical parish of Brough and endowed with £120 7s. 6d. in trust.⁸⁴² About the same size as St Stephen's (nave c. 60 × 30') but with a plain bellcote and small vestry (c. 8.5 × 3 m.), it was dedicated to St Mary in remembrance of the nearby chantry chapel at Brough to St Mary the mother of Christ and St Gabriel the Archangel.⁸⁴³

By sermons and singing, Irving raised funds for the Church⁸⁴⁴ and the distressed in Lancashire,⁸⁴⁵ but he resigned to go to Millom vicarage in Nov. 1865.⁸⁴⁶ He was succeeded

⁸³⁷ *Slater's Directory of Westmorland* (1855), 11. He was curate of Bagnall (Staffs.) by 1871, and had retired to Brough by 1881: CAS (C), DRC1/9, 175; Census 1881, RG11/5200/82 (*The Genealogist*).

⁸³⁸ *PO Directory of Westmorland* (1858), 16, 17; Census Returns 1861; *Alum. Oxon.* 1714–1886, vol. 2, 731.

⁸³⁹ Bouch, *Prelates and People*, 459, 462; *Westmorland Gazette*, 21 Sep. 1861, p. 5.

⁸⁴⁰ *Westmorland Gazette*, 8 Aug. 1857, p. 5.

⁸⁴¹ W. Whellan, *The History and Topography of the Counties of Cumberland and Westmorland* (London, 1860), 96.

⁸⁴² CAS (C), DRC22/248.

⁸⁴³ Platt, *Diocese of Carlisle*, 373; Gowling, *Brough–under–Stainmore*, 70.

⁸⁴⁴ *Westmorland Gaz.*, 8 Nov. 1862, p. 4.

the following year by the Revd John Wharton MA (Oxon), ordained priest in 1862.⁸⁴⁷ Arriving the same year his wife died,⁸⁴⁸ Wharton was initially curate of both North and South Stainmore chapels. However, in Sept. 1868, Joseph Knight was nominated to St Mary's by Revd Lancelot Jefferson, vicar of Brough with a stipend of £120,⁸⁴⁹ followed in Jun. 1873 by Robert Clayton Heslop, who was nominated by the vicar of Brough, the Revd William Lyde. Heslop had matriculated from St Mary Hall Oxford, aged 19 in 1868, BA and priest 1874, MA 1875,⁸⁵⁰ the year he left to be vicar at Stapleford after financial problems at Augill Castle (see schools).⁸⁵¹ John Wharton then resumed the curacy of St Mary's until his resignation from both chapels in 1903.⁸⁵²

Wharton was assisted by his sister in parsonage and school, and probably Agnes Langhorne the 'home missionary' from Old Park.⁸⁵³ With the consent of Revd Lyde of Brough and Baron Hothfield, as patron of the chapel, he obtained a license from Bishop Harvey in Aug. 1885 for performance of marriages at St Stephen's.⁸⁵⁴ John George Lax MA (Duh.)

⁸⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 10 Jan. 1863, p. 5.

⁸⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 4 Nov. 1865, p. 4.

⁸⁴⁷ *Alumni. Oxon. 1714–1886*, vol. 4, 1532.

⁸⁴⁸ *Crockford's Clerical Directory 1889*, 1340; *Westmorland Gazette*, 17 Nov. 1866, p. 5.

⁸⁴⁹ CAS (C), DRC1/10.

⁸⁵⁰ *Alumni. Oxon. 1714–1886*, vol. 2, 651.

⁸⁵¹ *Crockford's Clerical Directory 1884*, 567.

⁸⁵² CAS (C), DRC1/12.

⁸⁵³ Census returns 1881, 1901, Stainmore.

⁸⁵⁴ L P.A., F7902.

succeeded Wharton in 1903.⁸⁵⁵ He restored the chapel in 1904, but his wife refused to live on Stainmore and his association with Miss Mary Rennison while married caused a scandal.⁸⁵⁶ His deprivation followed in 1911, assisted by £500 from the bishop of Carlisle.⁸⁵⁷

A few years after St Stephen's was repaired, the Primitive Methodist chapel at Mouthlock (South Stainmore) was rebuilt on land given by Mrs Pounder of the Slip Inn.⁸⁵⁸ Built to seat 180 in 1909,⁸⁵⁹ the costs of £800 were met by Thomas Hilton of Bishop Auckland (a descendant of John). The farmers got and carted the stone for free from Mrs Dalston–Ewbank's quarries. Their Temperance festival in 1909 became a free fight caused by the Lax controversy.⁸⁶⁰ There was a large congregation before the First World War with two services on Sundays many children attending all day with sandwiches. They hosted christenings and marriages including that of Hannah Hauxwell's parents.⁸⁶¹ The author of *Too Long a Winter*, her mother Miss Lydia Tallentire, had been organist there. In 1935 the chapel's associated Sunday school was enlarged and thrived into the 1970s.

⁸⁵⁵ CAS (C), DRC1/12; *Crockford's Dir.* (1911), 886–87.

⁸⁵⁶ *Hull Daily Mail*, 20 July 1910, p. 3.

⁸⁵⁷ M. E. Shepherd, *From Hellgill to Bridge End: Aspects of economic and social change in the Upper Eden Valley, 1840–95*, Studies in Regional and Local History Vol. 2, (Hatfield, 2003), 276.

⁸⁵⁸ Jeremy Godwin, *The Way*, Jun. 2010, 14.

⁸⁵⁹ Kelly, *Dir. Westm.* (1921), 123.

⁸⁶⁰ *Derby Daily Telegraph*, 1 Jan. 1910, p. 4.

⁸⁶¹ Beckwith archive, *Stainmore in Living Memory*, 22.

In the wake of Lax's disgrace, Thomas Westgarth was nominated curate by Baron Hothfield and the Revd William Lyde in Nov. 1911.⁸⁶² The son of an agricultural labourer⁸⁶³ he was educated at Manchester episcopal school, made priest in 1904 and was vicar until he died in Apr. 1929 when he was honoured with a commemorative window.⁸⁶⁴ Respected for his community work and friendship with the Methodist community,⁸⁶⁵ Westgarth was assisted by Captain T.W. Bracken (engineer) a former African missionary who 'always looked on the bright side of life' and is also remembered in a window in the chapel.⁸⁶⁶ Widows Mrs Westgarth, Mrs Dalston–Ewbank and the churches womenfolk persevered at running the buildings and church council, with sequestered assistance from Revd Robert William Harris of Long Marton rectory.⁸⁶⁷

The Revd Charles Benjamin Holland from Kenninghall, Norwich was instituted in Jan. 1931 on the collation of the Bishop of Carlisle. A graduate of Christ's College Cambridge 1906, he struggled to pay for dilapidations and his son's college fees. He failed to resign but was instituted to Knuzden (Blackburn) in Jan. 1935.⁸⁶⁸ A replacement of 'not too high Church'

⁸⁶² CAS (C), DRC1/12.

⁸⁶³ Census returns 1881, Hunsonby.

⁸⁶⁴ CAS (C), DRC22/248; *Crockford's Dir.* (1915), 1622; Lambeth Palace archives, F44907.

⁸⁶⁵ CAS (K), WPR23B/6/1/1, obit.

⁸⁶⁶ CAS (K), WPR23B/6/1/1, obits Dec/Jan. 1933; 1911 census, Newcastle; Army list vol. 1, 516 (captain Apr. 1917); TNA, Liverpool passenger lists 21 May 1897, 25 June 1898 (to Lagos).

⁸⁶⁷ L.P.A., F44907.

⁸⁶⁸ Lambeth Palace archives, F44907, letters 18 May 1934 & 14 Jan. 1935.

was sought,⁸⁶⁹ and Arthur William Dickens from Wroxton MA (Duh) was appointed curate in Mar. 1935.⁸⁷⁰ Briefly instituted curate at Brough with North Stainmore Jul. 1925 to 1926,⁸⁷¹ he introduced intercessory prayer to week–night services and in 1938 instruction in church doctrine into Sunday school.⁸⁷² Following his resignation in 1954 the benefices of Stainmore and Brough with Stainmore were united, under William Henry Daunt BA (Dublin).⁸⁷³

Evensong services continued monthly at St Stephen’s in the 1970’s,⁸⁷⁴ and lately Holy Communion, with nearly 60 attending a variety concert in 2019.⁸⁷⁵ The vicar of Brough held services every Sunday afternoon at St Mary’s chapel in 1910,⁸⁷⁶ but by 1972 the building was redundant and converted for residential use. The following year, the parish of Stainmore was abolished.⁸⁷⁷

Congregations at the Primitive Methodist chapels declined after the Second World War. The chapel on South Stainmore was a residential teaching centre for Maranatha ministries by

⁸⁶⁹ CAS (K), WPR23B/6/1/2.

⁸⁷⁰ L.P.A., F44907, letter 12 Feb. 1935.

⁸⁷¹ *Crockford’s 1938*, 358.

⁸⁷² CAS (K), WPC 11/2/3.

⁸⁷³ Union of Benefices Measures, 1923–1936; *London Gaz.*, 24 Oct. 1952; *Crockford’s Dir.* (1959–60), 1428, 279. See Brough.

⁸⁷⁴ CAS (K), WPR23A/15/1/1.

⁸⁷⁵ *The Way*, Sep. 2019, p. 14.

⁸⁷⁶ Kelly, *Dir. Westm.* (1910), 129.

⁸⁷⁷ *London Gaz.*, 18 Dec. 1973.

1983,⁸⁷⁸ closing to worship in 1990.⁸⁷⁹ The woodwork by Mr Thomas Lee⁸⁸⁰ was removed for use in other chapels before sale in 2013. It was an outdoor activity centre in 2020.⁸⁸¹ The chapel and Sunday School on North Stainmore closed in 2010 when James Skinner gave the last service, and a wooden plaque to the dead of the First World War was removed to St Stephen's church.⁸⁸²

Church Architecture

St Stephen's church (South Stainmore)

Of the original school–chapel nothing remains after numerous re–buildings and the fire in 1930.⁸⁸³ The first separate chapel building, built c.1699, was taken down and rebuilt in 1842–3⁸⁸⁴ (at a cost of £800) in the early English style, but with an unusual square bellcote, deemed to be 17th century.⁸⁸⁵ This building remains at the time of writing. The church measures c. 14 × 8.5 m. with slated roof and freestone walls, a three–bay nave and chancel

⁸⁷⁸ CAS (C), SDE/4/1/40.

⁸⁷⁹ *Westmorland Herald*, 26 May 1990 (Penrith Library).

⁸⁸⁰ Beckwith archive, *Stainmore*, 6, 22.

⁸⁸¹ www.myprimitivemethodists.org.uk/content/category/chapels/westmorland (accessed 28/11/2020).

⁸⁸² www.myprimitivemethodists.org.uk/content/category/chapels/westmorland (accessed 28/11/2020).

⁸⁸³ See Schools.

⁸⁸⁴ CAS (C), DRC1/9, 360–1. (re–consecrated July 1844).

⁸⁸⁵ M. Hyde & N. Pevsner, *Cumbria Cumberland, Westmorland and Furness, The Buildings of England* (London, 2010), 191.

with ‘Y’ tracery.⁸⁸⁶ The east window, now irregular and flat-headed with decorated tracery, had been a lancet in 1850,⁸⁸⁷ though most of the exterior is unchanged except for a small stone cross atop the east gable erected c. 1913–15 to Rev. John Wharton (1866–1903) and carved by Mr G. Dinwoodie, Brough.⁸⁸⁸ The interior has a 17th century font and three sided altar rail with 12 balusters.⁸⁸⁹

A new bell was installed in 1882 and in 1879 extensive renovations opened the church east to west and removed the gallery.⁸⁹⁰ A restoration by Revd Lax in 1904 was later neglected and the pews painted.⁸⁹¹ The Revd Westgarth collaborated with the Revd W. A. Wickham of Wigan in the restoration of 1913–15, but used no architect and left no opening windows for ventilation. He re-seated the church for 100, with modern oak pews, re-building the east wall with a stained-glass window to G. W. Dalston-Ewbanke L.R.C.P.S., designed by Wm. Pearce Ltd. of Birmingham. It consisted of three panels with Christ in the centre, St Stephen on the left and St Luke on the right. The space around the altar was enlarged with a gradene⁸⁹² and dossels⁸⁹³ presented by Rev. F Saunders of Hoylake. He also gifted a new

⁸⁸⁶ Pevsner, *Cumbria*, 191.

⁸⁸⁷ Thomas Bland (drawing, ct04912), www.cumbriaimagebank.org.uk (accessed 25/11/2020).

⁸⁸⁸ CAS (K), WPR23B/6/1/1.

⁸⁸⁹ Pevsner, *Cumbria*, 191.

⁸⁹⁰ Bulmer, *Dir. Westm.* (1906), 287; DRC54/109 (church appearance ‘of 1870–80’).

⁸⁹¹ Robertson, *Plains*, 58.

⁸⁹² A raised ledge behind an altar on which the cross is sometimes raised: S. Friar, *A Companion to the English Parish Church*, (Bridgend, 1998), 217.

⁸⁹³ a fabric screen at the back of the altar: Friar, *Companion*;

pulpit, prayer desk and lectern of oak. Mr Christopher Bowron of Stainmore renewed the ceiling with plaster moulding and oak panelling. A new upper window was added in the west end and a portion curtained off for a vestry. The font was moved, a step added and the heating renovated, removing much of the piping. Six lamps were gifted by Canon Mornington of Broughton-in-Furness. The stonework contractor was Mr J. G. Reynoldson of Brough carried out by Mr Dinwoodie. The furnishings were by an unrecorded Derbyshire firm.⁸⁹⁴ In 1990 the altar table and altar rail were considered 18th century and the pine floor early 20th (1904?) with hidden pulpit decoration in ‘arts and crafts’ style.⁸⁹⁵

Dedicated in Jun. 1923, a stained-glass window by Pearce and Cutler of Birmingham in the south wall memorialised the dead of the First World War with St Michael, St George and imperial symbols. In Nov. 1933, a memorial stained glass window was dedicated to Rev Westgarth in the north wall, representing the good Shepherd and his sheep, by J. Holmes & Co. and T. Clark of Preston, and the west window dedicated in memory of Captain Thomas William Bracken with incorporated stained glass shards he recovered during the First World War from Ploegstraert, Neuve Eglise and Arras.⁸⁹⁶ A monumental brass to John Abercrombie, physician of Augill castle, by J. Wippell & Co. Ltd, dated 1914, is attached to the chancel wall. Another, dated 1932 to T. W. Bracken, is on the credence table. On the nave wall a mural plate was dedicated in 1923 to the memory of George Alderson, 6th battalion,

⁸⁹⁴ CAS (K), WPR23B/6/1/1.

⁸⁹⁵ CAS (C), DRC54/109.

⁸⁹⁶ CAS (K), WPR23B/6/1/1; Robertson, *Plains*, 51

Border regiment, 1917 and George Alderson 3rd battalion, Loyal North Lancashire regiment, 1919.⁸⁹⁷

LOCAL GOVERNMENT

Seigneurial Government

Following the arrival of the Normans, seigneurial Stainmore⁸⁹⁸ formed part of the Honor of Brough.⁸⁹⁹ The Normans maintained the legal status and law of the forest within Stainmore lordship by defining boundaries, despite their territorial disruptions to its ancient extents.⁹⁰⁰

When the barony of Westmorland was created in 1203, the constable of Brough castle was also verderer of the forest (now chase) of Stainmore. The power of assizes of weights and measures, bread and beer, were inferred to have passed with the grant of the barony.⁹⁰¹

Stainmore township was subject to two seigneurial courts: the manor court and the forest court. Brough manor court rolls, including those for Stainmore lordship and forest, survive

⁸⁹⁷ W. Lack, H. M. Stuchfield and P. Whittemore, *The Monumental Brasses of Cumberland and Westmorland* (London, 1998), 190.

⁸⁹⁸ CAS (C), DCHA/11/4/3, 95, J.C. Cox, *The Royal Forests of England – Primary source Edition*, (undated reprint, London 1905), 95-96.

⁸⁹⁹ See Brough.

⁹⁰⁰ Selden Society, 013, Select Pleas of the Forest, 1217 Charter of the Forest, cxxiii. See Introduction.

⁹⁰¹ J. Nicholson & R. Burn, *The History and Antiquities of the Counties of Westmorland and Cumberland*, (London, 1777), 268.

from about 1680.⁹⁰² The Courts Baron were held at the lord's court-house within Brough Castle.⁹⁰³ Though few forest eyre courts have survived north of the Trent,⁹⁰⁴ the existence of a separate (forest) court at Stainmore is suggested by account rolls in 1540, which list separate court costs for Brough, and for Stainmore (7s.), with a fee of 9s. paid for the Stainmore forester.⁹⁰⁵

Stainmore's status as hunting forest (chase) placed it under the oversight of the constable of Brough Castle and his officers, the foresters, parkers and watchers.⁹⁰⁶ These officers, together with the bailiffs, were usually local men retained by the lord. They kept watch and ward,⁹⁰⁷ attended Stainmore beacon and enforced forest law. They were responsible for collecting rents, cheminage⁹⁰⁸ from travellers on the highway, tolls of fairs and markets, taxes for the constable and the king, and a local tax called wrangwaies.⁹⁰⁹ In 1540 the Stainmore forester was also paid for assisting the bailiff there in collecting the lord's rents.

⁹⁰² CAS (K), WDDE/2/1/1/10.

⁹⁰³ CAS (C), DCHA/11/4/1, 389, (see Brough), DLons/L/12/3/7/9, 1718, 22. (1833 in Brough)

⁹⁰⁴ R. Grant, *The Royal Forests of England*, (Stroud, 1991), 9; D. Crook, 'The records of the Forest Eyres in the PRO, 1179 to 1670', *Journal Society of Archivists*, xvii, 1996, 186.

⁹⁰⁵ CAS (K), WDHOTH/3/34, 1540 accts.

⁹⁰⁶ See Local Government, below.

⁹⁰⁷ CAS (C), DCHA/11/4/4, 33 (Carle-steayne).

⁹⁰⁸ A toll to pass through the lord's forest/chase.

⁹⁰⁹ V.J. Rees, *The Clifford Family in the Later Middle Ages 1259-1461*, Unpublished M.Litt. Thesis, University of Lancaster, 1973, 199. (see Economics).

The foresters enjoyed rights to hospitality (puture) within their jurisdiction, for themselves and their animals,⁹¹⁰ and was probably of ancient inheritance. The constable and his officers were supported from a levy of serjeant oats and constable hens. In 1291 the income from ‘the office of constable and his foresters’ (was) £3 16s. 8d. for ‘Burgh under Staynesmore’.⁹¹¹ A conflation of senior administrative positions occurred in 1462 when Richard Musgrave was appointed to the ‘office of constable of Burgh under Staynesmore and chief forester of the forest of Burgh’ (i.e. Stainmore) ‘and Kirkby Stephen.’⁹¹²

In 1272, forester Adam de Slegille was commended for good stewardship of Stainmore, but the prior of Carlisle rebuked for his neglect of the parks and waste caused in the woods of Yarnfiteskoue, Skrimeskoue and Carver (lost),⁹¹³ (despite a 1242 order to maintain the parks).⁹¹⁴ Forest officials were also prosecuted; Roger de Clifford accused former forester Adam de Corre in 1389 of deer poaching and cattle stealing, though de Corre claimed under rights of office.⁹¹⁵

⁹¹⁰ Higham, ‘Pre-conquest settlement’, 127. (An aspect of the Welsh system of *cylch*).

⁹¹¹ *Cal. Inq. p.m.*, Ed. I, III, no. 70.

⁹¹² *Cal. Pat*, Ed. IV, I, 143.

⁹¹³ *Cal. Inq. misc. (Chancery)*, 1, 143, no. 436. (Yarnfiteskoue – probably near Yarfords, Augill beck, Carver – poss. Calva).

⁹¹⁴ *Liberate Rolls*, 1240-5, 108.

⁹¹⁵ J.F. Curwen, *The later records relating to North Westmorland or the Barony of Appleby*, (Kendal, 1932), 56-57, *De Banco Rolls*, 476, m. 33d.

Warfare and feuds caused crises for local government, as when Isabella de Clifford fled to Barnard Castle in 1315/6.⁹¹⁶ Scots raids devastated Stainmore after the battle of Bannockburn in August 1314 and the Chapter of Mytton in Sept. 1319.⁹¹⁷ On 4th Aug. 1314, Andrew de Harcla led mounted levies in a skirmish near 'le Redecros' on Stainmore and lost 25 horses.⁹¹⁸ Some poaching cases may have derived from economic distress.⁹¹⁹ In 1352, John de Colleby, collector of the tenth and fifteenth, was assaulted and robbed.⁹²⁰ Local extremity justified tax exemptions in 1333 and 1390.⁹²¹ From the 1330s, the Clifford's fought in and out of court over pasturage across the Stainmore boundary with Middleton-in-Teesdale.⁹²² The county boundary continued to be a source of dispute until 1883,⁹²³ and with Bowes until 1913.⁹²⁴

Local turmoil caused by the Pilgrimage of Grace in 1537 led to the execution of two residents of High Ewbank, and of the bailiff of Stainmore. Discontent was partly attributed to

⁹¹⁶ *Cal. Pat., Ed. II*, II, 422.

⁹¹⁷ See Economic History.

⁹¹⁸ J.E. Morris, 'Cumberland and Westmorland levies in the time of Edward I and Edward II', *CW2*, iii (1903), 317-319.

⁹¹⁹ *Cal. Pat., Ed. II*, II, 595.

⁹²⁰ *Cal. Pat. Ed. III*, IX, 273.

⁹²¹ *Cal. Pat., Ed. III*, II, 395; *Cal. Pat., Ric. II*, IV, 338-39. (see Economic History).

⁹²² *Cal. Close*, Ed. III, IV, 326; TNA, SC 8/12/583, (1337), (6000a.)

⁹²³ F.A. Youngs Jr., *Guide to the Local Administrative Units of England, vol. II- Northern England*, (London 1991), 466.

⁹²⁴ TNA, MAF 25/70/2.

enclosures and gressoms,⁹²⁵ the latter subsequently made worse in 1617 when the King's award raised the fines,⁹²⁶ previously lowered by Henry Lord Clifford. This impoverished many tenants, as did the rising demands from the Clifford's estates which probably effected some local adherence to the Parliamentary cause, and to ongoing social divisions.⁹²⁷ The lord's rights were then strongly contested by Stainmore (and its neighbours), in a long legal fight only concluded in 1741/2, when the lord's fines were limited and security of tenure (tenantright) affirmed.⁹²⁸ Manorial government continued to encompass the confiscation of the goods of felons, as also to deodands, waifs and strays and suite of County.⁹²⁹

Presentments included the depasturing of drovers cattle on Stainmore Common, mine pollution at Bluegrass, and the cutting and selling of turves and wood.⁹³⁰ By 1724 Stainmore no longer had its own bailiff.⁹³¹ In 1720 lord Thanet had problems with his steward, Thomas Carleton, and insisted that he rectified wall defects adjoining to New Hall, and compensated the lessee there for the damage done.⁹³² In 1723 Carleton surrendered a large quantity of legal

⁹²⁵ S.M. Harrison, *The Pilgrimage of Grace in the Lake Counties 1536-7*, (London, 1981), 7, 98, 139.

⁹²⁶ CAS (C), DLons/L/13/1/3.

⁹²⁷ M.E. Gowling, *The Story of Brough-under-Stainmore*, (Kirkby Stephen, 2011), 78-80; *L. & P. Hen. VIII*, xii (1), 687 (2). See Kaber.

⁹²⁸ CAS (K), WDDE2/6/1.

⁹²⁹ CAS (K), WDHOTH/3/34/6, [1720]. See Appleby.

⁹³⁰ CAS (C), DLons/L/12/3/7/9, 1712, 11; 1714, 10; 1715, 11.

⁹³¹ *Ibid.*, 1724, 13.

⁹³² CAS (K), WDHOTH/3/34/6, 3.

documents and court rolls for the barony (and Stainmore) to the safe keeping of Appleby castle, though many early manorial documents are now lost.⁹³³

Township Government

Medieval Stainmore formed two parts ‘foot(s)’ and ‘row’(s) (or divisions) of a *villae integrae*, centred on Brough (*cum* Stainmore).⁹³⁴ Though Stainmore claimed it existed as an ancient township prior to the Act of 1662, which resulted in the appointment of overseers,⁹³⁵ Brough disputed this in the 1840s.⁹³⁶ The evolution of the *villa integra* validated Stainmore’s claim,⁹³⁷ as did the ancient lordship and boundary with Brough, which pre-dated 1200.⁹³⁸ Brough’s was the administrative township and sometime treasurer of the parish and manor, but Stainmore was its major fiscal lordship, becoming a named township, with its own bailiff, constable and overseers of the poor by 1694.⁹³⁹ The first named constable was Christopher Jackson in 1674.⁹⁴⁰ In 1684, the constable sought to recover rates (*sesse*) on old inclosures

⁹³³ Bodleian Library, Special Collections, MS. Don. c.85.

⁹³⁴ A.J. Winchester, *Landscape and Society in Medieval Cumbria*, (Edinburgh, 1987), 32; TNA, E 179/195/17.

⁹³⁵ TNA, IR 18/10864.

⁹³⁶ *Ibid.* See Brough.

⁹³⁷ A.J.L. Winchester, ‘The Medieval Vill in the Western Lake District: Some problems of definition.’ *CW2*, lxxviii, 55-69.

⁹³⁸ Charlesworth, ‘The Medieval Parks’, *CW3*, xix, 169-190.

⁹³⁹ CAS (K), WQ/O/3.

⁹⁴⁰ *The Westmorland Hearth Tax for the year 1674*, (CFHS, 1998).

within Stainmore at Bell Closes, but they were judged to have become attached to their ‘foot’⁹⁴¹ of origin: the constablewick of Brough.⁹⁴²

In 1696, the overseers of the poor for Stainmore, Brough, Brough Sowerby and Hillbeck decided that Stainmore should maintain its own poor, and in 1758 they agreed to take about 700 a. from Stainmore, which was added to the two Broughs’.⁹⁴³ This subsequently led to confusion and disagreement over the area covered by the Tithe Award in the 19th century.⁹⁴⁴ Disbursements were randomly recorded among the accounts of the Ewbank family during the 18th century.⁹⁴⁵ Joshua and Jonathan Ewbank kept churchwardens accounts from c.1748–1789 overseeing the book and bread charities, Bracken’s charity, making payments to the homage jury and petitioning the clerk of the peace at sessions court in Appleby regarding roads (c.1764–8).⁹⁴⁶ In 1796, Michael Ewbank conveyed Litts Garth to the overseers for use as a poor house.⁹⁴⁷ In the 1787 census, Stainmore was named as a constable–wick with William Whelpdale as constable.⁹⁴⁸

⁹⁴¹ A. Warrack, *Chambers Scots Dialect Dictionary*, (London/Edinburgh, 1930), 186, (lower part of a street or town.)

⁹⁴² CAS (K), WQ/O/3.

⁹⁴³ TNA, IR 18/0797.

⁹⁴⁴ See below.

⁹⁴⁵ CAS (K), WDDE/9/1.

⁹⁴⁶ CAS (K), WDDE/9/3. (see Social History).

⁹⁴⁷ 9th Report of the Commissioners for enquiring concerning Charities, 1833, 666.

⁹⁴⁸ CAS (K), WQ/SPC.

In addition to township government, a dozen local men of sufficient standing were also required to act as trustees for Sir Cuthbert Buckle's school charity, as laid out in his will of 1594.⁹⁴⁹ In 1608, these were Roger Salkeld, (vicar of Brough), Thomas Nicholson, Michael Ubancke, William Brunskill, Henry Ubank, Arthur Shephard, John Weightman, Matthew Whightfield, Michael Wharton, Michael Moor, William Walter and William Askeell (yeomen).⁹⁵⁰ Thereafter, a coterie of 'substantial men' accepted administrative duties.

In 1683 a petition was approved to charge 2*d.* per horse load of coal from South Stainmore to be levied for consequential road repairs.⁹⁵¹ In 1731 the township was indicted for repairs to sections of the Brough – Bowes road.⁹⁵² In 1801 the debts on local roads amounted to £2,000 with insufficient receipts of only £350 p.a.⁹⁵³ By the 1830s, gangs of workers were being paid piece work rates for quarrying, road repairs and maintenance. In 1843, the township was £356 in credit.⁹⁵⁴

In 1866 a policeman was ordered to Stainmore to assist in containing a rinderpest outbreak near Bowes.⁹⁵⁵

⁹⁴⁹ TNA, PROB, Sir Cuthbert Buckle, 1594 (see Religious History).

⁹⁵⁰ CAS (K), WDDE/11/1/3.

⁹⁵¹ Johnson, *An Improving prospect?*, 71-3.

⁹⁵² CAS (K), WQ/SR/35/13-14.

⁹⁵³ HL/PO/LO/1/46, vol. 46, p.365.

⁹⁵⁴ CAS (K), WDHH/175.

⁹⁵⁵ *Westmorland Gazette*, 17 Mar. 1866, p.6.

Stainmore became a civil parish in 1866.⁹⁵⁶ Prior to this, there were several changes to the township boundary during the 18th and 19th centuries. One legacy of this was that Hodgson's map of 1828 characterised Brough Intack as 'In Brough & Stainmore Tp.' and showed a detachment of Brough township encompassing Windmore End and Swindale Head.⁹⁵⁷ This was incorporated when the civil parish of Stainmore was created, with additional alterations in 1883.⁹⁵⁸

The Tithe commissioners initially utilised Stainmore's ancient lordship boundaries: a decision later over-turned at Queen's Bench, and reversed again by a boundary award of 1847.⁹⁵⁹ Pragmatically, East Stainmore inclosure award of 1890 followed the Tithe Award of 1843 when it enclosed the remaining internal waste commons. Brough riggs was thereby made a recreation ground and though in Brough township its ownership was awarded to Stainmore.⁹⁶⁰ To create further public benefit, the 1890 Award provided more recreation grounds at the Slip Inn, Primrose Hill and Maiden castle. Field garden allotments intended for the poor (mostly at Buscoe Moor), were to be let by the parish council but were discontinued in 1924⁹⁶¹ (see Social History).

Post 1894

⁹⁵⁶ Youngs, *Guide to the Local Administrative Units*, 461, 29 & 30 Vict. c. 113, p.16.

⁹⁵⁷ See Landownership; J. L. Malay, *Anne Clifford's Great Books of Record* (Manchester, 2015), 232.

⁹⁵⁸ Youngs, *Guide*, 461; 29 & 30 Vict. c. 113, 45 & 46 Vict. c. 58.

⁹⁵⁹ TNA, IR 10864.

⁹⁶⁰ CAS (K), WPC 11/2/1, see 1910.

⁹⁶¹ CAS (K), WPC 11/2/1, see 1910, 1924.

Stainmore was generally divided into the two foot's or districts of Argill and Mousegill rows (otherwise north and south).⁹⁶² The parish council usually met in turns at the north and south Stainmore council primary schools, and fairly regularly. At the annual meeting ratepayers enquiries were invited, two overseers of the poor appointed, and two 'ratepayers in succession' to be overseers in waiting. As with the appointment of the two managers for the schools, north and south Stainmore were both represented.⁹⁶³ Seven parish councillors were also elected at the meeting, in addition to the chairman. An early chairman William Allan Leach died in office in 1927 having served for c.30 years and his often deputy George Alderson retired after 20 years when no longer fit to walk to the meetings.

In 1909 the parish council discovered a small illegal enclosure on Brough Riggs but were unable to rectify as usage had been gained by time expired. They wrote to East Ward Rural district council in 1913 to complete work to fence and make safe quarries at Bleathgill and the Old School House (though enclosure beneficiaries were responsible).⁹⁶⁴ A letter to Westmorland County Council in Mar. 1950 requested authorisation for two polling stations (previously refused in 1927), which were granted for North Stainmore at the county school there, and for South Stainmore at the Institute.⁹⁶⁵ The polling districts were fixed by consultations between the PC and WCC.⁹⁶⁶ A coach fire near Stainmore summit in Dec. 1968

⁹⁶² Mannix, *Dir. Westmd.*, (1851), 149.

⁹⁶³ CAS (K), WPC 11/2/1.

⁹⁶⁴ *Ibid.*

⁹⁶⁵ WCC minutes, vol. 1950-1, 244, vol. 1927-8, 58.

⁹⁶⁶ *Ibid.* vol. 1950-1, 591.

led to a dispute over liability for the ambulance costs incurred, which was decided in the favour of the WCC.⁹⁶⁷

During the First World War, the parish council had to plead to stop its doctor being enlisted.⁹⁶⁸ Attempts to have roads adopted were prolonged, with the road from South Stainmore school to Blackhouse not successful until 1961.⁹⁶⁹ In 1951 there were disputes between residents over the army use of Leacett common on Stainmore,⁹⁷⁰ and in 1984 the Government sought a change of use for Army dry training on 802 a. at Slapestones. The parish council was split, and though opposed by Eden district council, the MP and many residents, the Army succeeded at judicial review.⁹⁷¹ Proposals for a windfarm within the A.O.N.B. by 'Community Windpower' at Barras were opposed by Save our Stainmore (SOS) and its allies in 2008.⁹⁷²

Having been under the East Ward sanitary division from 1874, Stainmore became part of East Ward rural district from 1894 and the North Westmorland rural district council from 1935 until 1974 when the Eden District council was created. In 1906 William Leach and John

⁹⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, vol. 1968-9, 493.

⁹⁶⁸ CAS (K), WPC 11/2/1, 3 Jun 1916, 28 Apr. 1917.

⁹⁶⁹ WCC minutes, vol. 1961-2, 174.

⁹⁷⁰ *Penrith Observer*, 2 January 1951, p. 1.

⁹⁷¹ *Hansard*, 16 July 1991, col. 329; CAS (K), WDY 316/1, *Cumberland News*, 8 July, 1988, p. 40.

⁹⁷² <https://www.thewestmorlandgazette.co.uk/news/3734616.crowds-gather-for-stainmore-windfarm-protest-meeting/> (accessed 3/05/2019)

Beckwith were serving as Rural District councillors.⁹⁷³ In 1935 the parish elected a councillor to the district authority,⁹⁷⁴ a post which Mr G. M. Dalston–Ewbanke had held for over 30 years in 1963.⁹⁷⁵ .

⁹⁷³ Bulmer, *Dir. Westmd.*, (Preston, 1906), 290.

⁹⁷⁴ CAS (K/C), WC/C/4/330/1-3, 47-48.

⁹⁷⁵ *Cumberland & Westmorland Herald*, 3 Aug. 1963, obituary p. 1.

Places	Names	1	2	3	4	5	Township/division/manor 6 New tp.?
Sowerbie Park	Lancelott Saukeld elder (Br?)		p			+	+ (N. Str) Sowerby Park
Swyndell	Peter Wardell		+			+?	+?
Borwenfield	Lancelott Johnson	T	+/p	h		35	+
	Henry Yare *	T	+			36	+
Crakey Wiselacke	John Johnson		+			+	x)(?Wiselacke=Stainmore
Greencrag do.	Thomas Nicolson		+			+	x) in Helbeck tp.)
& Burrowdl. Wynder	John Wightman		+		W	37	+N.Str/H Windmore end
	John Bird	T			W	38	+
greencrage	Johes Alderson	T	+			39	+ Greencrag
	Willm Birkbecke		+			+	+(sub tenant?)
Burrowdalehead	George Kaye	T	+			40	+ Borrowdale House
Augilside	Roland Smith	T	+			41	+
Crakey	Agnes uxor Roland	T	+		W	42	+
Swindell Penistone gr	Henry Smith	T				43	+ Penistone Green
	Thomas Hoppes	T	+			44	+
Penistone green	Symond Wastell		+			+	+(sub tenant?)
Burrowdale	Robt. Richardson	T				45	+(lease by custry. Tt.?)
Blewgrasse	George Patterrig	T	+			46	+ Bluegrass
stampgill	Peter Wardell	T	+			47	+
Netherharo	James Balles	T	+			48	+
Augill head	Michael Orton	T				49	+ Augill Head
	Parcivell Patterrig		+	h		50	+ cottage/gdn. in waste
Blewgrasse	Geoffrey Shaw	T				51	+
Akebancke	John Reynoldson	T			W	52	+(Sth.Str) Oakbank
Oxenthwayte	James Buckle	/2	+		W	53	+
dryrighaw	Cristofer Buckle	/2				54	+
	Willm Brunskale	T	+		(W)	55	+ Buckles?(fr. Alderman
Oxenthwaite	Anthonie Dicconson	T	+		V	56	+ Buckle) Oxenthwaite
	Richard Brunskale	T	+			57	+
Brockinthwaite	Michael Wharton	T	p			58	+
High Ewbanke	Thomas Waller (inhab.)		p		V(W)	59	+) Demesne lordship
& Newhall	James Waller (inhab.)		p			60	+) High Ewbank
	Robt. Devis (inhab.)		p			61	+)
	Willm Waller (inhab.)		p			62	+)
	Michael Brunskale ?		p			+	+) (principal residences-?
	Adam Bousfeld ?		p			+	+) not duplicated) poss.
	John Cleasbie ?		p			+	+) seasonal
New Hall	Robert Leigh gent (Appleby)	CM	+		VW	63	+) New Hall - leased
(Barras/Fairebanke)	- (Deer reservation)	2T	p			65	+) leased custry. Tcies.

Unnamed customary tenancies listed with the lease of the Deer Reservation may be Calva and Mouthlock (vaccaries) on the margins of the park area. Barras and Fairebanke (Bank House?), small tenements within the deer reservation (as was Calvaload) included and not detailed in the parcel, and possibly untenanted at the time, except for keepers and watchers for the (fallow) deer.

Places	Names	1	2	3	4	5	Township/division/manor 6 New tp.?
N/brough- brownhow	John Blenkinsop (Nbr?)		p			x	x) (North Str) Old tp.
E. Stre Leadyeat	Thomas Atkinson (Nbr?)		p			x	x) Brownhow & Hag gap
adhuc hagg gapp	Cristofer hodgson (Nbr?)		p			x	x) (Forest Fm.)- Old tp.
hagg gap	Henry Rudd		+			x	x)
hagg gap	Robert Spensor		p			x	x)
haggap/bell close	John Powley (Obr?)		p			x	x)
	Robert Waters		p			x	x)
	Henry Shaw (Nbr?)		p			x	x)
N/brough-East	Marke Bird	T	p	(W)	66		+ mostly Helbeck manor -
Stainmore adhuc	Hugh Bird		p			+	+ in Stainmore New tp.
hesleybank	Lancelot Salkeld		p	V		+	+ Hazel Bank
Park cl./Swindell	Anthony Saulkeld (Nbr?)		p			x	x Old tp.?
Swindellside	Thomas Atkinson (rpt?x)		p			+?	x (Leadyeat Tt. abv? O.tp)
Blackmyre yeat	Roland Nicolson (Nbr?)		+			x	+ Blackmoorgate(New tp)
Swindellside	Robt. Hunter (inhab.)		p			67	+ Swindalehead Ho.? H
Overbrough/ Crekey	Henry Rudd		+			+?	+ Craco
E Str. adhuc dunhaw	Michael Johnson	T	+	(W)	68		+ Dummah
Robinhoodgill	Henry Waller		+			+?	+
Sowerbie/ Leadyeat	Mathew Wharton (BrS?)		+			x	x
E Str. S. park head	Thomas Leadman (BrS?)		+			x	x
adhuc dunhowhead	George Brunskale (BrS?)		+			x	x
dunhowhead	Richard Smith (1) (BrS?)		+			x	x
dunhow & augilside	Richard Smith (2) (BrS)		+	h(BrS)		x	x(@ Thorney Scale, BrS)
smaethornes	Edward Guy (BrS?)		+/p			x	x? – Augill house?: Old tp.
dunhawe	Robert Wardell (BrS?)		+/p			x	? Dummah
dunhaw	Robt. Wardell ygr (BrS?)		+/p			x	?
blewgrasse	Robert Leadman (BrS?)		+			x	? Bluegrass
dunhaw	Thomas Walkyn		+			+?	? Dummah
dunhawe	Henry Wardell (BrS?)		+			x	?
Crekey & parkhead	Cuthbert Cumpston (1)(BrS?)		+			x?	x Craco
penistone green	Cuthbert Cumpston (2)		+/p	h		69	+ Penistone Green
dunhaw	Thomas Compston		+	h		70	+ Dumma aka Cumpston?
(missed entry)-							
Swindell Borwenfield	John devis*	T	+			71	

Actual residences 1604? - Nbr – Netherbrough Obr – Overbrough BrS – Brough Sowerby
Br - Brough

Minimum likely resident count includes houses and inhabited premises (5 - count) = **71**, - incomplete survey - only of improvements, money disputes & changes. Unchanged tenements followed in a rentals list also of 1604. Farms at Hazel Bank and Blackmoorgate, and queried sub-tenancies should be added to the households. The total Survey estimate is then c.75. (+?)

Additions from the rentals list follows -

Table 3b: Holdings, ex-survey expansion 1604

Places	Names	Customary Rents	Notes
Swinstie Wath	Willm. Gill	22/- V +	Swinestone Ho.
	William Waller	19/7d -	-lessee High Ewbank?
Blaethkeld	?	12/1d W +	Bleathgill
Barrers	uxor Richard dawson	18/3d +	Barras
	uxor Cristofer Wane	18/3d +	
Ramson	William Ewbank	6/7d? V +	Rampson
	Leonard Barton	27/4d +	
	Willm Askell	29/5d +	
	Roger Maskell	20/8d +	
	Uxor Miles Nicolson	5/- +	
Dowgill	George Waiskell &	W	- 1592, Dowgill and
	uxor John Waiskell	- 20/8d +	Dowgill head
	ffrances Ubanke	20/1d +	
	uxor Jacobi Parley	7/7½d +	
	Thomas Parley	7/7½d +	
Leight Trees	Jacobus Waistell	15/3d +	Light Trees
	Symon Nicolson	43/11d +	
	Henry Ewbanke	34/4d +	
	Michaell Ewbanke	£3/15/11½d -	(Rpt.?) - Landowner
	Thomas Johnson	13/7d +	
Knowhow	Uxor Thome Wastell	- 17/4d V -	Knowa
	& Michaell Wastell		In Survey under Strice -gill.

The above suggests a likely 17 more households. Dowgill may have been the three separate farms known today, and Rampson and Light trees were both large accommodating farms. The addition is **75+17 = 92**. (+?)

Source: WDHOTH/3/34/2

Places	Names	Customary rents	Notes
Boronhouse	Michael Ewbanke	13/9d V -	(Rpt.) – Landowner
	Robert Jackson	10/5½d +	Tenant – Borren Ho.
Uppmanhowe	Uxor Jacobi dawson	- 19/- V	Survey listed Survey listed Sub tenants one or several households?
	& Thomas dawson	-	
	Richard Ewbanke	12/2½d -	
	Richard Johnson	17/10d +	
	Edward Johnson	16/5d +	
	Henry Johnson	17/10d +	
Gilbanke	William Johnson	16/5d +	
	Uxor leonardi	- 27/9d -	Survey – Robt
	Waistell		Wastell.
	Jeffraye Shawe	16/2d +	
	Henry Williamson	8/1d +	

Boronhouse has been added to the Survey list, but the rental indicates a sub tenant and likely householder. The Johnson's at Uppmanhowe may indicate one or four households so that the total from the above might be four or seven extra households making a final estimate of –

92 + (4 or 7) = c. 96 – 99 households.

Table 4: Settlements (SMR's) (and indicatives)

SMR	Name	Settlement	Hut circle	building	Promontory fort	Field system		Period
3453	Cooper hse		x					IA/RB
3455	Dyke hse				x			IA/RB
3456	Dyke hse	x						IA/RB
3457	Str. hut		x					IA/RB
3461	Dummah hill			x				IA/RB
3479	Str. settlt.	x						IA/RB
3483	Slip Inn	x						IA/RB
3486	Mouthlock	x						IA/RB
3487	Oakbank	x						IA/RB
3500	Gillses	x						IA/RB
3505	Thorney Gale	x						IA/RB
3506	Little Thwaite	x						IA/RB
3507	Light Trees	x				x		IA/RB
3601	Maiden castle	x					finds	RB
3602	Palliard	x				x		IA/RB
3962	Longrigg	x						IA/RB
3999	Maiden C.	x					vicus	Roman Antonine
14300	Leonards Crag	x					Cup/ring finds	BA IA/RB
14443	Greenhow Rigg				x			Unk.
1842	Maiden Castle fort						Ro. fort	Roman Antonine
1843	Gillses					x		medieval
1840	Punch Bowl					x	Ridge & fur	Roman Hadrian
3508	Brough Intake					x		Unk.
3511	Greena						encl.	IA/RB Unk.
3454	Longrigg						encl.	IA/RB
3840	Hocker Gill						encl.	IA/RB
19062	Bluebell						cup stone	Bronze age
17715	Bluegrass						flint find	Neolithic Br. age
4398	Spittal						flint finds	Mesolith

Table 5: Medieval vaccaries

Vaccaries/IPM's	1291	1314	1389	1391 dower	1402/3	1422	1424 (as of demesne?)
1 Strice Gill				x	x	x	x 6/8d ea
2 Cragg House							x
3 Knolhowe				x	x	x	x
4 Skirrygill				x	x	x	x
5 Swynstywath				x	x	x	x
6 Mouthlock				x	x	x	x
7 Calva				x	x	x	x
8 Thorney Gale				x	x	x	x
9 Lez Borowans				x	x	x	x
10 Aldpark			x	x	x	x	x
11 Calvaload				x	x	x	
							Vaccaria appruamenta
12 New Hall						x	x 6/8d
13 Ewebank							x 6/4d
14 Bretynhowe?							x 6/-
15 Rampson						x	x 5/-
16 Oxenthwaite						x	x 6/8d
17 Borrenthwaite						x	x 6/8d
18 Mykylthwayte						x	x 6/2d
19 Ukmanhowe							x 2/-
20 Hazel Bank							x 2/3d
21 Garefytestegh ?							x 13/4d
Totals	13 vaccaria	11 burnt + 5 not	29 cow pastures		10 byres		11 + 12
Elsewhere -	Seavy Rigg	Heggerscales	Thorney- scales	Redgate close			

Table 6: Stainmore hearth tax comparisons

1670/1, E179/195/73

1674/5, Fleming MS

Staine Moore Dail

Stainemore Midle qtr. (18 March 1674/5)

William Yare +	1	Wm. Nicholson	1
Arth. Skaife	1	Rob: Lambert +	1
Tho. Langstaffe +	1	Wm: Dalston +	2
John Bird	1	Jo: Rakestraw	1
Hugh Smith	1	Edw: Walker +	2
Mich Wardall	1	Jo: Blakburne	1
Tho. Binks +	1	Robert Dixon	1
Ja. Kiplin	1	Wm. Ubanke	1
wid. Shaw	1	Tho: Johnson +	1
Marg ^t Lockway	1	Ja: Johnson +	1
Tho. Johnson +	1	Tho: Sanderson	1
James Johnson +	1	Jo: Martin	2
Lanc. Johnson +	1	Jefery Shaw +	1
M ^r Rob ^t Lambert +	1	Fran: Shaw	1
wid Robinson	1	Jefery Shaw	1
Rob. Dickinson	1	Hen: Nicholson	1
John Wastell	1	Jo: Nicholson	1
Edw. Walker +	1	Mar: Wettell	1
John Bird +	1	Robert Cleasby	3
Tho. Ard ^d son	1	Charles Nicholson	3
Math. Smith +	1	Wd. Nicholson	2
Hugh Hopps	1	Roger Nicholson +	1
John Summer +	1	Tho. Ubanke +	2
Willm. Dalston +	1	Rich. Robinson	1
(A)rth Dickinson	1	Miles Patricke	1
Geo. Loadman	1	Jo: Wattill	4
Chr. Grainger +	1	Geo: Fothergill	2
Wid. Mooreland	2	Eliz: Johnson	1
Hen. Askill +	1	Mr Robert Scafe +	3
James Johnson	1	Chr: Brunskilld	1
Nich. Brunskell	1	Mr John Elton +	2
Rich. Bousfeild	1	Geo: Sergeantson +	2
Mich Bousfeild	2	Tho: Wettell	1
John Devis +	2	Micha: Bubell	1
Willm. Wilkinson	1	Nich: Askill	1
Anth. Mooreland +	1	Elionar Wastill	2

+ = likely match

n.b. – The matches found were distributed across both surveys indicating that they both related to Stainmore township. The significant discrepancy in the totals counted was therefore most likely due to a deficiency in the collection of the 1670/1 survey.

Jenkin Mooreland +	1	Micha: Bobell	2
John Mooreland	1	Mich: Dixon	1
Rob ^t Bousfeild +	1	Tho: Walker	1
Rich. Scrattan +	1	Isa: Johnson	1
Abra. Busfeild	1	Geo: Fothergill +	1
Edw. Holiday +	1	Wm Teasdall	1
Humph. Busfeild +	1	Patricke Miles	1
wid. Atkinson	1	Jo: Johnson	1
Tho. Clesbye +	1	Micha: Waller	1
Tho: Devis	1	Mich: Brunskill	1
Tho. Waller	1	Jo: Dixon	1
John Haistwhitle +	1	Wm: Johnson +	1
Jefferey Shawe +	1	Wm: Burnskill	1
John Devis	1	Robert Bobill	1
Willm. Devis	1	Micha: Burnskill	1
Willm Devis	1	Wm Dixon	1
wid. Devis	1	Wm: Burnskill	2
Willm Devis	1	Jo: Hastwhittle +	1
Nich. Wastell	1	Rich. Skurton +	3
Mich. Hodgson	1	Robert Bushfield +	2
Chr. Hodgson	1	Jenkin Morland +	1
John Teisdall	1	Wid. Morland	2
Willm. Thompson	1	Antho: Morland +	2
Tho. Wastell +	1	Wm. Williamson	2
Willm. Airey	1	Mabel Wharton	1
John Dickinson	1	Edw: Davis	2
Geo: ffothergill +	1	Stainemooredale / Southquarter	
Roger Ubanke	1	Humphrey Bushield +	1
Willm Johnson +	1	Edw. Holiday +	1
Tho. Johnson	1	Micha: Burnskill	1
Phillip Wharton	1	Jane Atkinson	1
Rob. Skaif +	1	Tho: Cleasby +	1
Chr: Brunskill	1	Row: Bush	1
Mr John Hilton +	2	Antho: Cleasby	1
Geo: Sargeson +	3	Math: Davis	1
Willm Patricke	1	Tho: Waller	1
Tho: Ubanke +	1	Jo: Davis +	2
Mich. Ubanke	1	Wm: Davis	1
Roger Nicholson +	1	Jo: Bushfield	1
John Nicholson	1	Jo: Davis	1
Leo: Hopps +	1	Tho: Grummell	1
John Coates +	1	Randel Waller	1
James Hopps +	1	Ellinar Waller	1
Michael Hopps +	1	Jane Waller	2
Willm. Murthwaite +	1	Robert Davis	1
James Ubanke	1	Wd. Davis	1

Stainemooredale / Southquarter

Willm Waller	1	Theodorus Sissan	5
		Tho: Dalston	1
[total - 84]		Theodorus Sissans	1
		Tho: Wettell +	1
[n.b. none discharged by certificate]		Leonard Hope +	2
		Robert Mosse	1
		Tho: Bankes +	1
		Micha: Mosse	1
		Jo: Whitfield	1
E179/353		Lanc: Johnson +	1
[exemptions Stainmore – 1670-4]		Tho: Hope	1
		Micha: Hope	1
widdow davies		Jo: Wardall	1
widdow Johnson		Micha: Waller	1
Thomas dason		John Bird Junior +	1
John Groumell		Tho: Langstaffe +	1
Margaret ffothergill		Ja: Johnson senior	1
Michael brunskill		James Johnson Junior	1
Mr _____ devis		Lanc: Johnson	2
		Jo: Bainbridge	1
Chr. Haryson minis. de Burgh		Robert Sympson	1
James Walker		Jane Davis	1
John Reid		Jo: Davis	1
Thomas Wilkin		Wm. Yare +	1
John dickinson		Math. Smith +	1
		Wid: Smith +	1
		Robert Smith	1
		John Ben:	1
		Geo: Hadson	1
		Fran: Dalston	1
		Wm: Murthwaite +	1
		Jo: Leonard	1
		Math. Smith	2
		Ja: Hope +	1
		Jo: Coles +	1
		Lance Nicholson	1
		Wm. Mounsey	1
		Micha: Hope +	2
		Tho: Loadmoore	2
		Wd: Burnkill	1
		Tho: Wattill	1
		Micha: Morland	2
		Hen. Haskill +	1
		Tho Benson	1
		Jo: Summer +	2
		Chr: Grainger +	1

Stainemooredale / Southquarter

	Christo: Jackson	1
	[total 129 or 131? + 7 exempted]	
	Viewed and numbred by Christo: Jackson	
	Constable John Railton sur[veyor]	

Comparative matches – aggregated

Rich. Scrattan	1	Rich. Skurton	3
John Haistwhittle	1	Jo. Hastwhittle	1
Tho. Johnson	1	Tho. Johnson	1
James Johnson	1	Ja: Johnson	1
Rob. Skaif	1	Mr Robert Scafe	3
Wm Yare	1	Wm Yare	1
Tho. Langstaffe	1	Tho. Langstaffe	1
Tho. Binks	1	Tho. Bankes ?	1
Lanc. Johnson	1	Lanc. Johnson	1
Mr Rob ^t Lambert	1	Rob. Lambert	1
Edw. Walker	1	Edw. Walker	2
Math. Smith	1	Math. Smith	1
John Summer	1	Jo: Summer	2
Willm. Dalston	1	Wm: Dalston	2
Chr. Grainger	1	Chr. Grainger	1
Hen. Askill	1	Hen. Haskill	1
John Davis	2	Jo: Davis	2
Anth. Mooreland	1	Antho: Morland	2
Jenkin Mooreland	1	Jenkin Morland	1
Rob ^t Bousfeild	1	Robert Bushfield	2
Edw. Holiday	1	Edw. Holiday	1
Humph. Busfeild	1	Humphrey Bushield	1
Tho. Clesbye	1	Tho: Cleasby	1
Jefferey Shawe	1	Jefery Shaw	1
Tho. Wastell	1	Tho. Wettell	1
Willm Johnson	1	Wm: Johnson	1
Mr John Hilton	2	Mr John Elton	2
Geo. Sargeson	3	Geo. Sergeantson	2
Tho Ubanke	1	Tho. Ubanke	2
Roger Nicholson	1	Roger Nicholson	1
Leo: Hopps	1	Leonard Hope	2
James Hopps	1	Ja: Hope	1
Michael Hopps	1	Micha: Hope	2
Willm. Murthwaite	1	Wm. Murthwaite	1
John Coates	1	Jo: Coles ?	1
Geo. ffothergill	1	Geo: Fothergill	1