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Society News

Message from the Chair

At the Society's Annual General Meeting in June several notable changes of Committee membership took place. Hugh Thomson stood down, and I thanked him warmly for his wise contributions to the committee's deliberations. I'm glad to report, however, that the Society has not lost his services since he has kindly agreed to act as its financial examiner for this year's accounts. Tim Stanley-Clamp also

decided not to seek re-election, and likewise I expressed very warm thanks to him for his contributions over the years, especially for organising some notable outings and more recently in arranging the imaginative programme of Talks for this calendar year. Tim's role as vice-chair has, I'm pleased to say, been filled following election at the AGM of James Lusher. I'm grateful to him for having agreed to take this on.

After 14 years of first-rate service as Treasurer Christopher Thomas stood down from the role, although I'm glad to say he continues as a committee member. I'm sure I speak for all Members in thanking him very warmly indeed for his quiet efficiency in looking after the Society's financial well-being during this time and ensuring its finances remain in good order. I was able to report that the Society is fortunate in having found from among its members a new Treasurer, Linda Cameron, who came forward and offered to fill the vacancy. She has a wealth of experience in looking after the finances of organisations such as the Society, and she was duly elected at the AGM to take on the role. I'm very pleased to welcome her as a committee member and officer of the Society.

A few weeks in advance of the AGM Sandra Shaw, who was Secretary of the Society for many years, expressed interest in re-joining the committee, and mindful of her long experience of the Society's various activities over the years I was delighted to learn she was willing to do so. Subsequently, at the beginning of June, I was even more delighted when she very kindly offered to stand for election as Secretary. So, after being duly elected, she is once again Secretary of the p.3

Society and I very warmly welcome her to this important role.

The June AGM was immediately followed by a 'hybrid' Talk and presentation given by members of the Ambleside Oral History Group. Sound and video recordings were used, and the technology worked very smoothly for both members in the Yew Tree Hall and those who participated via the Zoom link. Please see the report on page 8. And I'm glad to report that, as explained in more detail in the report below, the committee has authorised the purchase of technical equipment for use in providing hybrid Talks, bearing in mind it's envisaged that for the foreseeable future this format will be employed for the Society's Talks.

The historical walk in the Newlands valley in April led by Mark Hatton proved a great success and was much enjoyed by those who participated. (See report on page 5). Numbers were, however, limited due to the nature of the 16th century underground workings of the Goldscope mine which were explored. More people applied to join the event than could be allowed and, as a result, there was a waiting list. So, for Members who were disappointed and who remain interested to learn more about the historic mining in Newlands, James Lusher has arranged a repeat visit on 30 September for those who missed out in April.

Looking further ahead, Members should be aware that October 2023 will be the 30th Anniversary of the founding of the Society. The committee has therefore begun to think about how the anniversary should be appropriately marked, and although at this stage various specific ideas are being actively discussed, any suggestions made by Members will be welcome and carefully considered.

The George Family; connections, Honorary Membership, and a legacy

Ron George could rightly be considered the founder of our society when he initiated its first meeting on 17 October

1993. This was at a time when Ron was researching the history of the house and village where he had made his home. This research later resulted in the publication of his book *A Cumberland Valley: A history of the Parish of Lorton*, in 2003. By then Ron and Stella had moved to join their family in Ontario, Canada, where he died in October 2004. The family returned to the UK a year later, when a memorial service was held in St Cuthbert's Church and Ron's ashes were buried in the churchyard. Ron's widow Stella died in June 2020, and their daughters, Debbie George and Ellen Mason, offered a very generous donation to the society in their parents' memory. Despite many attempts, it took until January 2021 for this to reach the society's account. In April this year family members brought Stella's ashes back to be interred in Lorton.

In June this year, the committee considered how to make best use of the donation and decided it should be spent improving the equipment necessary for transmitting our talks by Zoom. This includes better lighting, a good quality webcam and other equipment designed to make it easier for speakers' devices to link to the society's facilities. In recognition of the George family's commitment to the society since its inception, and to maintain the connection, the committee further decided to offer honorary membership to Debbie George to represent the family.

Ron George was the society's first honorary member, from 2002, after the family's move to Ontario and following his death, that was transferred to Stella. It seems appropriate that the tradition should be continued in offering this honour to their daughter Debbie George.

In accepting, Debbie said that her parents would be thrilled, and that the family cannot think of a more appropriate use for the donation. The means to communicate and educate and share information is paramount to the function of the Society. She says that access to this type of technology would have been unthought of in her father's day, and this in itself, is a historical moment and one her father would be delighted with since it

permits people to participate who are not able to attend in person. She feels her father would be especially happy with these developments in the forthcoming thirty-year anniversary of the Society's first roots. It seems so very fitting.

Sandra Shaw
Secretary

Cumbrian Artists: Fells, Mists and Waterfalls

17 September 2022, 7.30 pm at the Kirkgate Arts Centre, Cockermouth

**Tickets at £6 from the box office or :
<https://thekirkgate.ticketsolve.com/shows/873634292>**

This future Bernard Bradbury Memorial Lecture by Dr David Cross will celebrate the artists of Cumbria and the bicentenary of the building of the artist Joseph Sutton's studio at Rogerscale.

Cumbria's natural beauty has attracted creative men and women for 250 years. It was suggested by Marshall Hall,

author of *Artists of Cumbria* (1979), that there are more artists and writers associated with Cumbria than with any other part of these islands, other than London, as a proportion of the population. Of this huge number, there are perhaps one hundred significant writers but as many as one thousand important artists. Dr David Cross points out that the British are a literary nation and consequently the majority of our cultural publications refer to British books and authors. The visual arts tend not to be given adequate acknowledgement and often appear in books as mere embellishment. This has resulted in a severe cultural distortion.

It has been David Cross's goal for more than thirty years to redress this imbalance and to seek out significant artists who have been forgotten or unreasonably neglected. In his personal selection of artists, Dr Cross will aim to demonstrate the breadth and quality of artworks associated with Cumbria across the whole range of genres: landscape, portraiture, historical and literary painting, still life and sculpture.

Many of these artists lived and worked outside the national park. Some were in demand in their lifetimes, but others were only championed after death. Yet others struggled on in creative poverty and are virtually unknown. But one should not assume that they were culturally insignificant.



**Winifred Nicholson,
Cumbrian landscape with flowers**

Dr David Cross is an honorary research fellow of University College, Durham and has been working on the artists and sculptors of Cumbria for more than 30 years. He has lectured all over the UK and Europe for The Arts Society.

In 2000, he published *A Striking Likeness*, the biography of George Romney and was awarded his PhD in Romney Studies at Lancaster.

More recently he edited the illustrated letters from Percy Kelly to the poet Norman Nicholson (2007) and the museum director Mary Burkett (2011). He has also researched and published *The Public Sculpture of Lancashire and Cumbria* (2017) in collaboration with the Public Monuments and Sculpture Association, and Liverpool University Press. His current project is the creation of a website for *Cumbrian Lives* (est.1998) which will identify, research and publish the biographies of the significant Cumbrians not yet included in the Oxford Dictionary of National Biography. He is a past president of The Arts Society Cumbria and a vice president of the Romney Society.

Lena Stanley-Clamp

Publications from Arlecdon History Group

Jean Birdsall, *jeanbirdsall1@aol.com* or 01946 811390, from Arlecdon History Group, should be contacted if any members would like to purchase copies of the following books:

Frizington

Much more than one long street, (a guided tour) £7

From Iron Ore to Hats Galore, (Frizington's development) £13

Frizington's Early Education, £10

Arlecdon

A journey through Arlecdon and Other Acres, Volume 1, covering Arlecdon, £12

A journey through Arlecdon and Other Acres, Volume 2, covering Rowrah, Asby, Winder, and Eskett, £10.

Meeting Reports

Historical walk: 'Mines of the Newlands Valley', 24 April

Mark Hatton took several members of the Society for a fascinating walk in Newlands Valley looking at remnants of the significant mining activity which has taken place there. There may have been mining in the area from Roman and bronze age times and during the 11th and 12th centuries. The 13th century royal rolls of Henry III talk of Keswick being full of miners, however over time these skills were lost. Henry VIII had suppressed the development of science, there hadn't been mining for about ten generations and no-one in England had the skills to separate out metals. Elizabeth I needed copper and its derivatives, bronze and brass, to improve the quality of currency, for munitions, and for carding wire, important for the wool trade. The supply could be cut off by the Spanish and was therefore at risk. In the 16th century Germany led the world in mining technology, in tunnelling, pumping, and hauling to extract the ore but crucially in smelting and separating metals.

Major commercial mining started in the 16th century when Elizabeth I established a formal agreement with Haug, Langnauer and Co of Augsburg and established the Company of Mines Royal bringing skilled miners from Augsburg in Germany lead by mining engineer Daniel Hechstetter. The miners were given the right to prospect and survey for mineral veins anywhere in the country and the queen received 90 per cent of all gold and silver found plus royalties on copper. It was also stipulated that she would receive all pearls that were found, suggesting they didn't know where pearls came from. The Germans wanted to take the ore to Germany for smelting but Elizabeth insisted it had to be smelted in England so the copper didn't leave the country. Detailed monthly reports were sent back to Augsburg and still exist, providing information about who worked in the



The group standing on copper ore

mines, what was recovered etc. Similar records from later Victorian mining do not seem to exist.

Mark explained there are a number of copper veins running across the valley and beyond to Grange and Derwentwater, while lead veins run along the Valley. Ore was found where it outcrops the surface and the early workings involved digging down and following the line of the vein. Further access could be gained by driving a tunnel or level into the ridge. Excavation during the Elizabethan period was done manually by hammer and chisel, only the seam of ore was carved out. Where the vein was very thin only enough space for a man to squeeze through was carved out. The early tunnels took the form of 'coffin levels' which were low and narrow passages allowing space for only one man to walk through at a time.

We looked at several sites within the valley. Pluckhor mine at the foot of Dale Head has Elizabethan wooden supports visible in the mouth of the flooded mine, and mortar stones can be found on the

Elizabethan 'dressing floors' where extracted material was broken into small pieces with metal hammers. The small chips of stone waste from these now show the mine's location. A pile of worked copper chippings abandoned on the hillside is the final product and suggest the price of copper had fallen dramatically and was no longer high enough to support the cost of transport and processing the ore.

Goldscope, by far the most productive mine, was worked between 1564 and 1650 when copper was extracted, and again during the Victorian period when lead was mined. The original German tunnels were widened, and new spoil was heaped on top of the Elizabethan dressing floors. We were able to go some distance into this mine and could see the careful chisel work of the German miners and the rough workings left by the Victorian miners who used dynamite to blast out the rock and ore. This later blasting caused bigger lumps in the spoil and is very different to the earlier chippings. A very impressive hand cut wheel pit and remains of a water wheel can be seen inside Goldscope Mine which



Looking into the St George Level

was used for pumping water out and lifting stone for crushing.

We had a really fascinating day. Thanks to Mark for helping us appreciate some of the people, times and technologies which left their mark on the Newland Valley above and below ground.

Pip Wise

A Pictorial Report

Roger Hiley has created a record of this walk, detailing his walk in from Loweswater and the Society walk starting from Newlands. The report is profusely illustrated, to the extent that those who may feel the physical walk too demanding can have an excellent virtual experience. The photographs here have been taken from the report. Please see the report at: http://www.loweswatercam.co.uk/22042_4_Newlands_Goldscope.htm .

A repeat walk, 30 September

The number of members on the walk had to be strictly limited. We are pleased to announce that Mark Hatton has agreed to lead a repeat of the walk on 30 September, probably with a morning start. If you wish to join this walk, please contact James Lusher at: LDFLHSzoom@gmail.com .

Talk: 'Cumbria and the Jacobites' 12 May

Dr Bill Shannon gave a talk on what happened in the Northwest of England during the two attempts by the Stuart family to take the Crown of England and Scotland, first in 1715 and then in 1745. It was very striking visually with a wealth of portraiture and an impressive array of maps. The movements of the opposing armies to and fro were presented in graphic detail supported by a number of contemporary accounts, though it is in the nature of things that as the victors usually get to write the history, we were given the English side in rather more detail than the Jacobites'.

Much of the talk focused on Preston's fate in the First Rebellion where the last battle on English soil was fought in 1715. The importance of the siege of Carlisle was also made clear. The fighting often appeared desultory, and the numbers involved, by modern standards, really very small, though the executions which followed, while not matching the savagery of Henry VIII's revenge on the rebellion which preceded this one, were quite sanguinary enough. The level of tacit support for the rebellion in Cumberland and Westmorland is not easy to determine but it is clear enough that very few joined the Catholics once the fighting was under way. In 1715, James Radclyffe, the young Earl of Derwentwater (who spent his childhood in exile in France with his cousin the Old Pretender) raised a corps to fight for the Stuarts but numbers were very small, most of the recruits gathered from personal association with and loyalty to



James, Last Earl of Derwentwater:

James Radclyffe, 3rd Earl of Derwentwater, beheaded for treason in 1716. National traitor and local romantic hero.

the Earl himself. Radclyffe was later executed for treason on Tower Hill despite petitions and pleas for his pardon. The Catholics living in Cumbria can be expected to have wished the rebels well, but little practical support was offered, and it is certain that the large population of Quakers and other Dissenters would have been hostile to their aims.

In the Second Rebellion in 1745, only one prominent member of local society is known for certain to have actively supported the Stuart cause: Mrs Jane Warwick of Warwick Hall who is said to have entertained Bonnie Prince Charles to dinner one night during the siege of Carlisle. Of course, the rebels were defeated, and the Crown took many

prisoners. Their treatment was relatively merciful compared to what would happen in the Highlands subsequently. Lots were drawn and one in 20 of the prisoners taken at Carlisle was tried. Some were shot or hanged while the remainder were deported. Many of those tried seem to have benefited from due process and were acquitted.

The talk was delivered with energy and enthusiasm and was well received by the Yew Tree Hall audience.

Tim Stanley-Clamp

Talk: World War II: making a living, 9 June

After our AGM, members enjoyed a welcome return of the Ambleside Oral History Group, whose recordings were presented by Judith Shingler and Alison Peak. The presentation was considered a particular challenge for the live streaming arrangements, with two presenters, timed Powerpoint slides stepped both manually and automatically, and with embedded voice recordings to be heard in the hall and at home. James Lusher's system worked smoothly and effectively for both audiences, and the presentation was very effective.

Turning to the content, the presentation, 'talk' being an insufficient word, demonstrated how the memories recorded in AOHG's large collection of interviews could be used to illustrate the experiences and perceptions of many groups of people through a particular time, in an educational and entertaining way.

World War II is perhaps a uniquely practical period for an oral history presentation, being such a significant part



The rushbearing mural in the Church, made by the evacuated students of the Royal College of Art, using local models.

of the lives of a generation whose memories were first to be recorded in sufficient numbers. The general history of WWII is a subject with which all society members will be familiar, allowing oral history to provide that additional dimension of personal experience, but in the form of recollections rather than contemporary records. Are the recordings primary or secondary historical sources? That's something to ponder over.

One risk in such a presentation is that Ambleside was a long way from the fighting, or the bombing, or the military bases or airfields, and that the combined recollections of those who inhabited Ambleside through the war could have become detached from the actual experience of war, evidenced by the lady who had quite 'a nice war'. The presentation avoided that risk very effectively, by use of the detailed and extensive recollections of one soldier from the border regiment, Adrian Grimes,

whose recordings provided a continual counterpoint of the horrors of the actual conflict, throughout the period covered by the presentation. Obviously, those who did not return to be demobbed and married did not get to make oral histories, but the presentation ensured that the loss of life was properly covered, and people remembered; in the recollections of the interviewees, the accompanying talk, and in the numerous and effective slides which provided the backdrop.

The experience in Ambleside was presented chronologically, and was seen through the experiences of the various categories of people; the inhabitants of the town, the soldiers, their families, the evacuees, the traders through rationing, the land army, the displaced schools and colleges, the Home Guard etc. However, those on the 'wrong' side were also sensitively covered, the interred aliens, the prisoners of war, providing a comprehensive and balanced picture.

Much of the strength and effectiveness came from the use of extracts from numerous interviews and from the fact that these were attributed to real people who had been in Ambleside

during the war. However, with that use comes the responsibility to be sensitive to the interests of the interviewees in having their memories used in ways which would be sympathetic their ideas of the truth of the past. The selected extracts became retrospective illustrations of a general history of WWII on the home-front which is well established as cultural heritage, and in which all knew their required role and worked harmoniously for the national war effort, rather than for self-interest. Overall this is probably fair, and the presentation certainly showed the value of oral history in remembering national events in a local, communal, and personal way.

The society owes a debt to AOHG for hosting on their website, www.aohg.org.uk, the transcripts of the 43 oral history interviews which our society has so far recorded. We hope that relationship will continue and that in due course further interviews will be added.
Derek Denman

Open day and tea at Woodlands, Rogerscale, 10 July

In the article which follows this report, Adam Baker writes about Joseph Sutton and the Painting House, now Woodlands, which was extended by Sutton in 1822. To mark the bicentenary, Mary and Adam Baker invited society members to visit their garden at Woodlands, where they could inspect the Painting House and view the rocky outcrop with its stone cut steps. Charles Lambrick mentioned this visit at the talk on 9 June and I was asked to invite the wider membership by email.

Thirty members indicated their intention to visit. The weather was glorious, and we were able to explore the extensive grounds that sweep down from the buildings to the riverbank, where two

**Our hosts, Mary and Adam Baker, at
Woodlands, with the River Cocker and hills
to the East as the background.**



visitors were lucky enough to see not just an otter, but also a kingfisher. Parts of the garden are still under construction with Adam and Mary doing most of the work themselves, to their own design. They are taking care to retain and reveal as much of the existing structure (trees, stumps, rocky outcrops) as possible. New additions are introduced to enhance and blend with the existing scheme.

Members were able to explore inside both properties; the Woodlands, built as the Painting House, now our hosts' residence, as well as the Spinney, a former farm dwelling, now a holiday let. The difference between the two properties was evident. The Paining House with its wider and taller windows, and its higher ceilings, gave a sense of light and space, ideal for a studio. In contrast, the Spinney has smaller windows and lower ceilings, leading to a much more 'cosy' feeling, suitable as a dwelling. In touring the properties, Adam and Mary's careful approach to restoration and renovation, as with the garden, was again in evidence. They have tried to preserve existing features, indeed, to uncover and reveal previously hidden structures, such as the upper part of the carriage window, formerly restricted to the lower two rows of panes and lovely sandstone fire-place lintels. They are also adding period features to restore interest where it is warranted.

Adam's article and this guided visit to the Paining House, are both preludes to the Bernard Bradbury Memorial Lecture *Cumbrian Artists: Fells Mists and Waterfalls* to be delivered by Dr David A Cross on 17 September at the Kirkgate Centre in Cockermouth, from whom tickets are available. This should be an opportunity to learn a little more of the Cockermouth School of Painters, of which Joseph Sutton was a member.

The society is most grateful to Mary and Adam for extending this invitation to its members, for allowing us to explore the garden, for escorting groups round inside both properties, providing tea and cake, and answering the many questions about Joseph Sutton and his Painting House.

Further thanks are due to Lena Stanley-Clamp, whose initiative set this venture on its way.

Sandra Shaw
Secretary

Articles

Joseph Sutton and the 'Painting House'

by Adam Baker

In advance of the Bernard Bradbury Memorial Lecture, (Saturday 17 September, 7:30pm Kirkgate Centre) *Cumbrian Artists: mists, fells and waterfalls* by Dr David A Cross, including a brief resume about Joseph Sutton who lived and worked locally, some members attended a social event at 'The Painting House' recently, on 10 July.

Joseph Sutton was born on 28 December 1752 in Cockermouth and was to become the most well-known of the Cockermouth School of Painters and the most celebrated of Joseph Faulder's apprentices. He was the son of Benjamin Sutton and Mary Faulder. Joseph painted portraits, genre, historical scenes and copies in oils.

His uncle Joseph Faulder, founder of the Cockermouth School of Painting, was responsible for encouraging Sutton to go to London to study at the Royal Academy between 1798 and 1801. In 1798 Sutton exhibited his 'Portrait of an Artist' at the Royal Academy. When Sutton returned to Cockermouth he flourished. In 1803 it was reported in the 'Carlisle Journal' that on 10 December he had married a Miss Winder, daughter of the late Mr Jude Winder of Rogerscale in Lorton. The Quaker ceremony took place at the Friends Meeting House, Cockermouth. He and his wife then:

Went to reside upon his own estate at Rogerscale, near Lorton, where he built himself a painting-house, on the banks of the river Cocker, in a most picturesque and lovely situation, commanding a full view of the beautiful Vale of Lorton, with



all its attractive features of neat village, scattered hamlet, winding river and towering fell.

Here during a long career, he, with great success, cultivated his beautiful art. So great was the demand for his painting among the neighbouring gentry, that he was enabled to article not less than six apprentices.

The Rogerscale estate was split up in the 1950s and 60s. The painting-house is now a separate property known as Woodlands. The property was built in two sections; the first a farm dwelling in 1782, now known as The Spinney and run as a holiday let by the current owners. A new wing was added in 1822 with modifications to the existing building, including the construction of a carriage store when it is believed the date stone of 1822 was set as the key stone in the arched carriage entrance. The carriage entrance was recently rediscovered during renovations and now forms an enlarged kitchen window. Upstairs the many windows of the painting-house, ideal for letting in good light and from which to look

The 1822 wing of the Painting House, on the right, with the carriage entrance and dated keystone to the left. Photo by the author.

at the views, formed a large, open studio. Outside The Spinney, opposite the French windows is a rocky outcrop. There are steps cut into the rock which lead to a small flat platform. It holds a supreme view looking down onto the river and, with the absence of trees, would have held a stunning open vista to the Vale of Lorton – an ideal place to paint. An alternative view is that the mound is a mounting block with its proximity to the drive and indeed could have been both.

The painting which gave Sutton the most publicity was of the 'Blind Beggar of Bethnal Green and his daughter', a popular subject matter at the time with its romantic flavour and noble sentiment. The painting has, however, been attributed to a number of artists and there are many copies and variations. Carlisle library is recorded as having a version of the

picture. Sutton's portrait of his uncle and mentor, Joseph Faulder, dated 1824, a mezzotint copper plate was bought by Tullie House Carlisle. Sutton continued to paint at Rogerscale until his death on 17 February 1843 at the age of 86.

Sutton was skilful in painting northern, more austere scenery. There is a painting of Armathwaite Hall on Bassenthwaite Lake which illustrates this well. Painted in a subdued palette, it hangs at Hutton in the Forest in private ownership.

A fine group of horse paintings hangs at Mirehouse, Bassenthwaite. The earliest of these attributed to Sutton by Mary Burkett is 'Looby and Spaniel' dated 1801, oil on canvas. Again, in oil on canvas, circa 1819, is a horse and cow, 'Crummy and Bob', currently hanging in the nursery. Third in the group is 'Old Betty and Fox', dated 1839 and signed by Sutton. A mare and a fox are set against the autumn colouring of a tree-lined Bassenthwaite Lake. It seems most of Sutton's works were unsigned, and so it is not possible to categorically state that all the Mirehouse paintings are by his own hand, although they are certainly in his style.

Sutton achieved a certain celebrity in his long career. One of his patrons was Lord Muncaster who let him have a studio at Muncaster Castle. While at Muncaster he painted a copy of Van Dyck's, Charles I in three attitudes, full face, profile and three-quarter face. It is believed to be his best copy and is now at Holker Hall. At Muncaster there is an interesting portrait of James, the 24th Earl of Crawford and



The cut stone steps leading to the viewing platform. Photo by the author.

Balcarres, as well as one of the Earl's father-in-law, Lord Muncaster by Sutton.

The portrait in the upper library, known as The Great Picture, is of John, 1st Lord of Muncaster, his daughter Maria Francis Margaret Pennington holding a miniature of Lord Muncaster's deceased son Gamel, and Anne Jane Penelope Pennington, the eldest daughter. Looking at the painting close up, it would appear that it was actually even bigger originally and has been 'trimmed down' to suit the library wall! There is also a copy of Van Dyck's portrait of Charles II as a boy hung in the dining room at Muncaster by Sutton (which is considered so good there was a thought it was an original Van Dyck at one time). The collection has remained at Muncaster for nearly two centuries. There is additionally correspondence between Sutton and Muncaster for unpaid bills and confirms the provenance to the paintings there.

Quotations are from M E Burkett, *Sutton and his Circle, the Cockermonth School of Painting 1750-1880*, Skiddaw Press, 2001

***John Fisher of Stockbridge
and Cold Keld, Loweswater:-
from shoemaker to
landowner***

by Roz Southey

When John Fisher of Cold Keld, died in 1753, he was, according to the parish registers, 'a very noted man'. He was also a very astute businessman.

There were a number of Fisher families in and around Loweswater – at Rigg Bank, Cornhow and at Hollins, for instance, although at this early date, it's impossible to know whether the families were related. In the early seventeenth century, John Fisher's ancestors lived near Loweswater lake, in the house called Stockbridge, near the bridge to the mill. Stockbridge was a small property and the customary tenant was the curate of Loweswater, John Borrowscale or Boranskaile, who probably lived in part of it himself. The other part was occupied in 1632 by William and Isabell Fisher. Isabell had been a Robinson before her marriage; there's no indication of where her family lived but, interestingly, there was a family of Robinsons at Cold Keld at this time. Like the Fishers, however, the Robinsons can be found everywhere throughout the parish.

Not long after the couple married, the Civil War broke out and the parish registers lapse for twenty years or so – just the period at which they would have been having children. When the registers resume, a Robert Fisher, who must have been born around 1634, was living at the same house – it's likely that Robert was the son of William and Isabell. (There are also several entries in the Manor court record books around 1650, which refer to

Robert Fisher, the son of William.)

Robert married around 1666, and his wife, Ellinor, gave birth to the couple's eldest child, John, in 1668 – Robert was so delighted that he immediately took steps to secure his son's future by buying the property in which the family lived. Boranskaile had by this time sold Stockbridge to the Iredales of Church Stile who apparently owned it all by June 1666; on 5 March 1668, Manor court books record the conveyance in turn to Robert of 'one house and garth of the yearly rent of four pence to the use of John ssonne of Robert ffisher' – allowing Robert to occupy the premises for his lifetime. A marginal note confirms that this was Stockbridge House.

This forethought went for nothing, however – in 1675, John died, at the age of seven or eight, leaving Robert and Ellinor with two daughters, Elizabeth and Elianor. But a year and a half later, Ellinor gave birth to another son, named John after his dead elder brother, and Robert, completed the family late in 1679.

Detail from Peter Crosthwaite's map of *Buttermere, Crummock and Lowes-water Lakes, surveyed before 1794. The only map to show Stockbridge, on the road over the old bridge to the corn mill on Mosedale Beck. See *Journal 58*, p.17*



Only a few other glimpses of Robert snr survive. It's likely he was a shoemaker and that was the trade he taught his elder surviving son; he also probably farmed a small amount of land to support his family. Manor court records mention him often and may give a false view of him as argumentative and not entirely reliable as far as money was concerned. For instance, he was several times sued for debt by neighbours, apparently owing £1 8s 8d to John Peile and a further £1 5s to John Todd. In 1673, he and his wife sued a Thomas Iredale for a debt of £1 1s 9d; two years later, he was back in the court being sued for debt by Peter Fisher of Helton, near Penrith. On the other hand, in 1671 he was chosen to act on the jury – the men who brought malefactors to court. It's likely that Robert and his wife were no worse and no better than other local couples with regards to money matters – as local wills show, lending and borrowing was part of a system which spread the risk of losing money in days when banks were non-existent or in their infancy.

John Fisher followed his father's trade, and he also plainly followed him with regard to money matters. By 1702, at the age of 23, John was already engaged in lending and borrowing, and had a sharp exchange in the manor court with William Iredale of Peile. This was evidently a complicated matter and part of an ongoing dispute between the two men. Fisher admitted that he owed

Iredale £1 1s 7d and repaid the debt, but then claimed that Iredale owed him the same amount and more. Iredale refused to pay – it's not clear how that case was resolved. Shortly afterwards, another dispute arose: Fisher had either bought 'two New-Closes' from Iredale for £30 or had given him a mortgage on them. In the manor court, Iredale was fined for an unclear reason connected with this transaction and John seems to have come out of the matter rather better financially. The coming years were to show that he had a very capable business head on his shoulders.

Most critically for his future, at about this time – certainly from at least June 1703 – John was appointed bailiff to the Lord of the Manor. The bailiff was the officer who made sure the decisions of the manor court were carried out and his duties included the administration of property, the collection of rents, and the management of accounts. His

The general area in 1821, from the Greenwood map of Cumberland.



appointment indicates that John was not only intelligent and shrewd but, probably unusually for the time, was also literate. It's likely that he learnt his letters from the curate of the time, Patricius Curwen, who may well also have done him another favour. The previous bailiff had been John Wood of High Cross (who had died in 1703); it's likely that when the Lords of the Manor, the Lawsons of Isel Hall, came to appoint a new man, they would have consulted Curwen on the most likely candidate for the job, and Curwen may have recommended his pupil. The post was to be one of the foundations on which Fisher built his later prosperity.

Around 1703, at the age of 27, John married; his bride, Sarah Winder, probably belonged to a Thackthwaite family. Over the next five years, Sarah gave birth to three daughters at Stockbridge: Dinah (1704/5); Ann (1706/7) and Mary (1709). John's parents were still living in the house and it's possible that some of John's siblings may also have been there, making for a crowded household. John's parents lived on at Stockbridge until their deaths (Ellinor died in 1717/18 and Robert five years later); John, however, clearly decided to look for somewhere bigger and better.

Cold Keld on the Thackthwaite road consisted at the time of two houses, each with attached land. The Robinson family had farmed the smaller property from at least 1524 but had sold out to the Burnyeats of Netherclose about forty years earlier. The larger property had been in the hands of the Wilkinson family for a century or more, and at the time of the Commonwealth and for some years afterwards, had been an alehouse. By 1700, however, it had reverted to being merely a farm – John Wilkinson was described as a fellmonger – a dealer in hides or skins, particularly sheepskins.

In the early years of the eighteenth century, Wilkinson and his wife Ann were in severe financial difficulties. In fact, the family had had problems ever since the death of Wilkinson's grandfather, the publican; over the years they had

mortgaged or sold various portions of their land in an attempt to make ends meet. By early 1709, John and Ann were beginning to be desperate and there are signs that they wanted to leave the property altogether. They found someone willing to lend them money in George Dawson, a mariner from Whitehaven, whose connection with Loweswater was through his wife, Martha; Martha had been a Mirehouse of Mockerkin and had been only fourteen years old at the time of her marriage two years earlier. Dawson apparently had money to spare and was anxious for investment opportunities; in a mortgage dated 23 February 1708/9, he agreed to lend the Wilkinsons £25 on the security of a large portion of their land.

Unfortunately, Dawson died within a month or two. The Wilkinsons needed to pay back the debt and decided to look for a tenant to take on the property. Fisher stepped in and agreed to pay a yearly rent of £2 12s 6d. He and his family seem to have moved in almost immediately but John was obviously not content with remaining a mere tenant. He offered the Wilkinsons a mortgage on the property, by the terms of which he would lend them £45. This would allow them £25 to pay off the Dawsons' mortgage and £20 for their own use. John and Ann seized the offer with alacrity, signing the mortgage on 6 November 1710 and then moving to Egremont.

Fisher had one difficulty – he did not have enough money to carry this mortgage through. He had been acting for the Lord of the Manor for some years and must also still have been earning money as a shoemaker, but clearly he did not have ready cash at his disposal. As a result, he actually gave the Wilkinsons only £10 at the time, plus a note – an IOU – for another ten pounds, no doubt promising to pay the rest later. This was not even enough to allow the Wilkinsons to pay off their mortgage with Martha Dawson but they don't seem to have objected. It may be that a final proposal by Fisher compensated them to some degree for this shortfall: Fisher proposed



The buildings at Cold Keld in the 1970s from the fields behind, looking towards Whinlatter. Photo by the author.

that the Wilkinsons' annual repayment on the mortgage should be £2 12s 6d – exactly the amount he was supposed to pay in rent. No money therefore needed to change hands; all the Wilkinsons had to do was pay back the principal and they had seven years to do that, the money not being due until 1717.

All this may have been part of a long-term plan to acquire the entire property. Six months later, Fisher moved in on the other, smaller, part of the property, owned by Peter Burnyeat of Netherclose and occupied by Burnyeat's brother, John. It was very small, merely a house and five acres of land, and two of those acres – the best of the land – had already been sold to someone else. It also had a mortgage on it: in 1708, Burnyeat had mortgaged it to his nephew, who was working as a bricklayer in Dublin. But Burnyeat died only a year later and the Dublin nephew came into full possession of the property under the terms of Burnyeat's will. It is likely that the property, in another country entirely, merely seemed an encumbrance to the nephew and in May 1711, Fisher came to an agreement to buy it. He paid a total of £16.

He was now owner of the small property on the site, and tenant and mortgagor of the larger property in which he and his family were now living. Late in 1711, he went back to the Wilkinsons in Egremont, and negotiated another lease with them, perhaps looking for greater security, perhaps pursuing his aim of acquiring the entire property. This new lease was to last seven years, with an option for another two years. The arrangement made in the mortgage regarding the payments of £2 12 6d yearly was to continue and Fisher paid £11 for the lease. But only a year passed before the two families were again negotiating. The Wilkinsons seem still to have been desperate for money, and eager to get rid of the property. On 2 October 1712, the parties agreed and signed a release.

This was something of a muddle as both the Wilkinsons and Fisher had apparently become confused as to which clauses in the 1710 mortgage still remained valid and which had been invalidated by the 1711 lease. The release also refers to the sum of £45 which Fisher had lent the Wilkinsons under the mortgage although there's no evidence that he'd ever paid them the full amount. In any case the mortgage repayment was not due until 1717, but clearly John and Ann had either decided it would be impossible to pay within that time limit or that they no longer wanted to do so. In the

end, they all agreed that if Fisher paid them a further sum of £20, the Wilkinsons would release the property to him permanently; Fisher immediately paid up and thus took full possession of both houses and all the land at Cold Keld – a total of around 50 acres. Sarah Fisher had just given birth to a son, called John after his father – Fisher may, like his own father, have regarded the property as his son's future.

And having taken the Wilkinsons' property entirely into his own hands, he promptly mortgaged it to John Wilson of Redmain. On 12 October 1713, only a year after he had bought the Wilkinson's property, he put it all up as security and received £60 in return. Fisher was to pay Wilson three pounds a year every year for the next seven years and the principal was to be repaid on 12 October 1720. The description of the property included 'shops' which may refer to a shoe-making workshop, suggesting that Fisher still continued his trade.

This mortgage does not necessarily imply that Fisher had overstretched himself wheeling and dealing and was therefore short of money. He may have been spreading risk by indulging in the usual practice of borrowing and lending; alternatively, he may have needed ready cash to improve the land or buildings. The family certainly undertook substantial work on what had been the Wilkinsons' house, although much of it was probably done in the latter half of the eighteenth century, after Fisher's death. However, it may have been more difficult to repay the mortgage than Fisher had anticipated; two notes on the back of the mortgage reveal that the terms must have been renegotiated, probably informally. The repayment of the principal of the debt is indeed recorded, in two instalments of thirty pounds, with the second repayment being accompanied by interest of £2 10s, which is an interest rate of 4½ per cent, normal for the time. But the repayments were not made in 1720 as specified in the mortgage but no fewer than 11 years later, a full 18 years after the mortgage was taken out: the first repayment was on

31 July 1731, and the second on 5 February 1731/2. From that time onwards, the entire property was entirely in Fisher's hands.

There is frustratingly little information as to his later life. To the existing four children, the family added three more sons: William (1714), and then twins Robert and Thomas (1717). The eldest daughter, Dinah, died unmarried in 1722 at the age of 18 and nothing is known of William and Robert. Ann and Mary married, however, and Thomas became curate of Lorton. The sons must have been sent to school or tutored at home – Thomas could never have become a curate if he was not well-educated. Almost certainly Fisher rented the smaller house out to agricultural labourers who worked the land, and the family itself occupied the larger house. He continued his work for the Lord of the Manor, and the manor court records include occasional accounts of misdemeanours he prosecuted or tenants on whose behalf he acted; in time, his son, grandson and great-grandson all took over his duties as representative of the Lord of the Manor.

Fisher prospered and laid the financial foundations for further expansion and extensive land deals by his descendants. Over the course of his tenure of Cold Keld, he transformed himself from a young shoemaker with a flair for business, into a gentleman – a 'very noted man' – and his family into one of the most prosperous in the valley.

The information on the mortgages and leases regarding Cold Keld comes from the original deeds of the house, now kept in the archives of Balliol College, under J.1/1-10: 'Documents relating to Buttermere and Loweswater'.

The manorial records of Loweswater, Thackthwaite and Brackenthwaite are mostly contained in the Court Books at Cumbria Archive Service, Whitehaven, DWM/11/121-5, and the court roll from 1710-1728 at Cumbria Archive Service, Carlisle, DLAW/1/249

Post-war Recycling

by Walter Head

In the years after the end of the Second World War most materials were in short supply, and so recycling was a way of life and in some cases a necessity. This was before the emergence of plastic wrapping and containers; the throw-away society emerged later. As a young village lad, I spent my time helping a farmer near to our home. Or was it hindering him?

On the farm the method of recycling animal waste had change very little since the 1800s and it was not until the introduction of the tractor, specifically the little grey Fergie tractor, that changes started to appear.

During the winter months the milk cattle were housed in individual stalls in the byre. The cows stood on a shallow raised floor with a channel at the rear of the cows to receive the animals' waste. The cows had straw bedding to lie on and any soiled straw was swept into the channel with the other waste, and clean straw put down for the comfort of the cows. The cows were let out twice a day to drink water, but this was a hazard when the ground was covered in ice and was slippery. There were more snow and freezing temperatures in those days. The introduction of the drinking bowl system, plumbed into the farms water supply, eliminated this hazard as the cow was able to take drinking water on demand.

Twice each day the waste was loaded onto a barrow and taken out and put onto the midden for storage. During the winter

months the various bacteria worked away breaking down the waste and straw etc. In fact, the midden became quite warm and steam could be seen rising from the heap as this process took place. In early Spring the manure (muck) was taken to the fields and used as fertilizer.

Young cattle were housed in sheds with straw bedding on the floor which was replenished daily. By the end of Winter, the floor level was much higher than at the start of Winter and when the animals were turned out in Spring the manure and straw was disposed of in the same way as the manure from the midden.

As stated previously the method used to dispose of the midden contents had change little over the previous years when horses and carts were used. The

horse and cart was positioned alongside the midden and gripes (a larger version of the current garden fork) were used to load the manure onto the cart. When full the horse and cart were taken to the field where the wooden back of the cart was removed. The manure was pulled from the cart using a long-handled muck fork which had tines set at right angles to the shaft. The manure was put into a small heap approximately one metre in diameter and approximately one metre in height. The horse then moved forwards approximately 10 yards or 9 metres and the process repeated until the field was covered with small heaps of manure.



The gripe fork and the long-handled muck fork

These heaps were later scattered on the ground by hand using the traditional gripe until the ground was covered by small pieces of manure. The field was then left for rain and nature to do the rest and fertilize the ground.

The arrival of the little grey Fergie tractor on the farm changed the method of disposal of manure from the midden. The horse was now redundant. The tractor and trailer were placed alongside the midden and the trailer, which was much larger than the cart pulled by a horse, was loaded as before. Anyone connected with health and safety is advised to skip the remainder of this part.

By the age of twelve or thirteen I was a competent tractor driver. The tractor and trailer were taken to the field, where the trailer was backed up to the hedge with the tractor pointing across the field. The tractor was put in first gear with a low throttle, I then jumped off the moving tractor and climbed up on to the trailer to join the farmer to scatter the manure as the tractor moved across the field.

The skill needed was to jump from the trailer and onto the tractor before it ran into the hedge at the other side of the field. Then the process was repeated. On

one occasion, with a full load of manure, I tried to move my foot but the wellington stuck firm. My foot came out of the wellington and, not wanting to get my sock soiled by the manure, I attempted to put my foot on the side of the trailer but I missed and fell head over heels from the trailer onto the ground. The concern of the farmer was obvious by the belly laughter coming from the trailer.

The next improvement was the purchase of a custom-built muck spreader. This was similar to a trailer but was narrower with a conveyor type floor which could be engaged from the tractor to move the manure towards the back end. At the back end were a number of spinning discs or tines which scattered the small pieces of manure over the ground as the tractor advanced across the field. This could be operated by one man and the faster the tractor travelled the speed of the spinning discs increased and scattered the manure over a larger area. Various designs of muck spreaders came onto the market, all working on the same principle.

The next 'advance' was the use of slurry tanks to store the waste and the raw liquid slurry was sprayed onto the field. I am not in favour of this method as raw waste is put on the ground whereas the

use of a midden enabled the bacteria to work breaking down the manure before spreading onto the field.



'Fergie' tractor with muck trailer

Ingilberdhop and the Free Rents of Brackenthwaite

by Derek Denman

Acknowledgement

I am not a medievalist and I would like to express and record my appreciation of many detailed discussions with Hugh Thomson on the meaning and interpretation of the medieval deeds of Ingilberdhop, and the possible patterns of settlement in Brackenthwaite in the high medieval period. The interpretations given here are mine. Hugh has valuable additional information and possibly differing interpretations concerning the early settlement of Brackenthwaite and those involved, which I hope he will publish in future.

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Introduction

The lost medieval vill of Ingilberdhop, in Brackenthwaite, appears in just three known grants of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. It has been associated with Hopebeck by both W G Collingwood and Angus Winchester.¹ This article firstly examines and interprets the three grants, up to 1356, to explain the association with Hopebeck and the grants. The article then considers the free rents paid out of certain Brackenthwaite farmsteads to the Dean and Chapter of Carlisle Cathedral, which are recorded from circa 1600, to test a hypothesis that these rents may result from a thirteenth century grant out of Ingilberdhop. This analysis is used to corroborate the association of Ingilberdhop with Hopebeck.

The Grants out of Ingilberdhop

These three grants are taken from a transcription and translation of the Lucy

Cartulary. This is a collection of documents amounting to the title of the Lucy estates, which were obtained by marriage by the Percy family, Earls of Northumberland, around 1400.² The first two are also recorded, in Latin, in *The Register of the Priory of St Bees*.³

No.100, undated, is the earliest and can be dated to circa 1230, when two witnesses, Thomas and William Mariscal, held freehold estates in Lorton⁴:

Grant in free marriage: Rob't son of Rob't Francens[is] to Rob't son of Godfrey de Walton: 7 acres 1 perch of land in Ingilberdhop, that is 3 acres 3 perches at the manor, 2 acres on Sceloth, 1 ½ acres where Rob't son of Godfrey dwells and between the rand (ransa) [St Bees has raufam] and the hedge: in free marriage with Mariot, grantor's sister, and their issue: to hold free of all secular extraction ... : also enough space to build 1 barn and another small house, and a path leading to both of them: annual rent, white gloves at Easter, or a coin, ...

Witnesses: Hugh de Moriceby; Thos. Marescall; his son William Marescall; Mich de Clifton; Clement de Thackthwait; Adam de S'ca Bega; Adam son of Rond.

This suggests that Robert son of Robert Francens held a freehold estate of some or all of Ingilberdhop. From this he gave, free of all feudal obligations, seven customary acres (10.5 statute acres) to his sister Mariota's husband, Robert son of Godfrey who lived in Ingilberdhop.

'In free marriage' means that the property would not become the property of Robert, but only of Mariota and her issue, suggesting that Robert might have been an inferior marriage partner. The grant was partly within the cultivated land of Ingilberdhop and partly outside the fence around the cultivated land, on which

¹ Collingwood, W. G., *Lake District History*, 1925, p.77; Winchester, Angus (1978), 'Territorial Structure and Agrarian Organisation in Mediaeval and sixteenth Century Copeland, Cumberland', Durham Thesis, Durham University, Vol.2, p.355, <http://ethesis.dur.ac.uk/1886/>; Winchester, Angus, 'The Medieval Vill in the Western Lake

District: some problems of definition', *TCWAAS*, 1978, pp.55-69, note 22

² D/Lec/299a, The 'Lucy Cartulary', nos.99,100,102

³ Wilson, James, *The Register of the Priory of St Bees*, Surtees Society, 1915, LXI, p.566 and LXIII, p.567

⁴ Bain, Joseph, *Cal Doc Scot*, Vol. 1, no.1106



new land a house, barn and connecting road were to be built.

No. 99, undated, was made within the lifetime of Mariota's son, Huitred, and must date before 1290, being a sub-infeudation which then became prohibited by the statute of Quia Emptores.

Grant: John prior and convent of Carlisle to Hiutred son of Rob't de Ingelberdhop; for homage and service: 3½ acres in territory of Yngelberdhop with ½ acre to build on, all of which Mariot wife of Rob't de Yngleberdhop conveyed to grantors in free alms: to hold of grantors with all liberties and easements within and without the vill of Yngleberdhop: annual rent, 1 lb cumin at Carlisle fair and 3 suits of court: ... Witnesses: Sir John de Ireby; Rich'd Strye; Ralph de Bliton; Thos de Gosseford; Rob't de Carleton; John de Scyhill; Alan de Coquina.

Mariota, presumably the same person and now a widow, had previously granted 6.4 statute acres of the land from No.100 to the Priory of Carlisle without retaining any feudal rights, becoming monastic property. The Priory now granted that land as freehold to Mariota's son Hiutred, but retained the feudal rights of free-rent and suit of court. At this time Ingilberhop had the status of a vill, or a basic civil settlement.

No.102, dated 30 Ed III, May 24 Wednesday [1356]:

The hamlet at Hopebeck, the likely site of the core of Ingilberdhop, looking East. The medieval fields would be behind and to the left. The 'hop' valley is behind the hill on the right.

Grant: Thos de Moriceby to Sir Thos de Lucy, Lord of Cockermonth: all his lands and tenements had by gift from John son of John de Ingilberdhop in Hamlet of Brackenthwait in vill of Braithwait:

Witnesses: Wm de Berdesay then bailiff of liberty of Cockermonth; Wm de Ireby; Gilb't de Hothuait; John de Stanlawe; Wm de Keldesycke: given at Cockermonth.

It is this document which places Ingilberdhop geographically within Brackenthwaite. In 1355 Thomas de Moriceby had given Thomas de Lucy, lord of Cockermonth, the manor of Brackenthwaite in exchange for part of Distinguon, and this present grant suggests that in 1355 Ingilberdhop was a freehold estate within the boulder of Brackenthwaite manor. By this time the meaning of a vill had changed to an administrative unit, and de Lucy's holdings in Brackenthwaite would be grouped with others under the vill of Braithwaite.⁵

This grant, presumably of the bulk of Ingilberdhop, would extinguish the practical difference between the manorial tenants of Brackenthwaite manor and the

⁵ Winchester, 'The medieval vill', for an analysis of the change in meaning.



The Hope, approached from Hopebeck. Situated at the exit of Hope Beck from the 'hop' valley, which commences above and to the right.

manorial tenants of Ingilberdhop. This grant probably did not include the small freehold estate granted in No. 99 above by the Priory to Hiutred, or Huctred. The Priory and its feudal rights are not mentioned.

The association with Hopebeck

The association of Ingilberdhop with Hopebeck has derived from the names of the witnesses in the first grant, the name of Ingilberdhop itself, and by a close in the arable land of Hopebeck retaining the name of Inglebarrow in 1844.⁶

The name element *hop* 'usually refers to a secluded blind valley, often rounded and branching off or overhanging a lower valley', which is what is seen above the farmstead named The Hope,

where Hope Beck takes the higher valley water to the lower valley of the Cocker.⁷ Wythop, the willow valley, has a similar structure. A hopper is a current name for a vessel which collects, stores, and funnels, say, water or grain under gravity.

The Dean and Chapter's manor of Lorton & Allerthwaite

The Priory was founded in the 1120s but was augmented as the seat of the bishop of Carlisle in 1133, and by the project to create a Cathedral church. At the dissolution of the monasteries the priory element was removed, but the bishop, the Cathedral, and its establishment continued.⁸ The estates funding the Priory were not sold but were joined with the remaining estates of Wetheral Priory in 1541, for the future support of the Cathedral. They were managed by the Dean and Chapter, the first Dean being the last Prior.⁹

⁶ TNA/IR29/7/27, Tithe apportionment Brackenthwaite, 1844; see <http://www.derwentfells.com/images/publications/TownshipBrackenthwaite1844.jpg>

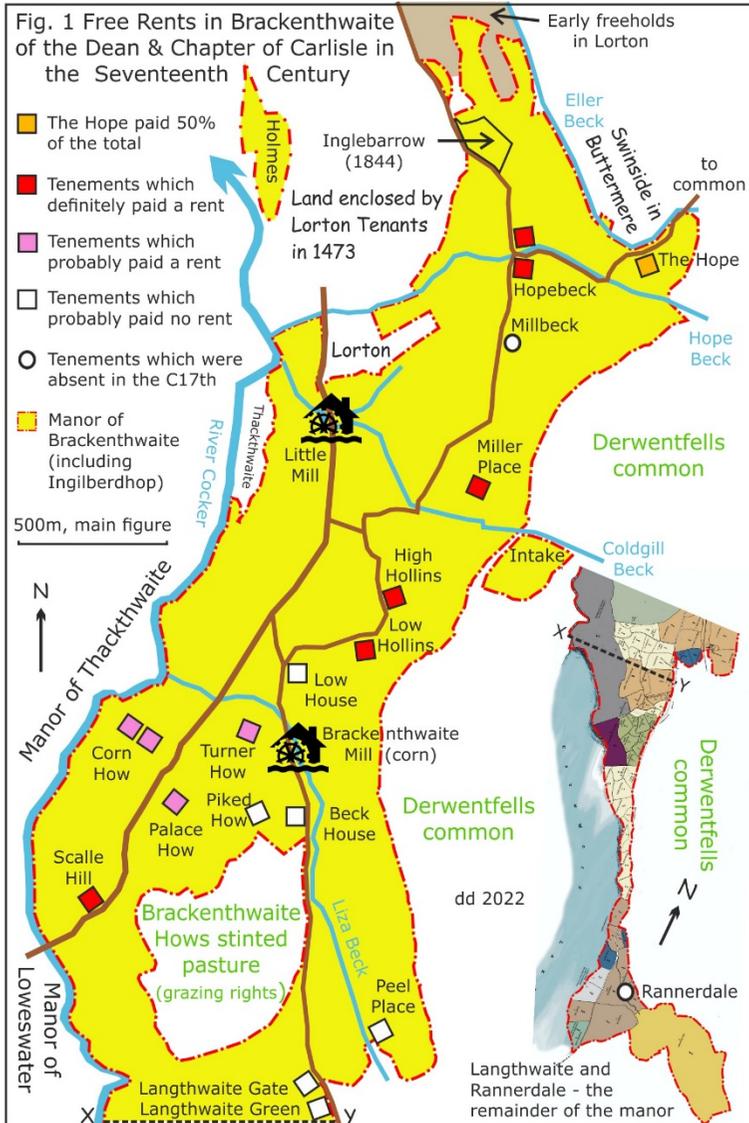
⁷ See Whaley, Diana, *A dictionary of Lake District place-names*, English Place-names Society, 2006, p.405

⁸ Perriam, D R, 'The demolition of the Priory of St Mary, Carlisle', *TCWAAS*, 1987, pp.127-58

⁹ Wilson, James, Ed, *The Victoria history of the county of Cumberland*, 1905, Vol.2, p.149

No.	'Old rental' circa 1600, quoted in 1674		1649 Parliamentary Survey of Manor		1674 Review of free rents		1691 Manor Court Verdict on free rents		Identity	Status
	Holder	Rent	Holder	Rent	Holder	Rent	Holder	Rent		
1	Gilbert Mirehouse	18½	Janett Pierson for Hope Beck	18½	John Wood late Janet Pearson for Hope	18½	John Wood and John Head for Hopebeck	18½	The Hope	Recorded
2	Peter or Christopher Mirehouse	1¾	Thomas Pierson for Hope Beck	1¾	Thomas Pearson for Hope Beck	1¾	Thomas Pearson for Hopebeck	1¾	Hopebeck 1	Recorded
3	Peter or Christopher Mirehouse	1¾	Gilbert Myrehouse	1¾	Gilbert Mirehouse	1¾	John Mirehouse & Thomas Pearson	1¾	Hopebeck 2	Definite
4	William Pearson	2½	Thomas Pierson for Miller Place	2½	Thomas Pearson for Milner Place	2½	Thomas Pearson for Miller Place	2½	Miller Place	Recorded
5	Robert Stubb	2	Robert Stubb	2	Robert Stubb	2	Robert Stubb	2	Low Hollins	Definite
6	Robert Fisher	0¾	Robert Fisher for Hollins	3¾	Mr Robert Fisher for Hollins	3¾	Mr John Fisher for Hollins	3¾	High Hollins	Recorded
7	John Wilkinson	2	Robert Fisher for Scale Hill	2	Mr Robert Fisher for Scale Hill	2	Mr John Fisher for Scale Hill	2	Scale Hill	Recorded
8	Anthony Wilkinson	2	John Wilkinson	1½	Peter Walker late Wilkinson	1¾	Joseph Beeby & Thomas Wren	1½	Corn Howe 1	Highly probably
9	John Fisher	2½	John Fisher	2½	John Bank late John Fisher	2½	John Banks	2½	Corn Howe2	Probable
10	Thomas Rudd	1¼	Thomas Roodde	1¼	Thomas Rudd	1¼	John Head	1¼	Turner How	Probable
11	John Tolson	1½	John Tolson	1¾	John Tolson	1¾	Joseph Beeby	1¾	Withbeckraine or Palace How	Highly probably
	Total	36½	Total	39¼	Total	39¼	Total	39¼		
Ref	DCHA8/8/15		DCHA8/8/8		DCHA8/8/15		DCHA8/8/15			

Table 1. Seventeenth century Brackenthwaite free rents, in old pence, in the Dean and Chapter archive



The records of the Priory and its medieval possessions are lost. The Dean and Chapter has no surviving records of Brackenthwaite, until an old list of free rents circa 1600 was obtained from their grave and was transcribed into a document of 1674.¹⁰ Those rents had been

included in the Dean and Chapter's Manor of Lorton & Allertwhaite, which was a portmanteau manor created to manage a number of widespread small properties held by the Priory. The annual income from the manor was about £18 and the largest component was the manorial rental

¹⁰ CASC/DCHA8/8/15, Rentals

of High Lorton, at about £5, which had been granted to the Priory circa 1138.

The Dean and Chapter's free rents in Brackenthwaite

The free or quit rents of Brackenthwaite, payable to the Dean and Chapter, totalled 3s-3¼d, which amount was made up of eleven payments associated with particular tenements, or property holdings, in Brackenthwaite. The hypothesis of this study is that this total free rent derives from the rent and services due from Huctred to the Priory of Carlisle for his grant of freehold land in Ingilberdhop, 250 years before. Furthermore, that its commutation as a monetary free or quit rent, divided among a number of properties, reflected the way in which the holders of properties in Brackenthwaite had use of the granted property. Unfortunately, the records of the Dean and Chapter suggest that in 1674 they had no idea of the origin of these free rents which they had inherited, nor the basis on which they had been apportioned, unequally, among certain of the farm tenements in Brackenthwaite.

The Brackenthwaite free rents can be tracked through the rentals of the manor of Lorton & Allerthwaite from an undated rental of about 1600, through to the 1790s, when these small payments were still being collected. Table 1 presents the list of eleven free tenants and rentals of the manor of Lorton & Allerdale in Brackenthwaite, at four times in the seventeenth century. These are lists of tenants, rather than lists of properties, but for five of the rentals the property was identified in the records at some point. For two others the property can be securely identified by the association of tenants with properties in parish registers and the full manorial records, and in the other four cases the identification is less secure, but still probably correct.

Figure 1 provides an approximate boulder of the manor of Brackenthwaite before then enfranchisements of the

1590s, which is equal to the enclosed land in the township. This plan is from the nineteenth-century tithe map, but it will be close enough to the required position to show the geographical distribution of the farmsteads paying free rents.

Two farmsteads are shown as absent in the seventeenth century. That at Rannerdale was present in the early sixteenth century and held by the Newcom family, but then escheated to the lord and is thought to have been divided among other tenants by the time of the general fine of 1547.¹¹ The modern farmstead called Millbeck did not exist in 1821, from the Greenwood map, and there are no known records of an earlier farmstead there. Unless it was considered part of the Hopebeck hamlet, and therefore one of the three Mirehouse tenements. Without Millbeck, the separation of the hamlet of Hopebeck from the core of Brackenthwaite is more marked and more consistent with the medieval Hopebeck being a ring-fenced settlement or assart in the forest of Derwentfells.

The free rents as the legacy of Ingilberdhop

The free rents of the Dean and Chapter were associated with tenements in the north of the manor, and particularly with the three tenements in the hamlet of Hopebeck, which accounts for 22d out of the total 39¼d. The clear correlation between the free rents and the hamlet of Hopebeck tends to corroborate the identification of Ingilberdhop with Hopebeck.

In the thirteenth century, Huctred was granted 3½ acres of land (5.6 statute acres) for cultivation and ½ acre of land (0.8 statute acres) for building a barn and small house. The form of words in the grant to Huctred repeated the original grant of the building land to Huctred's deceased father, and so the farmstead would be already complete. If the free rents were a commutation and apportionment of the feudal obligations of

¹¹ See Winchester, *The language of the landscape*, 2019, p.189

Huctred, i.e. a pound of cumin and suit of court, then the apportionment might be considered to indicate that the Hope could have been the site of Huctred's farmstead.

Further independent evidence comes from the name of the arable close Inglebarrow at Hopebeck, shown in Figure 1. In 1844 this was 4.5 statute acres in what had once been the prime arable land of medieval Hopebeck.¹² There is no suggestion that this close was Huctred's land. The amount of land granted to Huctred by the Priory was small and probably only a minor part of the open arable fields of the vill of Ingilberdhop. Furthermore, the grant would probably have been of a share of the total arable land rather than a defined close of land. Within the arable land, strips would probably have been cultivated by the various farmsteads. This could explain why a small amount of land could result in small free rents spread among a number of much larger and distant farmsteads. Huctred's share of good arable land could itself have been shared and cultivated by manorial tenants within easy reach, and the apportionment could have been made if and when Huctred's successors sold the freeholds to the tenants.

When was the apportionment made?

The apportionment of the free rent existed circa 1600 and would have been first made at some time in the previous 250 years. Free rents were paid by the freeholder to the grantor as a substitute for feudal service obligations, or to compensate for feudal rights retained by the grantee over the property, such as the right to hunt on the land. If Huctred or his successors had manorial tenants on his freehold land, then those tenants would not be responsible for paying a free rent of a pound of cumin to the Priory. The freeholder would pay. A commutation to money and an apportionment among the farmsteads would only be required when the freehold was split, ultimately among

the manorial tenants when making them freeholders. The new freeholders would pay their shares to the Priory. This process is seen elsewhere in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

It seems unlikely that this small manorial property would have been included in the 1356 grant by Thomas de Moriceby to Thomas de Lucy of, 'all his lands and tenements had by gift of John son of John of Ingilberdhop in hamlet of Brackenthwait'. If it were included then the pound of cumin for Huctred's freehold would have been payable by the Lucys and the succeeding Lords of Brackenthwaite, and not by their tenants until 1592/3, when most of the manor was sold and the tenants became enfranchised freeholders.¹³ It seems unlikely that a memory of the detail of the Huctred freehold would survive centuries to allow such a precise apportionment of a commuted free rent.

Furthermore, one tenement, Low Hollins, was not enfranchised in 1592/3 and remained a manorial tenement in Brackenthwaite manor into the nineteenth century, rent 14s. And yet its owner, Robert Stubb, was a Brackenthwaite freeholder within the Priory's manor of Lorton and Allerthwaite, paying 3¾d free for Low Hollins in Brackenthwaite to the Dean and Chapter. This also suggests that Huctred's freehold did not become part of Brackenthwaite manor, but descended separately until it was sold as freehold to the tenant farmers, and the commuted free rent was apportioned. This would be some time before 1592, and when the freehold arable land at Hopebeck was still held in shares by various tenements, perhaps before the dissolution of the Priory.

Conclusion

The evidence for Ingilberdhop being at Hopebeck was already strong, from the witnesses of the grant, the 'hop' name evidence and the independent record of

¹² TNA/IR29/7/27 & IR30/7/27, tithie apportionment and map of Brackenthwaite, no.13

¹³ See *Wanderer* Feb 2022, pp.16-28, for Brackenthwaite enfranchisements

the close named Inglebarrow. The evidence of the free rents strongly corroborates the association of Ingilberdhop with Hopebeck.

Also, the free rent associated with The Hope farmstead combined with the grant details encourages the tentative suggestion that The Hope may have its origins in the house and barn that were to be built by Robert and Mariota in the mid thirteenth century. The settlement at Hopebeck was already existing as the core of Ingilberdhop. However, The Hope first appears by name in surviving records only centuries after, in the bishop's transcripts of the registers in 1618 when Isabell Pearson, daughter of Anthony Pearson of Hope, was baptised on 30 June.¹⁴

A process of descent of this small freehold estate has been suggested, from its donation to the Priory of Carlisle as a monastic property by Mariota, wife of Robert of Ingilberdhop, though the grant of a subinfeudated freehold property by the Priory, and then separately from the manor of Brackenthwaite to an enfranchisement of the tenants as freeholders of the Priory, and then of the Dean and Chapter of Carlisle Cathedral.

Epilogue

In 1674 the Dean and Chapter of Carlisle Cathedral clearly had no knowledge of the origins of the Brackenthwaite free rents, probably just that they had inherited certain property rights from the Priory. The first surviving Dean and Chapter record of the Brackenthwaite freeholders is dated 1613, and the first surviving rental is that of the parliamentary survey of 1649. In 1674, Thomas Smith, of the Dean and Chapter reviewed these rentals to update the list for the manor court stated that 'by comparing Mr Fishers old book with Mr Anthony Pearsons 2 rentals and Peter Bells note of acquittance, together with ye rentals delivered in by ye present Grave Robert Stubb, I conceive

this above to be the fairest and exactest of any'.¹⁵ The rental quoted from the old book appears to date from around 1600.

Collecting 3s-3¼d (16p) from nine or ten people was not a very cost-effective task, even in the seventeenth century, and was only practical because the Dean and Chapter had a grave for Lorton who could include it in his duties. It seems remarkable that they continued to collect it, and that it was paid, into the nineteenth century. On 30 May 1808 William Nicholson, the gentleman of business who lived at Graceholm in High Lorton, wrote to Thomas Hudson, Steward for the Dean and Chapter;

Dear Sir,

This being the time of collecting your Lords rent for Lorton if I am to act as your bailiff I shall collect it immediately as the collecting of it should be done by the bailiff. Mr Bailton last Martinmas desired me to lay down the Brackenthwaite rents to him which I did and was some time out of the money and had the trouble of going twice before I got it settled. Please to give me a line by return of post, I am your ob. servant

*William Nicholson*¹⁶

By 1826 the Dean and Chapter no longer collected these rents, recording in the rental the names and rents from the 1649 survey with a note 'The above rents do not appear to have been collected for many years past'.¹⁷ The Brackenthwaite free rents were gone, not worth collecting. The Law of Property Acts of the 1920s required the extinguishment of manorial incidents, including free rents. When the Dean and Chapter did this in 1935 for the more substantial free rents they held, requiring a payment from the freeholder, the Brackenthwaite free rents were entirely forgotten.¹⁸

¹⁴ CASC/DRC6/98/1, Bishop's Transcripts, 1616

¹⁵ CASC/DCHA8/8/15, Rentals, 1 June 1674

¹⁶ CASC/DCHA8/8/18, steward's correspondence

¹⁷ CASC/DCHA8/3/2, call book 1826, p.18

¹⁸ CASC/DCHA8/4/8, papers: extinguishment of free rents - 1935-1937