

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

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Parish/township: RENWICK

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# RENEWICK<sup>1</sup>

Renwick is a small rural parish and township of 4299 acres (1740 ha) on the Pennine edge about 12 miles north-east of Penrith. The village lies about three miles east of the River Eden, at about 213m above sea level. Since 1934 the parish has formed part of the civil parish of Kirkoswald. The northern boundary of Renwick parish cut across the rising ground from Middle Moor to the summit of Thackmoor Fell (609m), descending from there to follow the upper reaches of Croglin Water to Black Fell on the Pennine watershed. From Black Fell the boundary ran across Long Tongue to the headwaters of the Raven Beck which formed the southern boundary of the parish. The western boundary, not defined by obvious topographical features, traversed higher ground to the west of the village, known as Long Moor and Middle Moor, separating Renwick from the adjacent manor of Staffield in Kirkoswald parish. There are two outlying hamlets, both at about 245m: Scalehouses to the north of the village and Outhwaite to the east. The boundaries of Renwick had been established before 1341 when the manor, which was coterminous with the parish and township, was given to Queen's College, Oxford. The manorial boundary was altered as a result of arbitration in 1808, when an area of some 40 acres in the south-west corner was transferred to Staffield.<sup>2</sup> The relationship of the parish boundary to that of the neighbouring parish of Kirkoswald suggests that Renwick may have been carved out of Kirkoswald parish at an early date.<sup>3</sup> Renwick's name, regularly recorded as "Ravenwick" from the twelfth century to the seventeenth, is thought to derive from

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<sup>2</sup> Oxford: Queen's College muniments [hereafter QC], 5A-1a (1341) and 5A-118 (1808); cf. also Nicolson, *Misc Act*, p119: the 1808 alteration related only to the manor boundary.

<sup>3</sup> A. J. L. Winchester, *Landscape and Society in Medieval Cumbria* (Edinburgh 1987), 24.

*Hrafn*, an Old Norse personal name, and *wic*, an Old English habitation name meaning “village or dairy farm”, the latter element suggesting that an agricultural settlement predated the Scandinavian settlement of the tenth century.<sup>4</sup> ‘Ravenwickscales’, presumed to be an earlier name for Scalehouses, is mentioned in 1278 and the earliest known record of Outhwaite is in 1598.<sup>5</sup>

## **Landscape**

In the west of the parish the underlying bedrock is Permo-Triassic St Bees sandstone, overlaid with boulder clay and glacial sand and gravel deposits; further east the higher slopes of the Pennines are formed from alternating strata of carboniferous limestone, limestone grit, Alston sandstone and coal measures, with a covering of peat.<sup>6</sup> The soil was described in 1794 as ‘cold and unfruitful’; and in the early twentieth century as ‘clay and sand, sub-soil clay gravel and rocky’.<sup>7</sup> For the most part the ground is well drained by hillside streams flowing into the Raven Beck. Until 1818 only a little over one fifth (920 acres, 379 ha) of the land was cultivated; 850 acres (350 ha), mainly on How Moor, Middle Moor and Long Moor on the west and north of the village, were enclosed under the Renwick Enclosure Act of 1814 and brought into cultivation thereafter. The remaining 2,525 acres (1,004 ha), on the Pennine slopes to the east, were enclosed in 1864, but remain largely uncultivated: amounting to some three-fifths of the surface area of Renwick, they have been exploited through the ages as summer pasture and for their mineral resources – coal, peat and stone, and lime-burning.<sup>8</sup> This is a hillside landscape, which in modern times is predominantly under grass, divided by stone walls and many streams, and well wooded on the lower slopes.

## **Settlement**

Before 1400 it seems that permanent settlement was concentrated on the village, with settlement also at Scalehouses,<sup>9</sup> and at a hamlet called ‘Applebystreet’ which lay on the banks of the Raven Beck.<sup>10</sup> By 1500, ‘Applebystreet’ had been abandoned, and permanent settlement had probably been established at Outhwaite.<sup>11</sup> The hamlets of Scalehouses and Outhwaite may have originated as summer pastures with seasonal human habitation. The name Dyrah, later given to a farmhouse

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<sup>4</sup> PNC, I, 236.

<sup>5</sup> - *ibid* - (quoting Assize rolls); CAS(C) DMH 10/6/12/3, a 16th century copy of *Cal. Inq. p.m.* Humphrey, first Baron Dacre of the North; for Outhwaite QC, 5A-13.

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

<sup>7</sup> Hutchinson p212, and Kelly's trade directories 1894-1938.

<sup>8</sup> cf *Economic History*, below.

<sup>9</sup> PNC, I, 236.

<sup>10</sup> QC, 5A-1a, the only surviving mention of this hamlet. The most likely location is some 400-500 yards west of High Raven Bridge, downstream of a point (NY 599428) where there are archaeological traces of a possible ancient river crossing, and, nearby on the south bank, traces of house footings.

<sup>11</sup> QC, 5A-58 (1630) ‘street’ in place of ‘hamlet’; rental evidence from the Long Rolls of Queen’s College.

between Renwick and Scalehouses, is thought to mean 'deer hedge', perhaps indicating the existence of a park or hunting reserve.<sup>12</sup> In Renwick village, by 1500, there were some 13 customary farmsteads in two rows enclosing a small green, together with a church and priesthouse at the northern end, and, on the western side, a small house, probably once the manor house and possibly fortified, on what was later known as 'Castle Hill' or just 'the Hill'.<sup>13</sup> In Scalehouses there were five farmsteads, two customary and three owned by the Dacres, and (in 1587) a separate freehold house called 'Slotingsteads'.<sup>14</sup> In Outhwaite there were, by 1550 if not earlier, four customary farmsteads.<sup>15</sup> Very little survives of late-medieval buildings. Rebuilding in stone seems to have begun after 1660 and to have proceeded slowly through the eighteenth century. Town Head farmhouse retains internal evidence of cruck frames, and appears to have been rebuilt between 1660 and 1700; the adjacent Thackmoor House, much altered later, also has internal evidence of rebuilding c.1700.

As well as the village and the two outlying hamlets there were, from the eighteenth century, several isolated farmsteads. Dyrah, between Renwick and Scalehouses, was abandoned in about 1960, and its ruins remained visible in 2012.<sup>16</sup> Woodcroft, between Renwick and Outhwaite, was abandoned before 1840 and no part of the building remains.<sup>17</sup> Rayles House, also known as Wyberghdale, was recorded near Scalehouses in 1707 and 1798 but the site has not been found.<sup>18</sup> Sickergill, built about 1720 on land taken in from the waste in 1696 in the south western corner of the manor, was transferred by arbitration to the manor of Stafffield in 1808.<sup>19</sup> Lincowell, built by a Scalehouses tenant on lower ground near Scalehouses, was still occupied in 2012. A three-story mansion called Hetherington's was built on the site of the old manor house in the mid-eighteenth century, and subdivided between 1827 and 1841 into five, and after 1945 into three, dwellings.<sup>20</sup> Between 1800 and 1830, a period of intensified coal-mining and rising population, many cottages were built in the village, together with one three-story house called Highland Hall and five cottages at Spa Lane and Kiln Bank on its south side. Shops and public houses were built in the 1820s and 1830s on land

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<sup>12</sup> *PNC*, I, 236; cf also Charles Phythian-Adams *Land of the Cumbrians*, Aldershot 1996, 37-8, for possible royal demesne on the Pennine edge; a rivulet near Dyrah is called 'Kingdale Beck

<sup>13</sup> *QC*, 5A-2a (1506 rental); *The Black Book of the Priory of Hexham*, Surtees Society 1864, I II, 12; cf *Manors and Estates* below.

<sup>14</sup> *QC*, 5A-5a.

<sup>15</sup> *QC*, 5A-23 (1603) – call roll listing Scalehouses and Outhwaite tenants; rental evidence (note 11 above).

<sup>16</sup> Land Tax duplicates 1767f; censuses and trade directories; and local inf (Robert Pattinson).

<sup>17</sup> The site of Woodcroft is shown on OS 6-inch map, Cumb. sheet 40 (surveyed 1860).

<sup>18</sup> Title deeds of Scalehouses End Farm (Mrs Jane Fawcett), and CAS(C) P 1798 Lowthian.

<sup>19</sup> *QC*, Renwick Court Book p. 71 (1696); *QC*, 5A-118 (1808).

<sup>20</sup> *QC*, 5A-191 (1827) for name 'Hetherington's'; title deeds of no 1 the Hill (Mr & Mrs Lindemann).

enclosed from the village green, along the west side of the road constructed through the village in 1818 (all by 1970 occupied as private houses). In 1948 two pairs of semi-detached council dwellings were built on the southern edge of the village.<sup>21</sup> Between 1950 and 2012 there were some barn conversions in Renwick, a new house in Spa Lane, and four new houses at the north end of the village, all within the building line. Overall, the footprint of the village seems to have changed little for 500 years.<sup>22</sup> Scalehouses expanded after 1789 by two new cottages on the waste to the east of the hamlet,<sup>23</sup> and by twentieth century barn conversions. By contrast Outhwaite contracted, the farmland being combined, by 1850, in a single farm, with a cottage and (later) a bungalow.

### **Communications**

Renwick appears to have lain close to the *magna via de Appelby*, recorded in 1167, probably linking Brampton to Appleby though the villages along the foot of the Pennine scarp.<sup>24</sup> The road defined the western boundary of the manor of Little Haresceugh, south of the Raven Beck, crossed the beck by a bridge recorded in 1585,<sup>25</sup> and seems to have passed to the west of Renwick village (via what is now Spa Lane, Yetland Lonnen, and a stone and grass track) to continue towards Croglin and Brampton. By the eighteenth century Renwick lay at the confluence of five roads linking the village northwards towards Brampton; eastwards to the Hartside Pass across the Pennine watershed to Alston; southwards towards Gamblesby and Melmerby, crossing (as did the Alston Road) the Raven Beck at High Raven Bridge; south-westwards to Glassonby (crossing the Raven Beck by a ford until Sickergill Bridge was built in 1898);<sup>26</sup> and westwards to Kirkoswald. Public transport routes were limited: a bus service from Renwick on one day per week was commenced by Henry Lace of Kirkoswald to Carlisle in 1928 and to Penrith in 1929.<sup>27</sup>

### **Population and Social Character**

Population was never large, there being five freeholders and 23 customary tenants in 1603 - suggesting about 130 inhabitants in all, if each represented a resident household – and the Protestation Return 1642 suggests a population of 148.<sup>28</sup> In 1782 there were 189 inhabitants, and in

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<sup>21</sup> CAS(C) SRDP/1/2/16 (minutes of Housing Committee of Penrith RDC).

<sup>22</sup> Thomas Donald, *Historic Map of Cumberland 1774* (preceding the post-1800 population expansion of Renwick), compared with OS Map Cumb. Sheet 40 (1<sup>st</sup> edition, surveyed 1860).

<sup>23</sup> QC, court book p354 (1786) and date stone 'AW 1789'.

<sup>24</sup> *Lanercost Cart.* 87 (item 34).

<sup>25</sup> The bridge was mentioned (but not described) in 1585 (*CBP* item 309) and listed in Denton *Perambulation*, 57; it was rebuilt in 1781, CAS(C) CQAB/4

<sup>26</sup> CAS(C) SPC/35/1/1 (1897); 1898 date stone on bridge parapet.

<sup>27</sup> Lace business records at Kirkoswald examined by David Grisenthwaite; Kelly *Dir.Cumb.*1929.

<sup>28</sup> QC, 5A-23 (call roll 1603); Appleby *Famine in Tudor and Stewart England* (1978, Stanford U.P.), 199;

1801 201.<sup>29</sup> There followed a rapid increase to 375 in 1831. Thereafter, and with the cessation of coal mining after 1860, there was continuous decline of population to 174 in 1931, the latest year for which separate census data are available.<sup>30</sup> With the exception of the period of mining activity in the early nineteenth century, Renwick was a comparatively egalitarian farming community without a resident lord or squire (except between c.1875 and 1956).<sup>31</sup> From c.1970 an influx of retired persons, and others commuting to and from work elsewhere, replaced inhabitants who hitherto had worked on the land.

## LANDOWNERSHIP

The origins of the manor of Renwick can be traced to a grant by Henry I to Adam de Staveley, lord of Dent and Sedbergh (Yorkshire West Riding).<sup>32</sup> The manor was sold by Thomas de Staveley and Margaret his wife to Michael de Hercla in 1297/8;<sup>33</sup> and was held by his son Sir Andrew Harcla in 1323 when he was executed for treason. In 1328/9 the manor passed, by exchange for land in Middlesex, to Robert of Eaglesfield (chaplain to Philippa of Hainault, queen of England) who used it to endow his newly founded Queen's College, Oxford in 1341 - the last occasion on which the manor changed hands.<sup>34</sup> The site of the medieval manor house is thought to have been where a three-storey building, once called 'Hetherington's', now stands on the west side of the village: it is reputed to contain medieval masonry.<sup>35</sup> The demesne was said in 1327 to extend to 20 acres: it probably included some four acres adjoining the manor house, another 15 acres called Sharehills and Woodcroft on the north and east of the village, and the mill, mill holme and all the woodland adjoining the Raven Beck - a total of about 33 statute acres (13.5 ha).<sup>36</sup>

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Denton's figure of 265 (1687) looks too large.

<sup>29</sup> Dr Heysham's census, Carlisle Central Library, Jackson collection M839; Hutchinson, 212; 1801 census; cf *Economic History* (below)

<sup>30</sup> Decennial censuses 1801-1931.

<sup>31</sup> cf *Manors and Estates* and *Social History* (below).

<sup>32</sup> *Denton's History*, 155; *Book of Fees*, 199.

<sup>33</sup> FF Cumb no. 159.

<sup>34</sup> QC, 5A-1 (1328/9), also referring to previous ownership of Harcla, and 5A-1a (1341); *Cal Pat* Ed III vol 5, pp171,191,244 (license for alienation in mortmain).

<sup>35</sup> Local inf from architect resident therein 2004; for 'Hetherington's' cf note 19 above.

<sup>36</sup> TNA C145/104(1), an extent in 1327; manor court records and Land Tax duplicate 1769 for identification of freehold land.

Of 920 acres (379 ha) used for arable and pasture before the enclosure of moorland in 1818, about 160 acres (66 ha) were held freehold, and about 760 acres (313 ha) were held from Queen's College by customary tenure. The freehold land included former demesne and glebe land, and three tenements at Scalehouses once owned by the Dacres.

One of only two freeholders in 1561 was William Lord Dacre, 3rd Baron Dacre of the North, whose grandfather had held land at Scalehouses at his death in 1485.<sup>37</sup> His land (about 108 acres, 44.5 ha) had probably been acquired before 1485 in pursuance of a Dacre policy of placing their retainers in manors which they did not own.<sup>38</sup> It was awarded in June 1569 to the sisters of the deceased child 5th Baron Dacre; was administered on their behalf until 1594 when it was forfeited to the crown;<sup>39</sup> and purchased back by nominees on behalf of Lady Anne (Dacre) Howard, Countess of Arundel, in December 1601.<sup>40</sup> By 1603 she had sold it and there were three new freeholders who held farming tenements at Scalehouses.<sup>41</sup>

During the agricultural depression of the 1870s and 1880s Joseph Nicholson (1831-1895), of Ravenwood farmhouse, Renwick, who had inherited a fortune made by his uncle on coffee plantations in Surinam and India, purchased several farm holdings and other lands and buildings in Renwick, and in the process became acknowledged as squire.<sup>42</sup> The Ravenwood estate was inherited in 1895 by Nicholson's cousin William Salkeld (1866-1935) and great-nephew George Wilfred Armstrong (1875-1956). It was broken up after the death of Armstrong in 1956.

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<sup>37</sup> QC, 5A-3, the other freeholder was Thomas Smythe for the house called Slotingsteads.

<sup>38</sup> A policy mentioned in Steven G Ellis, 'Thomas 2nd Baron Dacre', *ODNB*; cf note 5 above

<sup>39</sup> TNA LR2/212 (folios 49/50), survey 1589, describes three tenements at Scalehouses; for the forfeiture in 1594, cf *The Household Books of Lord William Howard*, Surtees Society 68 (1878), 390-1.

<sup>40</sup> TNA C66/1570 (folio 11, lines 70-80)

<sup>41</sup> QC, 5A-23 (1603); title deeds of Scalehouses End Farm (Mrs Jane Fawcett) with a 1731 reference to an 'annual free rent of one half penny to his grace the Duke of Norfolk the chief lord of the fee'.

<sup>42</sup> Nicholson/Salkeld/Armstrong family wills and admittances 1873. - CAS(C), DX1705 holds many title deeds relating to purchases by Joseph Nicholson between 1873 and 1891, both of entire farms and small parcels. The most significant was the purchase from Lawson in 1873 – cf *Religious History*. William Salkeld's vesting assent in 1931, DX/1705/16, describes the land, about 630 acres in Renwick, included in Joseph Nicholson's will trust (1895), to which had been added his brother John's land at Scalehouses in 1897 – total about 1,000 acres.

## ECONOMIC HISTORY

The parish's economy was largely agricultural with a strong pastoral bias: it was augmented by coal mining and associated trades between 1631 and 1865.

### Agriculture and woodland

Crop land (both arable and grass), was limited to about 750 acres (309ha) until about 1450, and was extended between 1450 and 1500 to about 920 acres (379 ha) by assarting land at around the 220-240 metre contour to the north and east of the village.<sup>43</sup> Nineteen customary tenements, listed in 1571,<sup>44</sup> were described for the first time as ‘tenantright’ in 1589,<sup>45</sup> and remained largely unchanged until 1750. All farm holdings, including the freehold tenements at Scalehouses, seem to have been of comparable size, each about 30-40 acres (12.5-16.5 ha). The tenants of Scalehouses and Outhwaite had their own fields, about 84 ha and 68 ha respectively.<sup>46</sup> Entry fines, payable upon change of tenant, were twice the annual rent until 1630, when by an agreement between the College and its tenants they were raised to 12 times the annual rent.<sup>47</sup> Between 1500 and 1818 further intakes were few and small: both to the west of the township and upon the steeply rising slopes of the Pennines to the east, there remained large areas of common waste land whereon the tenants enjoyed summer pasture and turbarry rights.<sup>48</sup> The common fields of Renwick, upon which were grown oats, barley and rye for human consumption, remained largely unenclosed until 1750, after which enclosure proceeded piecemeal.<sup>49</sup> By 1810 Braithwaite Field (between the village and the Raven Beck) and North Field were almost wholly enclosed, but Crooked Hills and Harberry common fields to the west of the village were not fully enclosed until the 1830s.<sup>50</sup> Moorlands totalling 850 acres (350 ha), called Middle Moor and Long Moor, lying between Renwick and Staffield, were enclosed, along with the village green and other small parcels, by act of Parliament in 1818; and the remaining 2,525 acres

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<sup>43</sup> Analysis based on rental evidence from the Long Rolls of Queen’s College, and QC, 5A-2a (rental 1506), and from traces of a medieval head dyke.

<sup>44</sup> QC, 5A-4.

<sup>45</sup> QC, 5A-6.

<sup>46</sup> Analysis from tithe commutation award and map 1842 (CAS(C), DRC/8/161); ‘Scalehouses field’ court books, *passim*.

<sup>47</sup> QC, 5A-49 (1616) and 5A-56 (1630)

<sup>48</sup> QC, 5A-60 (exhortation to the jury in court baron) ‘peats needful for their own fuelling’.

<sup>49</sup> eg QC, 5A-191, court roll for 10/2/1803, ‘.. lately enclosed from the common field called North Field’

<sup>50</sup> CAS(C) D/RGL/18 (pre-enclosure map of 1815); Christopher Greenwood, *Map of Cumberland* (1822).

(1,004 ha) of wastes on the Pennine slopes by statutory instrument in 1864.<sup>51</sup>

By ancient custom livestock was removed from the town fields at ‘mid-April day’, and returned from the upland waste at Michaelmas.<sup>52</sup> As late as 1733 pains were made by the manor court controlling the movement of livestock, the use of pasture and the appointment of ‘frithmen’ to oversee the upkeep of enclosures.<sup>53</sup> It seems likely that seasonal movement of livestock continued until the last common fields were enclosed in the 1830s. Stinting of the commons by ‘cattlegate’ is recorded by 1707.<sup>54</sup> From 1819, and until 1864, a stints committee was appointed by the manor court to control grazing rights on the remaining waste.<sup>55</sup> The medieval landholding pattern, passing by primogeniture, remained largely unchanged until after 1750. Thereafter the number of small owner-occupied holdings declined through amalgamation of farms, inheritance by persons not resident in Renwick, and the break-up of tenements. By 1842 there were only eight owner-occupiers, all other tenements being farmed by subtenants.<sup>56</sup>

The persistence of small-scale farming may have retarded agricultural improvement.<sup>57</sup> Ploughs were drawn by oxen until about 1690; numbers of cattle rarely exceeded ten, and sheep 150, before 1700 – although the inhabitants were said in 1688 to be ‘very rich by their great flocks of sheep grazing upon those mountains’.<sup>58</sup> John Westmorland (d1704) enlarged his landholdings by purchase and by assarting land in the south-west corner of the manor, and at death his livestock included 13 cattle and 334 sheep - but his holdings were divided into three after his death.<sup>59</sup> A sheepwalk on Renwick wastes, licensed to a Kirkoswald farmer in 1592, was exercised up to 1647 but thereafter extinguished - the only known case of agistment as evidence of proactive management by the lords of the manor of Renwick.<sup>60</sup> Most households kept cows for small-scale dairying,<sup>61</sup> but herds remained small until after 1750 - pasture was scarce and required also for horses, and sheep farming

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<sup>51</sup> Renwick Enclosure Act 1814; CAS(C) QRE/1/53 (1814/18); SPC/35/1 (1864).

<sup>52</sup> QC, 5A-10, pains made in 1595.

<sup>53</sup> QC, Renwick Court Book, p.234.

<sup>54</sup> Scalehouses title deeds, 1707, 1819.

<sup>55</sup> QC, 5A-191, item 37, presentment of 29/4/1819, and subsequent manor court records.

<sup>56</sup> CAS(C) DRC/8/161 (Renwick commutation award and map).

<sup>57</sup> Hutchinson, 212 quotes Housman ‘no attention [is] paid to breed [of sheep], they are bred off the same old stock, and are less and lighter than those of Croglin.’

<sup>58</sup> CAS(C) - series P, inventories of persons dying at Renwick 1650-1700 included 6 men with more than 100 sheep, but only three with more than £100; Denton *Perambulation*, 330.

<sup>59</sup> CAS(C) - P 1704, Westmorland; QC, Renwick Court Book, pp 71 (1696), 110 (1705), 129/130 (1711)

<sup>60</sup> QC, 5A-9 (1592) grant of sheepwalk to William Bowman, and call rolls to 1637 (QC 5A-35); drovers (cf the 1841 census for Renwick) probably purchased grazing for their beasts from individual farmers.

<sup>61</sup> CAS(C) - P 1739, Barker (a mine adventurer); P 1742, Watson (a stonemason).

was the main source of income.

Throughout the nineteenth century the number of farmers in Renwick remained high, and the size of farms comparatively low, even after the large 1864 enclosure: both in 1851 and 1881 there were 15 farmers, the average size of holding having doubled to 204 acres (84 ha) in those 30 years, largely due to enclosure of the upland fells.<sup>62</sup> In 1910 20 persons were listed as occupiers of 4,228 acres (1740 ha) of farmland - an average of 211 acres (86.8 ha), with three tenant farmers holding over 500 acres (206 ha) each.<sup>63</sup> By 1938, there were 14 farmers, seven of whom farmed 150 acres (62 ha) or more, only one being an owner-occupier.<sup>64</sup> The second half of the twentieth century, after the death of George Wilfred Armstrong in 1956, saw a return to owner-occupation and the growth of individual holdings: by 2012 there were seven farms, of which six were owner-occupied.

The second half of the nineteenth century saw an adjustment away from arable towards pasture, leading to the closure in the 1880s of Renwick mill, but some cultivation of oats for human consumption continued to 1950.<sup>65</sup> Before 1900 most Renwick sheep were Black-faced Scotch: Swaledale sheep were introduced between 1900 and 1914, and Blue Leicesters after 1945.<sup>66</sup> By the twenty-first century all Renwick farmers specialised in animal husbandry. Dairying continued at all farms until about 1990, but by 2012 had ceased altogether. Total agricultural employment in Renwick in 2012 was about 12 - outnumbered by residents working in Penrith and Carlisle.<sup>67</sup>

Woodland, from which the tenants had allowances ('boot') for house building, fencing, and farming implements, was owned by the lords of the manor.<sup>68</sup> The largest area of woodland adjoined the Raven Beck: in 1608, when some 400 trees were felled, it was noted that some 1,240 remained.<sup>69</sup> Theft of timber was one of the most frequent causes of amercement in the Elizabethan and Stewart manor courts. Thomas Gosling (1652-1702) was dismissed from the office of bailiff in 1690, partly

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<sup>62</sup> 1851, 1881 censuses; Outhwaite farm was the only farm over 500 acres in 1851.

<sup>63</sup> CAS(C) TIR 4/78.

<sup>64</sup> Kelly, *Dir Cumb*, 1938, 244.

<sup>65</sup> QC, long rolls (1404f); QC, 5A-56 (agreement of 2/11/1630); Bulmer *Dir East Cumberland* 1884 (last mention of a miller); local inf, Stanley and Hardy Greenop.

<sup>66</sup> Local inf, Stanley and Hardy Greenop and Robert Pattinson.

<sup>67</sup> - *ibid* -

<sup>68</sup> QC, 5A-49, letter c.1616 to Queen's College from steward George Warwick.

<sup>69</sup> QC, 5A-48.

because 'he encourag'd many of the trespasses made on your woods'.<sup>70</sup> A long-running dispute about ownership of hedgerow trees was resolved by arbitration between Queen's College and its tenants in 1782.<sup>71</sup> 8 acres (3.3 ha) of coniferous plantation was owned by the College in 1910, and still owned by them 100 years later.<sup>72</sup>

### **Coal mining and ancillary trades**

There may have been casual mining of outcropping coal since medieval times, and a manor court verdict of 1620 complained of trespass and theft of coal by the tenants of neighbouring Staffield.<sup>73</sup> The first surviving lease of coal-mining rights on Renwick Fell was granted by Queen's College to Anthony Fletcher of the Silver Hall, Caldbeck, in 1631, for 40s per year.<sup>74</sup> The rent was increased to £3 in 1653, £5 in 1691, £10 in 1720, and £33 5s in 1734 - a rental which remained almost unaltered for 80 years, notwithstanding the opening in 1762 of the bridge over the river Eden at Lazonby, which was expected to improve the market.<sup>75</sup> For the most part coalmining at Renwick was profitable before 1800; the mine was said to be worth £40 p.a. in 1688.<sup>76</sup> In 1812 the lease was taken by Joseph Dixon of Scalehouses, in partnership with his Walton in-laws, an Alston lead mining family, at £210 per year.<sup>77</sup> There followed a period of greater activity, but by the 1830s there were signs that the seams were nearing exhaustion.<sup>78</sup> The opening of the Newcastle-Carlisle and Lancaster-Carlisle railway lines (1839 and 1846) weakened demand for Renwick coal: in 1841 there were 8 coalminers in Renwick, but by 1871 there were none. Neither the thickness nor quality of the seams had been good: before the railways there had been a steady local market for Renwick coal, and it was used in particular for lime-burning.<sup>79</sup>

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<sup>70</sup> QC, 5A-171, letter from arch-deacon Nicolson to Queen's College, 15 Dec. 1690.

<sup>71</sup> QC, 5A-114, 115.

<sup>72</sup> CAS(C) TIR 4/78; local inf, Stanley and Hardy Greenop.

<sup>73</sup> QC, 5A-53: '[the boundary riding] was allwaies done peaceable without interruptione of anie, untill nowe of late that the tenants of Staffle did forceable enter to certain coales gotten within our said boulder and carryed the same awaie.'

<sup>74</sup> QC, lease ledger B, pp. 280-1.

<sup>75</sup> QC, lease ledgers D p. 142 (1653), E p. 267 (1691), F p. 93 (1720); 5A-175 (1734); 5A-105a (letter from Timothy Fetherstonhaugh esq to Queen's College 9 Jan. 1761)

<sup>76</sup> Denton *Perambulation*, 330; cf also CAS(C) D/Hud/8/56 – R v Whitfield & Scott 1762.

<sup>77</sup> QC, lease ledger J, p. 103.

<sup>78</sup> QC, 5A-159/160 (1832, letter from colliery agent W. Peile, with section chart of Renwick mines); 5A-161/2 (returns of falling coal yields for 1834/5); 5A-163/4 (letters of 1836).

<sup>79</sup> For a fuller discussion of coal mining in Renwick, cf G Brooks, 'The East Cumberland Coal Field', in *British Mining Memoirs* no 88 (Northern Mines Research Society, 2009), 124-36, published.

Renwick and Thackmoor Fells are rich in outcrops of limestone, and lime 'of the finest and whitest quality', burned with coal, was produced in Renwick in 1794 and until the 1880s.<sup>80</sup> It is likely that lime-burning was an older tradition. Before 1812 coal leases do not mention lime-burning but there is no doubt that earlier mine lessees, who were permitted ancillary constructions and removal of stone, routinely operated lime works,<sup>81</sup> and the modus paid in lieu of tithes by Scalehouses tenants in 1749 was *inter alia* for lime.<sup>82</sup> Coal mining created other work for the people of Renwick: coal and lime had to be transported, by packhorse or cart, off the fells to markets and customers; and blacksmiths prospered - in 1851 there were four smithies in this small village, but before 1800, and after 1901, only one.<sup>83</sup>

### **Inns, shops and other trades**

Coal mining also stimulated growth of population, housebuilding, shops and inns. There may have been an inn in Renwick from about 1620: Bernard Westmorland (d1630), who seems to have been a victualler, acquired a plot of freehold land, formerly demesne, which later included the site of the Horse and Jockey Inn.<sup>84</sup> It was sold in 1689 to Richard Beckton whose descendants traded there as publicans until the 1840s:<sup>85</sup> the inn was enlarged in about 1800 and the manor courts were held there from 1803 to 1816.<sup>86</sup> In the 1890s it was purchased and further enlarged by Joseph Nicholson, and as part of the Ravenwood estates continued to trade until 1953.<sup>87</sup> A second inn, the Black Bull, was opened by the Head family at the east end of the village in the 1820s and was still trading in 1871:<sup>88</sup> a third and a fourth were opened in the 1830s, perhaps in response to the Beer Act 1830, in newly erected buildings on land enclosed in 1818 on the south side of the village green.<sup>89</sup> One traded for less than ten years, but the Queen's College Inn was still trading in 1901.<sup>90</sup>

Until 1750 it was usual in Renwick for trades to be practiced as an adjunct to farming. The first Renwick men to live wholly or mainly by trade, and to be routinely described thereby, appear to

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<sup>80</sup> Hutchinson, 212; CAS(C) DRC/6/122 (Bishop's Transcripts 1828); censuses, trade directories *passim*.

<sup>81</sup> QC, 5A-105a (cf 32 above); *Carlisle Journal* 25 May 1811 (advert for applicants for mining lease).

<sup>82</sup> CAS(C) DRC22/226 – Scalehouses freeholders may have operated mines and kilns.

<sup>83</sup> 1851 census, households 14, 21, 43, 56; Post Office *Dir Cumb et al* 1858, 201.

<sup>84</sup> QC, 5A-23 (court roll 1603, small claim for price of food); 5A-37 (1647 call roll of freeholders).

<sup>85</sup> QC, court book p41 (1689).

<sup>86</sup> QC, 5A-191 (verdict papers, Renwick manor court, 1803-16).

<sup>87</sup> Date stone 'JN 1892'; title deeds of Castle House, Renwick (Mrs A St John); local inf.

<sup>88</sup> Trade directories *passim*.

<sup>89</sup> CAS(C) DMus/10/122 - sales records of Kirkoswald Brewery, four Renwick alehouses in the 1830s.

<sup>90</sup> Bulmer *Dir Cumb* 1901, 470; 1901 census, household 28.

have been Anthony Sowerby (1717-1801, a blacksmith); Jonathan Watson, (1734-1797, a tailor); and Paul Richardson, (1742-1799, a stonemason). Sowerby was granted a small freehold intake on which to build a smithy in 1752.<sup>91</sup> There were plentiful sources of freestone (red sandstone) in the parish and many Renwick men were employed in stone masonry, walling and housebuilding, the Watson family being prominent from the 1690s to about 1900. The Lowthians of Sickergill described themselves as maltsters in 1782.<sup>92</sup> Henry Moses described himself as a grocer in 1818: in 1829 he was a schoolmaster and shopkeeper.<sup>93</sup> In 1841 there was both a grocer/draper, and a merchant; by 1851 three grocers, and in 1861 four. There were three in 1911, one of whom was postmistress: there was a post office in Renwick from 1901; by 2012 it functioned on two half days each week. The last grocery shop in Renwick closed c.1970.<sup>94</sup> John Frost made clocks and watches in Renwick between 1815 and his death in 1841.<sup>95</sup> Isaac Robinson (1813-1887) established a tailoring business in Renwick which was still trading in the 1930s.<sup>96</sup> A haulage and motor garage traded between the 1930s and 1960s.

## SOCIAL HISTORY

### Social Structure and Character <sup>97</sup>

After 1341 Renwick had no resident lord of the manor, nor any resident 'squire' - until Joseph Nicholson assumed that role in the 1870s. Freeholders of tenements at Scalehouses, on land purchased from the Countess of Arundel c.1602, paid no rent and no entry fines, and had the parliamentary franchise in 1722, but seem otherwise to have enjoyed equal social standing with the customary tenants.<sup>98</sup>

This was a farming community bound by the rules of husbandry laid down by the manor court, and whose members took it in turns, annually, to assume the offices of churchwarden, constable,

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<sup>91</sup> Church registers for descriptions; QC, court book p240 (1752) for smithy.

<sup>92</sup> QC, Court Book pp. 277, 300, 321/2; 5A-114.

<sup>93</sup> Methodist Chapel trust deed 1818 (at Kirkoswald Manse); Parsons and White *Dir Cumb* 1829.

<sup>94</sup> Census 1841-1911, *passim*; trade directories 1847-1938, *passim*; local inf, Stanley and Hardy Greenop.

<sup>95</sup> J. B. Penfold, *The Clockmakers of Cumberland* (Ashford: Brant & Wright, 1977), , 202.

<sup>96</sup> Slater, *Dir Cumb*, 1884, 122; local inf, Stanley and Hardy Greenop.

<sup>97</sup> Almost no records survive from Renwick vestry and parish/township officials: for all periods before the Victorian age this account relies mainly on the manor court and other records of Queen's College, Oxford.

<sup>98</sup> CAS(C) D/Lons/L/13/11 (poll book 1722).

overseer of the poor (from the 1630s) and surveyor of highways.<sup>99</sup> The use of 'yeoman' was uncommon before 1660; and the use of 'Mr' infrequent at all times. From time to time individuals rose to prominence: for example Thomas Gosling (d.1680, bailiff) and his son (d.1702); John Westmorland (d.1704) and his cousin Jeffrey Westmorland (d.1721); and Thomas Sowerby (d.1728) who owned the glebe land and was described in 1723 as 'proctor'.<sup>100</sup> None of these men established dynasties in Renwick - although James Westmorland, a grandson of Jeffrey who lived in Stafffield, bought the rectory of the parish in 1739. Men who were prominent as foremen of the manor court jury in the 25 years leading to Parliamentary enclosure in 1818 included Robert Monkhouse of Scalehouses (d.1791) and his son John (d.1856), William Lowson (d.1819, owner of the rectory), Jonathan Tallentire of Outhwaite (d.1815), and John Lowthian of Sickergill (d.1826).<sup>101</sup> It would seem that before the 1870s no one family was dominant in the parish. The influx of miners in the early nineteenth century would have altered the social fabric of the village. It is possible that an increase in illegitimacy in the 1820s and 1830s reflects social turbulence at that time.<sup>102</sup>

In 1834 there were 24 Renwick men on the electoral roll, including several tradesmen - a result both of enclosure in 1818 and the Reform Act 1832.<sup>103</sup> After 1840 it was usual for half the manor court jury to be tradesmen, but only those who held some customary or freehold land.<sup>104</sup> Women appear infrequently in Renwick records. Ann (Beckton) Richardson (1674-1772) seems to have managed the Horse & Jockey Inn for half a century, and Eleanor Rickerby held the lease of Renwick mill from 1725 to 1761.<sup>105</sup>

### **Cottagers and servants**

Before 1660 only one cottage in Renwick was recorded; about six were built between 1660 and 1715; four between 1750 and 1800; and about 20 between 1800 and 1830 – occupied in 1841 by coalminers, labourers and small tradesmen.<sup>106</sup> Renwick farms were small and before 1750 usually

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<sup>99</sup> Churchwardens are named in Bishops' Transcripts from 1662; other officers only occasionally - eg the constables in hearth tax and land tax documents, and the overseer in the Protestation Return 1642.

<sup>100</sup> CAS(C) Renwick burial register 1723, 1728; P1704 (Westmorland), P1721 (Westmorland)

<sup>101</sup> QC, court records *passim*, these men sharing the foremanship of the jury for long periods.

<sup>102</sup> There were 16 illegitimate baptisms (to 12 mothers) in Renwick 1821-1836, compared with only 8 between 1721 and 1780; CAS (C), PR 72.

<sup>103</sup> CAS(C) QRP 2/1/1.

<sup>104</sup> QC, court records *passim*.

<sup>105</sup> QC, court book, rolls of freeholders; CAC(C) QRP/1 (Land Tax 1767); QC lease ledger F p201, 5A-108.

<sup>106</sup> QC, 5A-13 (1598), 5A-28 (1631); QC, court book *passim*; TNA E179/90/76 (Hearth Tax 1673/4) lists 31

relied on family labour when available, but servants are occasionally recorded in Tudor and Stewart records.<sup>107</sup> In 1782, 20 out of 46 households included persons who were additional to the nuclear family - most no doubt servants in husbandry; and there were 10 household heads who, holding no land, were likely to have been employed agricultural labourers.<sup>108</sup> In 1881 there were 24 indoor and farm servants, and 13 agricultural labourers in a population of 258 (about 15%).<sup>109</sup> Up to 1939, most Renwick farms employed farm servants ('hired lads'). Mechanisation and other 20th century changes reduced employed farm labour to about 2 percent of the population in 2012.<sup>110</sup>

### **Community Activities** <sup>111</sup>

From the mid-nineteenth century, community activities developed under the auspices of church and chapel, including from 1857 to 1919 a Renwick Sons of Temperance group.<sup>112</sup> An offshoot of this group was the Renwick children's 'Band of Hope' which was still functioning in 1945.<sup>113</sup> Music and singing seems to have been important in Renwick, which, said one writer in 1945, 'used to be noted for its singing, so let us recover our lost fame' <sup>114</sup> - perhaps a reference to Thomas Greenop (1845-1908), stonemason and Methodist lay preacher, and his musically gifted family; and to a choir which in the 1930s held rehearsals at the school with a conductor from Alston (a performance of Honegger's 'King David' was given in Renwick in 1937).<sup>115</sup> In the 1950s the school was used for Christmas entertainments, whist drives and occasional dances. By 1975 Renwick had become a quiet place, with no pubs and shops, an annual church fete, and some Methodist events, such as a Sunday school New Year concert, and a sports day on Easter Monday, both discontinued in the 1980s.<sup>116</sup> The Reading Room, established by the vestry in 1879 as a new use for the recently-replaced 1838 school building, and a place of resort for 'hired lads', was furnished with a daily newspaper until 1950, but was closed soon after that.<sup>117</sup> The Renwick branch of the Women's Institute, formed

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householders, 18 exempt, at least 5 of which seem to have been cottages built since 1660; 1841 census.

<sup>107</sup> eg QC, 5A-10 (1595); court book (1675), p. 3.

<sup>108</sup> Dr Heysham's census, Carlisle Central Library, Jackson Collection, M839.

<sup>109</sup> 1881 Census.

<sup>110</sup> Local inf, Stanley and Hardy Greenop.

<sup>111</sup> No useful evidence of community activities before 1800 has been found.

<sup>112</sup> CAS(C) DFCM 4/5/165 and 4/6/161/1 (a printed contribution card for the 'Hope' Division, Renwick); see also curate John Watson's 1858 visitation return at CAS(C) DRC Acc A3966.

<sup>113</sup> CAS(C) DFCM 4/5/165.

<sup>114</sup> CAS(C) DX1274/13 Parochial Magazine, June 1945.

<sup>115</sup> Local inf & concert handbill, Greenop; the base soloist was Thomas William Greenop, son of Thomas.

<sup>116</sup> Local inf. (Stanley, Hardy and Rose Greenop).

<sup>117</sup> *Cumberland & Westmorland Herald*, 17 Jan. 1914; local inf.

in 1953, was suspended in 1974.<sup>118</sup> This trend was reversed from the Queen's Jubilee in 1977. The Reading Room was reopened as a place for meetings and community activities, with John Lishman (churchwarden 1977-2007) holding a tenancy from Queen's College. The committee which organised the Jubilee celebrations continued in being as a Sports Committee and, together with the Anglican PCC and the Methodists, oversaw growth in fund-raising activities of many kinds, supported by increasing numbers of experienced 'off-comers'. In the 1990s a boule pitch was created, and in 2005 a barn was fitted with a dance floor. The musical tradition was revived in 2005 when a community choir was created to celebrate the centenary of the chapel: it was flourishing in 2012.<sup>119</sup>

## Education

There was a schoolmaster with a schoolhouse near Renwick church for a few years from 1675, but the schoolhouse was disused by 1711.<sup>120</sup> The curate-teacher John Rumney (died 1737) probably held classes in Renwick (and perhaps children walked three miles to Maughanby where for a time he taught).<sup>121</sup> A school at Highbankhill, 2 miles from Renwick, is mentioned in 1717, may have existed much earlier, and was in continuous use from about 1745 to 1851.<sup>122</sup> A school house was built in Renwick in 1758.<sup>123</sup> This is probably the school referred to by Chancellor Fletcher in 1814 as in receipt of the few shillings interest from a small endowment by Thomas Tallentire of Outhwaite.<sup>124</sup> Jonathan Grisedale was schoolmaster from 1797 to 1809, and may have continued to teach on his own account until his death in 1842.<sup>125</sup> The curate-teacher Thomas Robinson opened a school at Linghouse (near Scalehouses) in about 1790.<sup>126</sup> In 1818 there was a schoolhouse, perhaps the 1758 building, in which a mistress lived and taught 12 girls; and 'two schools, one containing 27 children, and in the other 45 are taught by the minister [probably Linghouse], 17 only of whom belong to this

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<sup>118</sup> Inf. from Anna Hartley, membership committee secretary, National Federation of Women's Institutes.

<sup>119</sup> Local inf. (John and Kate Lishman).

<sup>120</sup> CAS(C) DRC5/4 p126 and p. 168 (1675/7); QC, court book, p 159.

<sup>121</sup> CAS(C) DRC/5/5 and 5/6.

<sup>122</sup> CAS(C) DMus 1/7/1/2 (Staffield manor court, 1717); Bulmer *Dir Cumb* 1901, 470.

<sup>123</sup> CAS(C) PC72/7, a 1914 copy of a lost 1838 document seeking grant for a new school. The 1758 school is not otherwise recorded, the site is unknown, and no teachers have been identified before 1797

<sup>124</sup> Chancellor Walter Fletcher's Diocesan Book, 1814; directories *passim*, probably an inter vivos gift of Thomas Tallentire (1696-1775).

<sup>125</sup> CAS(C) DRC5/72-80.

<sup>126</sup> Kenneth Harper *John Atkinson, yeoman schoolmaster*, CW2 (1983); also Chancellor Walter Fletcher's Diocesan Book, 1814.

parish<sup>127</sup> and in 1833 there were three daily schools (the 1758 school and two which had commenced after 1818) at which some 67 children, both boys and girls, were educated, instruction (the endowment apart) being ‘wholly at the expense of the parents’.<sup>128</sup> It seems that by 1833 Linghouse school had closed, and that in addition to the 1758 school there may have been two private academies, perhaps run by Grisedale and by Henry Moses (1791-1843). In 1838, the 1758 building being in decay, a new school was built, on waste land near the church: in 1840 34 girls and 30 boys attended, and the school won the support of the National Society and (from 1847) Betton’s charity.<sup>129</sup> When the new school was built, the curate, John Watson, commented that ‘The population is chiefly agricultural, but many families are employed in coal and lime works, these are mostly so poor that the charge for schooling is often more than they are able or willing to spare.’<sup>130</sup> In 1854 Watson estimated the number of pupils to be 50 or 60, including those at a school for girls started the previous year: numbers were higher in winter than summer, and he complained of the difficulty of retaining good teachers at the low pay offered (the National school was funded by prescriptions and scholars’ pence).<sup>131</sup> In 1860 the National school was said to accommodate 40 pupils.<sup>132</sup> It was replaced by a larger Board (later Council) School in 1876, over 80 children being enrolled in the first year. The numbers declined until 1939 but increased with evacuees and then for some years with children from Croglin. Before the Education Act 1944, girls on average left school at 12, and boys at 13.<sup>133</sup> Renwick school closed in 1987, after which Renwick children attended Kirkoswald Primary School. Secondary education has been provided by schools in Penrith and Brampton.

### **Charities and Poor Relief**

Employment on family farms and in coal mining, and the application of the settlement laws, would have helped to reduce the numbers of destitute persons in Renwick, until the 1820s.<sup>134</sup> William

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<sup>127</sup> Parliamentary Survey of Schools 1818 (‘the Minister’ was Thomas Robinson).

<sup>128</sup> Parliamentary Survey of Schools 1833; Bishop Percy’s notebooks, no 2, Carlisle Cathedral Library gives 38 boys and 41 girls (date uncertain); Parsons and White *Dir Cumb* 1829, p511 (for Moses).

<sup>129</sup> CAS(C) PC72/7, 1914 copy of 1838 writings of curate John Watson; 1838 datestone on building.

<sup>130</sup> Quoted in CAS (C), PR72/7.

<sup>131</sup> CAS(C) DMH/10/13/8 (diocesan education return 1854); 1861 census household 58 (Richardson); CAS(C) DRC Acc A3966 (1858).

<sup>132</sup> Whellan, 620; after 1876, the 1838 building became the village Reading Room: in 1912 its ownership was disputed between the church and the parish council, but was successfully claimed by Queen’s College (QC 5A-295, CAS(C) PR 72/7).

<sup>133</sup> CAS(C) DS 5941/6 (school admissions register).

<sup>134</sup> No overseers’ or churchwardens’ accounts survive; a pain of 1591 forbade the giving of ‘any shillinge

Parcival (d.1746) left £10 'to the poor of the parish', the interest divided at Christmas and Easter at the discretion of the incumbent and churchwardens: in 1938 it was invested in consols.<sup>135</sup> Between 1730 and 1833, when clergymen recorded poverty at burial, 19 deceased persons were described as 'poor', 'pauper' or 'pensioner': nine were men; and ten were women, all but one being widows and all (whose ages are known) over 70. A single pre-1834 Renwick poor relief rate assessment survives: in 1807 an assessment of 1s in the £ was levied, yielding £20 7s, or 2s per head of population.<sup>136</sup> In 1832 Joseph Watson, assistant overseer, gave, in answer to Parliamentary enquiry, the following levels of poor rate with cost per head of population - 1803, £52 (5s 2d); 1813 £48 (3s 5d); 1821 £63 (3s 5d); 1831 £139 (7s 4d). Watson estimated the average labourer's wage as £35 p.a., and thought that 'the generality are always very poor'. Few owned the cottages in which they lived, and only exceptionally would relief be given for rent.<sup>137</sup> Before 1836 no Renwick resident received indoor relief, but after the creation of the Penrith Poor Law Union some were sent to the workhouse in Penrith.<sup>138</sup> In the four years 1861-5, the average annual recharge to the Renwick vestry from the Penrith Union was £122 (9s 2d per head), of which £57 was for out-relief.<sup>139</sup> In the five years 1892/1897 it had fallen to £66 (6s per head).<sup>140</sup>

## RELIGIOUS HISTORY

Renwick was recorded as a parish in 1291,<sup>141</sup> but the church of All Saints - a dedication recorded only from the eighteenth century, perhaps preceded by St Benedict<sup>142</sup> - was termed a 'chapel' in the sixteenth century. In 1704 the church was in a poor state of repair, 'without plaister, floor or glass'.<sup>143</sup> It was replaced in 1737 by a church described in 1840 as 'a plain building consisting of nave and

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(corn husks) att the mylne to any poore folkes' (QC 5A-8); CAS(C) Q/11/1/179/2 (removal order 1735).

<sup>135</sup> CAS(C) P 1746 Parcival; *Kelby's Directory of Cumberland & Westmorland* (1938), 244.

<sup>136</sup> CAS(C) PR/9/118, a copy made in 1859 from a lost Renwick Rate Book - perhaps a half year assessment.

<sup>137</sup> PP 1834, xxvii-xxxix, pp 1818, 2514, 3208, 3905, 4599.

<sup>138</sup> CAS(C) SPUP/1 pp126,195.

<sup>139</sup> CAS(C) SPUP/2, pp10, 18, 59, 68, 110, 114, 119, 154, 167, 215, 223, 264, 275, 300, 315, 358, 367.

<sup>140</sup> CAS(C) SPUP/10, p. 261 and similar half-yearly records in vols 11, 12.

<sup>141</sup> *Taxatio Ecclesiastica* 129.1

<sup>142</sup> N&B, 434; Todd (1710) gave St Benedict: CAS (C), DX1915/3; Chancellor Walter Fletcher's Diocesan Book (1814) gives St Benedict or All Saints'.

<sup>143</sup> Nicolson, *Misc Acct*, 119.

chancel, with a bell gable and entrance at the western end',<sup>144</sup> and said to be in a 'very indifferent state' by 1814.<sup>145</sup> That building was, in turn, replaced by the present church, completed in 1846, which had a bell gable and door at the western end, and was 'in simple Norman style, with simplest Norman chancel arch and wide splays to the windows'.<sup>146</sup> The cost of reconstruction was just under £500, of which the patron William de Lancy Lawson gave £230, George Nicholson £65, Queen's College Oxford £50, the Society for Building Churches £40, the incumbent curate John Watson £37, and the remainder raised from the rates and small donations.<sup>147</sup> Two medieval church bells, believed to have been originally made and installed at Renwick, have been dated to about 1400.<sup>148</sup> The larger bell, inscribed with 23 letters of the alphabet in Lombardic capitals and replaced in 1893, was transferred to Carlisle Cathedral Treasury in 2012.

### **Patronage, Income and Endowment**

Renwick church or chapel was rectorial until about 1340, when it was appropriated to Hexham Priory.<sup>149</sup> The ancient glebe lands amounted to about 35 acres (14.5 ha); and in 1479 there was a priest-house adjoining the church.<sup>150</sup> After the suppression of the priory, the 'chapel or church of Ranwicke, called Ranwicke Chapel' was leased by the crown to Thomas Owen for 13s 4d p.a., and sold in 1578, reserving the advowson, bells and lead and the right of patronage. Also reserved was a sum of £4 for the stipend of the curate to be paid out of the lands then sold.<sup>151</sup> The glebe land and most of the tithes were thereafter in the hands of lay impropiators.<sup>152</sup> In 1704/5, the owners of the tithes, William Towry of Croglin Hall and Philip Walker of Lazonby, were presented for non-repair of the chancel, and Thomas Sowerby, who owned the glebe land, was said to be responsible for the repair of the 'Quire' - perhaps the responsibility was shared.<sup>153</sup> The patronage, retained by the crown in 1577, appears to have been exercised by the impropiators. For about 150 years the tithes and

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<sup>144</sup> Jefferson, *Leath Ward*, 107.

<sup>145</sup> Chancellor Walter Fletcher's Diocesan Book, 1814.

<sup>146</sup> Hyde and Pevsner, *Cumbria*, 588.

<sup>147</sup> CAS(C) PR72/13 (page of accounts inserted in Register of Burials, All Saints, Renwick).

<sup>148</sup> Rev H. Whitehead, 'Church Bells in Leath Ward, No 5', *CW1* (1896), 259f.

<sup>149</sup> *The Register of John Kirkeby 1332-1352*, ed R. L. Storey, (CYS 79 and 81, 1993-5), p. 39 (no235) and p. 131 (no 645); the widespread suggestion that it was appropriated to St Mary's College York is mistaken.

<sup>150</sup> J. Raine (ed), *The Priory of Hexham*, (Surtees Society, 46, 1865), II, 12.

<sup>151</sup> *Cal Pat* 1575-1578, 3251.

<sup>152</sup> Denton *Perambulation*, 330 states that the vicarage and the tithes belonged to Queen's College and were demised for 21 years to the inhabitants, but QC muniments are silent on the point.

<sup>153</sup> CAS(C) DRC/6/122 (Bishop's Transcripts); Nicolson *Misc. Acct.* 119.

glebe lands were in divided ownership and the patronage may have been exercised alternately.<sup>154</sup> In 1739 James Westmorland became principal impropiator and patron.<sup>155</sup> In 1757 he sold to George Lawson whose son William Lawson (1736-1819) was patron in 1814; and in 1849 William Lawson's grandson William de Lancy Lawson was described as 'the true and undoubted patron of the perpetual curacy of Renwick'.<sup>156</sup> When Joseph Nicholson purchased the Lawson landholdings in 1873 he also acquired the patronage.<sup>157</sup> After his death in 1895 it was held by William Salkeld until his death in 1935, and then by George Wilfred Armstrong, until the grouping with Croglin in 1941 introduced alternate exercise of the office.<sup>158</sup> Later regroupings transferred the function to the Bishop of Carlisle.

After the loss of the glebe land and tithes the living, a perpetual curacy, was very poor. Jeffrey Gosling (curate from 1589 to his death in 1616) supplemented his income by holding a customary farming tenement at Outhwaite.<sup>159</sup> After his death there is no record of a curate at Renwick until William Atkinson in March 1642 about whom nothing is known.<sup>160</sup> George Mires, a Commonwealth appointee in 1649, lived in Renwick until his death in 1668.<sup>161</sup> Between 1668 and 1807 there were long periods during which the curacy was served by the incumbents of other churches such as William Wilkinson (vicar of Lazonby 1741-1762).<sup>162</sup> John Rumney, a clergyman schoolmaster, was at first curate of Renwick alone from 1680, then of Kirkoswald and Renwick 1690-1712, and again 1724-1737.<sup>163</sup> Thomas Robinson, who started his ministry at Croglin and was curate of Renwick 1807-1831, was also a teacher. Robinson's successor John Watson, curate of Renwick 1832-1866, who oversaw the rebuilding of the church in 1845/6, was also curate of, and lived in, Cumrew.<sup>164</sup>

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<sup>154</sup> Jefferson, *Leath Ward*, 107, makes this suggestion.

<sup>155</sup> E Hughes, ed, *Fleming -Senhouse Papers*, 108; CAS(C) DX1705, box 1, package 5. Westmorland did not own the tithe of wool and lamb, which had been held by Thomas Gosling in 1614, the Fetherstonhaugh family to 1664, the Towry family to 1775, and Bowman and Gibson to 1842, when it was commuted: The College, Kirkoswald: Fetherstonhaugh family muniments, A-20-5 (1614); A-20-49 (1775); CAS(C), DRC8/161.

<sup>156</sup> Chancellor Walter Fletcher's Diocesan Book, 1814; Lyson *Magna Britannia* (1816), IV, 150; CAS(C) QRJ2/26 (return of freeholders 1759), and DCR/22/226 (indenture of 19 Apr. 1849).

<sup>157</sup> Bulmer, *Dir East Cumb*, 1884; CAS(C) D/BS Box 797, Renwick 9 (admittance of 1873).

<sup>158</sup> CAS(C) PR72/6.

<sup>159</sup> QC, 5A-13 (admittance 1598); CAS(C) DRC/5/1 (1606); P 1589 Westmorland, P 1616 Gosling.

<sup>160</sup> Renwick Protestation Return 1642.

<sup>161</sup> CAS(C) DRC/5/2 (1665); P 1668 Mires; Mires was not mentioned by Nightingale.

<sup>162</sup> CAS(C) DMH/10/3/5; Wilkinson was also curate of Cumrew: in Renwick 'they complain of having service once every 3 weeks', wrote Chancellor Waugh in 1748.

<sup>163</sup> CAS(C) DRC/5/5 and 5/6 (call rolls of clergy in Cumberland Deanery); and cf *Social History*.

<sup>164</sup> CAS(C) DRC Acc A3966 (visitation returns 1858f).

None of these men were university graduates.

The £4 stipend for the curate was augmented from lands purchased with £600 from Queen Anne's Bounty (and a further £200 from the countess dowager Gower). Lands at Hunsonby were purchased before 1749, and at Ruckcroft, Ainstable before 1777. In 1749 moduses were payable in lieu of tithes for corn hemp and lime from the hamlets of Scalehouses and Outhwaite, and from the parish at large for hay; and small fees were payable for rites of passage, and a smoke penny at Easter.<sup>165</sup> The value of the living was stated to be £13 in 1749; £40 in 1777; £70 in 1814; £90 in 1847; and £125 in 1884.<sup>166</sup>

The living was enlarged to a vicarage in 1867, the incumbent Michael Valentine Kennedy being like most of his successors, but not his predecessors, a graduate.<sup>167</sup> A vicarage was built in the 1870s from public subscription on land (thought to be the site of the medieval priesthouse) donated by the patron William de Lancy Lawson; house and land were sold in 1956.<sup>168</sup> In 1917-1919 £850 was raised from grants and local fund-raising, and the income from these funds, from a legacy and the proceeds of sale of the land at Hunsonby and Ainstable, allowed the vicar's annual stipend to be raised to £250 in 1920, and to £300 in 1927.<sup>169</sup> The benefice was reconfigured on several occasions: Renwick was united with Croglin 1941-1954; with Kirkoswald 1954-1976; with Kirkoswald and Ainstable 1976-2000; with Kirkoswald, Great Salkeld and Lazonby from 2000. The parish of Renwick was enlarged in 1941 by the addition of parts of Kirkoswald High Quarter; and in 2012, when Croglin was added, it became 'Renwick with Croglin'.<sup>170</sup>

### **Religious Life and Nonconformity**

Presentments in bishops' visitations 1663-1720, and later commentators, record general adherence to the Church of England.<sup>171</sup> There were however dissenters in Renwick from the interregnum onwards. George Mires, Commonwealth appointee in 1649, appears to have been Presbyterian: he

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<sup>165</sup> CAS(C) DRC/22/226, terriers of 1749 and 1777.

<sup>166</sup> *ibid*, and Chancellor Walter Fletcher's Diocesan Book, 1814; Mannix & Whellan *Dir Cumb* 1847; Bulmer *Dir East Cumb* 1884.

<sup>167</sup> Crockford, *Clerical Directory*, 1884.

<sup>168</sup> Bulmer, *Dir East Cumb*, 1884; CAC(S) DRC/22/226.

<sup>169</sup> Vestry minute book at Kirkoswald Vicarage.

<sup>170</sup> CAC(S) PR72/6 (1941); Orders in Council published in the London Gazette 30 Mar. 1941, 16 Apr. 1954, 11 Mar. 1976, 4 Dec. 1999; draft scheme of the Church Commissioners, Feb. 2012.

<sup>171</sup> CAS(C) DRC6/122 (1662, 1698/1710 - '*de articulis omnia bene*'); Hutchinson, 212.

conformed after 1660, and died in Renwick in 1668 having enjoyed the friendship and confidence of influential men like the bailiff Thomas Gosling.<sup>172</sup> In 1676 there were 10 dissenters (and one recusant) out of 30 persons of an age to communicate.<sup>173</sup> An independent chapel had been functioning at Parkhead (in Kirkoswald, one mile from Renwick) since 1653.<sup>174</sup> Two Renwick families (Hilton and Sowerby) baptised their children at Parkhead between 1700 and 1750, and in 1693 a Hilton marriage had been presented as ‘clandestine’, suggesting at least two generations of dissent.<sup>175</sup> The Watson family of stonemasons are known to have heard John Wesley preach at neighbouring Gamblesby in 1780, and were prime movers in establishing Wesleyanism in Renwick,<sup>176</sup> as were the farming family of Greenop, still prominent in the Renwick Methodist Chapel in the 21st century. Methodism in Renwick, at first practiced in association with a group at Gamblesby,<sup>177</sup> was officially certified in 1813, and the first Renwick Wesleyan chapel was built in 1818.<sup>178</sup> The number of Methodists in the parish was described as ‘a few’ in 1825.<sup>179</sup> The Wesleyans established a Sunday School in 1817;<sup>180</sup> added a schoolroom to their chapel in 1863;<sup>181</sup> and continued to run a Sunday School in Renwick until the 1980s (the Anglican Sunday School was discontinued in the 1960s, after which Anglicans supported the Methodist school).<sup>182</sup> In 1905 the Wesleyans rebuilt their chapel, replacing the simple cottage-like building of 1818 with a sandstone church, surmounted by a small spire, and with windows in the Perpendicular style.<sup>183</sup>

In 1851 attendance at the Wesleyan chapel was 75; a group of 38 Primitive Methodists attended a service held in a private house; and 40 persons attended the parish church.<sup>184</sup> It seems that Methodists continued to attend regularly at Anglican services, and to use the church for rites of

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<sup>172</sup> CAS(C) - P 1667 Westmorland, P 1668 Mires.

<sup>173</sup> The Compton census, transcribed from a document at the Bodleian, by F.G. James *The Population of Carlisle in 1676*, CW2 (1951); the figure of 30 seems a serious underestimate.

<sup>174</sup> TNA RG4/566.

<sup>175</sup> *ibid*, and CAS(C) DRC6/122 (bishop's transcripts 1693).

<sup>176</sup> Jane Platt, ‘Thomas Watson, peasant-poet’, *Northern History*, XLIX (2012), 323-44; *Cumberland and Westmorland Advertiser*, 1 July 1884, p. 6.

<sup>177</sup> Durham Archive Service, M/BC2 (1801)

<sup>178</sup> Certificate of Methodist Worship 1813 (in Renwick Methodist schoolroom); foundation deed 1818 at the Manse, Kirkoswald.

<sup>179</sup> Chancellor Walter Fletcher’s Diocesan Book, 1825.

<sup>180</sup> CAS(C) DFCM 4/5/160; Parson & White *Dir. C. & W.* 1829, 510.

<sup>181</sup> Bulmer, *Dir East Cumb.*, 1884, 686.

<sup>182</sup> Attendance registers of Renwick Methodist Sunday School, held by Mr L.H. Greenop, Renwick.

<sup>183</sup> *Mid Cumberland and North Westmorland Herald*, 15 Jul. 1905. Photograph (c.1900) of 1818 building in Methodist schoolroom; Hyde & Pevsner, *Cumbria*, 588.

<sup>184</sup> HO 129/565 (religious census 1851).

passage, for most of the nineteenth century. The average attendance at church in 1858, when services were held every Sunday either in the morning or the afternoon, was 40 or 75 respectively; communion was infrequent (3 or 4 times a year) and the number of communicants usually 10. In 1858, the curate John Watson gave charity sermons for 'Indian sufferers', SPCK and the Bible Society. By 1900 'scarcely 20%' of the population attended church, and communion was held monthly, with 8 communicants.<sup>185</sup> Falling attendance at the parish church was again noted in 1963, and from that time began the annual church fete, one of a number of widely supported fund raising schemes continued into the 21st century.<sup>186</sup> In 2012 there was a tradition of joint services five times a year: despite 50 years of steadily declining congregations, both church and chapel continued to function as places of worship.

## LOCAL GOVERNMENT

The authority of Queen's College, Oxford, as lords of the manor was usually exercised through their stewards, working with juries drawn from the tenantry, at manor courts which were intended to be held annually, but may have suffered from significant periods of lapse: in the 1620s and 1640s and from 1656-74, perhaps.<sup>187</sup> Occasionally College provosts visited Renwick in person, the last known to do so being Dr Gerard Langbaine in 1654;<sup>188</sup> and from time to time the College commissioned local persons of influence to make special inquiry, such as arch-deacon Nicolson who rode a bounder at their request in 1686 and corresponded with them in 1690/1, and William Kilner, vicar of Dufton, when statutory enclosure was under discussion in 1811/2.<sup>189</sup> The stewards appointed by the College before 1675 were usually clergymen, for example George Warwick, vicar of Great Salkeld, steward 1609-1620; or gentlemen, for example William Langbaine of Barton (brother of the provost), steward 1649-1656. From 1624 to 1631, the steward was a lawyer, John Bankes of Keswick (d.1644) who later rose to high judicial office, and after 1675 the College routinely appointed lawyers

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<sup>185</sup> CAS(C) DRC Acc A3966, 1858, 1900.

<sup>186</sup> Parochial Church Council minute books held at Kirkoswald vicarage.

<sup>187</sup> QC, 5A series and Renwick Court books; manor court records survive for 1561, 1571, 1573, 1587-1600 (most years), 1603, 1607, 1610, 1631, 1635, 1638, 1640, 1647-1655 (most years), and (in court books) from 1675 onwards.

<sup>188</sup> QC, 5A-89.

<sup>189</sup> Nicolson, *Misc Acct*, 119-20; QC, 5A-98, 171/2 (1690/1); and 5A-121/145 (1811/12).

as stewards.<sup>190</sup> Between sittings of the manor court, authority was usually exercised by the bailiff, a customary tenant to whom the College paid 10s per year:<sup>191</sup> for this he collected the rents, and was supposed to protect the interests of the College in relation to, *inter alia*, proper management of the woodland - but the advice given in 1637 by Thomas Lough, College fellow responsible for Renwick, to steward Lancelot Dawes, referring to the bailiff John Cowper, was eloquent of the lack of trust between the College and its bailiff at that time: 'Sir', wrote Lough, 'you know him a Crafty companion, & unles[s] you over-rule & make good inspection he will cheat us'.<sup>192</sup>

An undated document, perhaps by steward Bankes in the 1620s, records an exhortation to the Renwick jury in both Court Leet and Court Baron:<sup>193</sup> but Elizabethan and Stewart courts, insofar as legible headings survive, were usually only Courts Baron, and there are very few instances of the courts exercising a criminal jurisdiction. The last surviving record of small claims was in 1655, and of pain making and amercement 1733;<sup>194</sup> after which business was largely confined to changes of tenant and control of grazing on the commons.<sup>195</sup> In the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries the manor court dealt with alleged trespasses on the Renwick commons by (usually) the tenantry of Staffield,<sup>196</sup> and with rights of way, the maintenance of the mill and of watercourses, and the resolution of disputes between tenants. The last recorded perambulation was in 1811.<sup>197</sup>

The manor, parish and constablewick of Renwick were coterminous. In 1597 the manor court, as court leet, appointed a constable;<sup>198</sup> but given the absence of any similar appointments in seventeenth century court rolls it can be inferred that parochial government was increasingly in the hands of the vestry from c.1600, acting through churchwardens, constables, overseers of the poor and surveyors of highways.<sup>199</sup> In 1832 the vestry were employing a salaried assistant overseer.<sup>200</sup>

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<sup>190</sup> QC, 5A-48a (appointment of Warwick 1609); 5A-54 (appointment of Bankes 1624); 5A-96b (letter from Provost Langbaine to his brother William 1649); Renwick Court Book *passim*.

<sup>191</sup> QC, 5A-59, a rental dated by internal evidence to 1616.

<sup>192</sup> QC, 5A-63.

<sup>193</sup> QC, 5A-60.

<sup>194</sup> QC, 5A-46 (1655); Renwick Court Book p235 (1733) - which also recorded appointment of 'forthmen'.

<sup>195</sup> cf note 52 above for appointment of Stints Committee

<sup>196</sup> QC, 5A-53, 1620 (cf note 73 above).

<sup>197</sup> QC, second Court Book p. 37.

<sup>198</sup> QC, 5A-47 (notes extracted from Elizabethan court rolls by Provost Langbaine in 1656).

<sup>199</sup> cf note 99 above for appointment of parish officers.

<sup>200</sup> cf note 137 above.

In September 1873, the recently established Penrith Rural Sanitary Committee received a report from their Medical Officer Dr Robertson about sanitary conditions in Renwick, and approved a modest scheme of drainage works and removal of nuisances. There was opposition from the increasingly powerful figure of Joseph Nicholson of Ravenwood, and the works were not completed until 1879. Improved sewerage was not enough to free the township from the threat of water-borne disease, and in 1888, after a public inquiry, a system of piped water was installed.<sup>201</sup>

After local government reorganisation in 1894, the parish meeting, sometimes styled 'ratepayers' meeting', usually met once in each year. It made occasional appointments (e.g. school managers in 1903, and trustees of the Percival charity in 1912), was involved in arrangements for the management of the Reading Room (1905 and 1914), and consulted about the installation of telephone services in 1925.<sup>202</sup> In 1934 Renwick lost its identity as a separate administrative unit when it was combined with Kirkoswald to create an enlarged Kirkoswald Civil Parish.<sup>203</sup>

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<sup>201</sup> CAS(C) SRDP/1/1, pp13/18, 63, 100, 176; SRDP/3/4/4 for plan of Renwick waterworks; *Penrith Observer* 3 Jan. 1888 (death from typhus) and 29 May 1888 (approval of water supply scheme).

<sup>202</sup> CAS(C) SPC/35/1/1.

<sup>203</sup> Cumberland Review Order 1934.