ART. VI.—The Cowpers of Aldingham in the Sixteenth and Early Seventeenth Centuries. By H. S. Cowper, F.S.A.

Communicated at Carlisle, April 15th, 1920.

The Cowpers of Low Furness lived in Scales in Aldingham, Urswick, Adgarley, Baycliffe, Stainton, Bardsey and Saltcotes; and a few over the sands in Cartmel. They made numerous wills which are still preserved, and their names are in the parish registers. With a pleasing breadth of mind they spelled their name Cowper, Couper and Cooper, but generally Cowper, which in the wills and registers is contracted to Cowp'. I rather think the family name is preserved in certain place-names. There is Cowp Scar just off Aldingham, and Cowp Scar and Cowpronpoint just south of Canon Winder Hall in Cartmel. The last form I cannot explain, but these "Scars" are shoals off the coast and I suppose come from the old Norse sker, a rock, skerry.

These Cowpers were as a rule yeomen tilling their lands. Some, but not many, turned to trade in the 17th century, and we find chapmen and websters. But in the group I am going to write of, there is nothing to indicate their position except their alliances and their possessions.

Most of these wills I have examined from time to time and made abstracts of, as they are among the Archdeaconry of Richmond wills now at Somerset House, Far be it from me to inflict in detail my studies on the present reader. But there are groups, family parties so to speak, of interest. And when you are working on a pedigree of this sort and the evidences drop
into their places, you find yourself becoming quite familiar, and shaking hands as it were across a bridge of 300 years. If you know the localities and the local history it is a fascinating pursuit.

Now the first Cowper of Low Furness, whose name is on record, came to a violent end. He lived in the 14th century. His name was Johannes le Couper del Scales, which is plain John Cowper of Scales in Aldingham: and he was feloniously slain at Dalton-in-Furness by Adam de Borudale, W. Cokainscalis and William Cocus.

Thomas Dowton de Fournes et Will. Flecher de F[ournes] [de] Ulverston, indictati coram J. [ ] de Ypres, Vicecomite Lancastriæ, ad Turnum suum tentum apud Lancaster, de eo quod, cum Adam de Borudale, W[ ] Cockainscales et W[jill] Cocus felonie interfecerunt Johannem le Couper del Scales apud Daltonam in F[ournes], receptaverunt praed. W[jill] Cocus, scientes ipsum Will. fecisse feloniam praed, apud F[ournes], etc.*

John de Ypres was sheriff of Lancashire in 1359 and vice-sheriff in 1363, which gives an approximate date.

Of course John Cowper was not the only one of the name. He was the only one of many Cowpers who had the luck to get slain, and thus enshrined in the pages of the Coucher book. All the same one would like to know why he met this violent end, and if he deserved it.

A hundred and sixty years or so later Cowpers were thick on the land, and were established at Aldingham and Scales in Aldingham. To begin with, I have record of several 16th century individuals who cannot have their position fixed in the pedigree.

a. (1516 and 1517)—RICHARD COWPER of Muchland (b. 1461), JOHN COPER and ROGER COWPER.

Of Richard and Roger, we have knowledge through the Pleadings and Depositions in a suit (1521) between Abbot Alexander and Christopher Berdsey concerning a

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  "Pleadings in the matter of the Sheriff's Tourn in Furness connected with the imprisonment of two men arrested for murder done therein."
Tithe Barn at Bardsey. It was asserted that in 1516 Berdsey caused various persons among whom were some of his own family, St John Eglesfield his chaplain, John Coper and others, to assemble and they assaulted violently the abbot's servants and monks—"Sette their cruel and boyst'ous handes upon them"—stole a horse, etc. [1521, Writ]. Richard Cowper of Mychelande, aet. 60 years and more, was called as witness during the dispute and Roger Cowp' appeared as witness for Berdsey.*

b. (1536) "JOHN COWPER of 25 yerys" was the youngest and junior of eight canons at Cartmel Priory at the suppression of the smaller monasteries in 1536.† I wish I could trace him for certain after this date. He does not appear, like two of the other canons, Thomas Briggs and Bryan Willan, to have joined the ranks of parochial clergy. There is no reason to feel any doubt that he was one of the Low Furness Cowpers, as it will be seen from the wills to be quoted, that they were in continuous association with the Cartmel families.

We now come to the earliest will, with which commences a clear line of descent.

I. JOHN COWPER of Aldingham; whose will is dated Jan. 6, 1543. His wife Katherine was buried at Aldingham, 17 March, 1554, and had issue.

WILL OF JOHN COWPER.

In the name of God so be it in the yere of oure Lorde ye xj°cccc° xliijth the viijth day of January I John Cowper seyke in my bodye holl in my rememberance make this my testamēt and laste will as hereaft ensueth fyrste I beqweth my soule to Almyghtye God to his mercy & my bodye to be buryed in the Churche of Saynte Cuthbert of Aldingh'm Also I will yt the person have his dutys

* Record Soc. xxxiii. This Roger may be the same as Roger Cowper, Aldingham (36) Lay Subsidy Roll 37 Hen. VIII. (1545-6). But who were John Copperas (Aldingham) and Roger Copperas (Lecce)? Lay Subsidy Roll, 14-15, Hen. VIII.; 1523. And how can the name have become Copperas? I have not seen the Roll, which I quote from Barrow-in-Furness Nat. Field Club, vol. iii., no. 2, pp. 144-5.

† Quoted, with reference to authorities, in Roper's Churches, Castles and Ancient Halls of N. Lancashire (1880), p. 57.
as is ryghte to be had Also I wyll have one Tryntall of Masses saide for my soule the daye of my buryall and I wyll yt ev'y prest have a vij d and ev'y scolar ri d also I beqweth a viij viij d to makyng of a candleestycke in the hye qwhere before the sacrament Also I beqweth a cyrpe cloth to the churche Also I beqweth a x to the mèdyng of the way to the churche if so be y the neyburs will bryng the stufe to the grounde Also I beqweth a lv ii to my ij doggtters & the chylde yt my wyf is wt ab t & if so be y any of them dye then I wyll yt the other ij have ayyther of them a xl marke to theyr marege also I wyll yt my wif have the thyrde p'te of all my guds as his ryght for hir to have & the Reyste of all my Gudds to Remayne to my chyld for my beqwethes also I beqweth ij oxen to Will Cowper harryngton my gndson also I beqweth to leonarde my sone all the plowe geare wt all other husbandrie stufe & my best horse & my harnes also I beqweth to leonde my son a viij & a laten dobler also I wyll yt my wif & leonard my son have all my fermolds betwyxe them durynge my wif wedowhed & if so be yt my wif marre & taken a husband then I will yt leonard my sone have all the whole fermold Also I beqweth to Henry Clyfforth my s'vande a viij viij d also to Mgret Dobson a viij viij d also to Robt Shari? wif a grye stykke also a schyype to Robt haleland also I wyll yt anyone yt have me any money for ony stufe yt I have solde unt them have of evy schyllyng [th]at they awe me ri d remitte them if so yt they pay my executors w'otwe the sute of the laws Also I ordeyne & make Kateryne my wyf & leonde my sone my hole executors & m'stres (i.e. ministrators) of all my goods moveable and unmoveable also I make supvisors to be yt this my wyll be p'formed Walter Curwen gentytma Wyftm Cowp Xpofer Cowper & Will Cowper harryngton Records herof Walter Curwen & Willm Cowp Xpofer Cowper & Willm harryngton.

(Inventory.) This inventarye of all the goods of John Cowp latelye dep'tyd valowed by thes iiiij më Willm Cowper Willm Harryngton Richard Symson & John Haldland in the yere of or lord God xiijccc°xiiij the viijth daye of January.

fyrste as many bestes & schepe & horses as is valowed & prizd to a xxxiiij vij viijd

It. The corne & the howseholde stufe valowed & prizd to xxxiiij vij viijd

It. As [manie]? debts awene in the Countie as is valowed to xxxiiij vij viijd *

* This will was published in brief abstract in vol. 26 of the Surtees Soc.; and this abstract has been quoted by Roper, Gaythorpe, and in the Victoria Co. History, Lancashire.
The "Walter Curwen gentylman," supervisor of this interesting will, was Walter of Flookburgh, and I think also of Urswick, grandfather of Walter of Myreside, and great grandfather of Robert of Carke Hall, said by Stockdale to have been a cupbearer of Queen Elizabeth. This makes it just possible that the John the testator is identical with John, Canon of Cartmel, but it is I think unlikely, as the latter would be only 32 years old in 1543.

Christopher and William Cowper, also supervisors, may have been testator's brothers: and so also I think Leonard Cowper, buried at Aldingham, July 25, 1557. The issue of John and Katherine Cowper:—

I. Leonard Cowper of whom later (No. II.).

2. John Cowper, no doubt the unborn child of the above will. One of the original governors of Urswick grammar school, founded 1585 by Wm. Marshall. Eleven governors are named in the original charter, of whom the first two are "Nich'um Bardsey armigerum Walterum Curwen * generosum," and nine inhabitants of whom John Cowper is the fourth. He was living 1586 (see will of Richard of Scales, 1586).

3. A daughter married to ——— Harrington had issue William Harrington (see will quoted).

4. A daughter married to Leonard Rolinson (Rawlin-son); see will of Richard Cowper, 1585-6.

II. Leonard Cowper. Of him there is no will: but in the Aldingham register we find the entries of his two marriages, of his burial, and that of his first wife. From the two marriages are two lines of Cowpers, living for generations at Aldingham and Urswick.

The Aldingham (Senior) line:—

His first wife was Elizabeth Curwen to whom he was

* Probably the son of Richard Curwen of Scales and grandson of Walter named as John Cowper's supervisor.
married at Aldingham on Nov. 6, 1545 (36 Hen. VIII.)
and who was buried Dec. 29, 1565.* I think this lady
was the daughter of Walter of Flookburgh, supervisor
to the will of John Cowper, and sister of Richard of
Gleaston.† Anyhow her children are clearly distinguish-
able from the second wife’s, not only by the wills, which
shewed the relationship, but by the fact that they and their
descendants in Aldingham were given the names of
Richard and Walter, which were characteristic of the
Low Furness Curwens, but seem to have been seldom
used by Cowpers before this marriage.

The issue of Leonard by this marriage:—

1. Richard Cowper, of Scales in Aldingham who
married (1) a daughter of William Pettye, and (2)
Jane daughter of James Myres (bur. March, 1581,
at Aldingham?). His will dated 17 May, 1585,
proved 21 Oct., 1586. He was buried May 29, 1586.
at Aldingham.

The Will of Richard Cowper (Abstract).

xvij die Mai Anno Doi 1585 “I Richard C оф of Scales in
Aldinghā” Bodie to be buryed in the ch. yarde of Aldinghā:
funerailles & Churche dues taken out of my goods: Te ēnte to go
to my next heare accordinge to custom of mann’r of Mucheland
To James Paige 1 ewe & 1 lambe to James Woodburne
of Windle 1 lambe to Ric Mounte s. of [Henry?] Mounte
1 lambe Thos Geldert s. of John ditto To John Montes
children 2 yowes & 2 lambes To Janne my wyff all that six &
twenty pounds whch her father aweth me & also 4£ more to be
taken out of my goods etc Provided if said wife do not prove
will nor take on her executions thereof said legacy of xxxth to
be voyd & she shall have no more than her widow pt. (widowright).

To my half brethren Leonarde & Wifm Cowp ... & to my
sister Janne Cowper & half sisters Elizabeth Cowp’ & Genet Cowp’..

* It is worth noting that on the day of Elizabeth Curwen’s marriage, there
was also a Cowper-Harrington marriage—Thomas Harrington and Margaret
Cowper. I have not identified this Margaret. These Harringtons were
yeomanry, but I cannot doubt they were descendants of the Lords of Alding-
ham.

† See J. F. Curwen, The Pedigree of the family of Curwen of Workington and
Ann Cowp' . . . My brother Walter & Children Richard Elizabeth & Elene all my goods moveables etc, more than my wife's widowp'te (if she do not prove my will) to be divided among those nine; & if my wife do . . . prove the will then to those nine all such of my goods & remaynes more than the above sd xxxli

father in lawe Wm petye—Genet freare old cloke best shoes etc. Thomas Prisowe my new shed forke & my pair of iron tongs: John Cowp' my uncle best blue coat father James Myres best dublet Esot Cowp' my neice my great panne Sister Margret brasse pot


In the list of debts other relations occur:—Aunt Leonard Rolinsons wife, Brother-in-lawe James Mounte, Uncle John Cowp', Brother John Cowp (if alive).

The above is rather a long but dilapidated document. It is valuable chiefly for genealogical details. The supervisor "Cosine" Willm. Curwen is one of two persons. He is either William of Furness, son of Richard, who had (as we shall see) been embroiled two years before in a lawsuit with Leonard Cowper's widow Maude (Forton), or else he is the William Curwen who was curate of Ulverston 1601, but transcribed the Aldingham registers in 1603, which he signed;* but the former is much the most probable.

2. WALTER COWPER (of whom later. See No. III.).

3. MARGARET, who married Christopher Pearson at Aldingham, Nov. 8, 1584.

4. ELLEN, mentioned in wills of Richard her brother and John Cowper, Adgarley, married May 23, 1574, Christopher Page.

5. JANE, bapt. Sept. 18, 1565, at Aldingham (living 1585).

* See J. F. Curwen's 'Curwen pedigree, page 96, etc
III. *Walter Cowper* of the parish of Aldingham (possibly the eldest son); his will dated 23 April, 1605; died 1612. He married Elizabeth — who was buried at Urswick, March 31, 1624.

**Will of Walter Cowper, 1605 (Abstract).**

*xxij Aprilis Anno Dni 1605. Waltr Cowp' of p'ishe of Aldinghä; my bodie to be buried in par. church. Elizabeth my wyff shall have thirds [thirds] of all ground, houses, goodes, during widowhead according to custome, I release my sonne Andrew Cowp' of payment off of forty pounds so that he releases all his chylldes p't & porcion of my goodes at & after my decease unto my sonne Richard C. for ever according a bill of covenant made xiiij day of present Aprill—My brother Richard—If my sonne Andrew obeys my will I give him (among other things) a gavelocke 2 yockes 2 teams 1 pair swingletrees 2 pair of iron old wyddys one iron horse teame the elder pare of shod wheeles a pair of wane rathes a cowp & a cowptree a plough & coult*.

To Jane Bolton dau. of Thomas my son in lawe 5th of those 7th he oweth me. His youngest dau ffrances Bolton. To Anne Gardner my dau. Tomasin childe. To John Ashburner son of my dau. Elin the cow and her calf which she and her husband now have in their use and custodie. To John Ashburner I forgive the debt his father francis oweth me. To son in lawe Robt Gibson & I shall make his marriage goods up to xxxth. To the poor of Aldingham parish I give vj s viijd.


An inventory of about 67 lines (1612, xj. May) contains among other items:—

horses xii geldshepe xvii styrkes & calves xvii oxen & young bese xvii bigg viii xiii brass & pewter iij iij meale & malt vii iij iv silver sgentes (signets) 2 rings xxvjs 8d Swine xxv all manor of husbandrie geare iij xvjs.

Total 181 12 8d. Funeral lxxvjs v4.

The will is endorsed "Master Cowp' Testo p' Aldingham p'bat xvj maii A° 1612."

'It is peculiar in this will that the testator makes his second son executor. It should be observed that
"natural" is undoubtedly used in its old sense of "legitimate"; the will of Richard in 1613 leaves no doubt about that. This appointment would be explained by some difference between testator and Andrew his eldest son, but on the other hand the supervisors and witnesses are all the relatives of Andrew's wife Elizabeth Gilpin, whom he had married in 1601.

This will introduces us to a group of some interest. John Preston, "esquier," was the builder of the manor house at Furness Abbey, now incorporated into the railway hotel.* The relationships of the various Gilpins are as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Edwin Gilpin of Kentmere = Mary Layton</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>William Gilpin = Elizabeth, dau. and co-heir of Thomas Washington, Lord of Manor of Halhead</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bernard Gilpin, the &quot;Apostle of the North,&quot; Parson of Houghton, born 1517; died, 1583</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>George Gilpin, Supervisor to Rector of Aldingham, 1567-1614; Richard Gilpin, Rector of Aldingham, 1567-1614;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Richard Cowper's will Supervisor to will</td>
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<tr>
<td>Francis Gilpin, bapt. 1584, at Aldingham Witness to will of R. Cowper, 1605.</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

Richard Gilpin was rector of Aldingham for 47 years, and had a numerous family born there. His uncle Bernard of Houghton-le-Spring was his contemporary and may well have visited him at Aldingham; but it is curious (in view of the fact that for nearly half a century he was rector of one parish) he has been unnoticed by genealogists who have paid so much attention to the other divines who sprang from the stock of Kentmere hall.

* A good view of this house, a spacious Elizabethan one, is to be seen in the fine old copperplate engraving published by the Society of Antiquaries in 1727.
"William Curwen Jurat," is the transcriber of the Aldingham registers in 1603.

The issue of Walter Cowper of his wife Elizabeth:—

1. Andrew Cowper of Green in Scales, of whom later (No. IV.).


WILL (Short abstract) of Richard Cowper.

Jan. 10, 1613. Rich Cowper of Scales My body to be buried beside my father in ch: yard of Aldingham: 3rd p’te of my goods to mother Elizabeth widdow & bedding bedstockes etc.

Ittn Ann Gardner my sister Thomasin dau xxti nobbles. Edmonde Gibson sister Margrett sonne xxti nobbles. Eliz. Gardner my sister Thomasin dau. xxti nobbles. Cozen Ric Curwen of Kellatt my corn? (or Cwp’ i.e. cart?) which is now in his custody. Forgives debts owed by Ric’ Mounte, Stephen Cowpe, etc. To poor of Aldingham xxs to poor of Dalton xij: poor of Urswick Xs. To Cousin Robt Curwen of Ulverston a gold ring & best suite of apparell: all rest of goodes to brother fisher’s children equally.


A long inventory of goods, total 139l 8s 5d; among debts owing to the testator, Robte Curwen Ulveston xxijs, Thomas Curwen of Becklife xxxjs. Will proved 6 Feb., 1613.

He evidently was unmarried, and aged 37 in 1613. Curiously he mentions none of his elder brother’s Gilpin relatives, but the Curwens loom large. Robert of Ulverston is the glover and patron of Urswick, 1620. Cozen Robert of Cartmel the wellknown Robert of Carke hall.* Thomas of Becklife is, I fancy, identical with Thomas of Roose in Mr. Curwen’s pedigree: but Richard of Kellatt I have not identified.


* Robert of Carke in his long will printed in Stockdale’s Annals of Cartmel, mentions his cousins Anthony and Ann Cowper, but I cannot identify them.
4. Ellen, bapt. June 11, 1582; married Dec. 9, 1599, Francis Ashburner, and had a son John.

5. Thomasin, married Oct. 18, 1590, Christopher Gardner of Beckliffe, and had issue Ann and Elizabeth.

6. Margaret, bapt. Feb., 1584; married August 5, 1604, Robert Gibson, and had issue Edmund.

7. A daughter ——— who married ——— Fisher and had issue.

IV. Andrew Cowper of Green in Scales, the eldest son, bapt. Nov. 29, 1573; married February 16, 1601, to Elizabeth Gilpin daughter of William of Kentmere and niece of Bernard Gilpin as above shewn. He unfortunately left no will, but administration of his goods was granted, August 18, 1642, to Elizabeth Cowper his granddaughter.

Andrew Cowper had a family of four, and in both this and the succeeding generation we find the Curwen Christian names perpetuated. He had a son Walter born in 1604, who I think must have been the Walter buried in 1669, at Sunbreak meeting house burial ground. However this may be, I cannot help thinking that the connexion with the Gilpins of Kentmere may explain the statement that the sequestrated manor of Rydal was in 1651 let privately to a Walter Cowper for £100, and he assigned the lease to Roger Barwicke a "dangerous delinquent." I have no actual evidence that this was the son of Walter of Scales and Elizabeth Gilpin, but it seems probable.*

From this Andrew and Elizabeth were descended some four or five generations of the name at Scales in Aldingham—among them being Thomas Cowper, deacon of Blawith (b. 1604, d. 1696); the Rev. W. Ashburner.

*This Roger Barwick or Barwicke was servant to Sir Jordan Crosland who married Bridget Fleming. See Magrath, *Flemings at Oxford*, vol. 1, p. 372, also Miss Armitt's *Rydal*, p. 554.
vicar of Urswick, and I presume the Rev. James Cooper, d. 1839, incumbent of Catesby, Northampton, to whom with other members of his family, who were yeoman of Scales, there is a mural tablet in Aldingham Church. *The Urswick (or Junior) Line.*

Returning to Leonard, No. II., who married twice. He married a second time on July 6, 1567, at Aldingham, Maude Forton or Fortune. His own burial took place May (or June), 1580.

In 1583-4 we have evidence of her in a law suit with the Curwens:—

**EXCHEQUER BILL, LANCASTER, 26 Eliz., No. 43.**

Wm. Curwen of fEurness sheweth that whereas Thomas Preston esqyer was lawfully possessed for dyvers yeares by letters patent scale of exchequer of and in one water corne myll called sea myll in mytchland in ffurnes with . . . . all moultures, etc. belonging which have come by meane conveyance to yor orator Willm Curwen, but the deeds have come into the possession of Chr'ofer Dobson, Leonaerde Sympton and Maude Cowp' Wydowe late wyf of Leonarde Cowp' deceased, tenants and inhabitants within Mychland who have been accustomed to grynde their corne and graine at the sd myll being hir mā ties myll, as other the tenants and inhabitants in Mychland afsd doe.

Who was Maude Forton? There is a group of 30 entries in the Aldingham register, and the name is spelled both Forton and Fortune. The family died out soon, but evidently it had been one of standing in Aldingham; for in the will of Lord Harrington of Aldingham, May 21, 1457,* he appoints John Forton "generosum" one of his four executors. "Generosum" cannot mean anything but that he was armiger, which indeed one would expect to be the rank of an executor to such a document. In 1609, John fforton married "Dorritie" Gilpin. I wish I could run these Fortons to earth, but so far I have failed.†

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* Quoted by Mr. Harper Gaythorpe in *Furness Lore*, p. 93.
† There were Fortons of Forton in Cockerham, but little seems on record of them (*Victoria County Hist. of Lancashire*, viii., 107-8). There was also a Sir John Forton, whose arms were *gyronny of eight or and sable* (Papworth's) *Ordinary*, and Glover's Roll, but I can find no more about him.
The issue of Leonard and Maude were:—

1. **Leonard** of Much Urswick of whom later, No. V.
2. **John** of Adgarley in Urswick; will dated 29 June, 1598; proved 1599; he married Isabel.
4. **Elizabeth** (bapt. March 28, 1568, at Aldingham?).
6. **Ann** (bapt. June 29, 1569, at Aldingham?).

V. **Leonard Cowper** of Much Urswick, whose will is dated Feb. 22, 1593, and whose wife Elizabeth was living, 1619.

**WILL OF LEONARD COWPER** (Abstract).

22 Feb. xxxj Eliz. (1593) Body to be buried at Churchyard at Urswick. The Right & Interest & tythe of my tenement with appurtenances to Willym Cowper my eldest sonn when he comes to xxj years till which time wyf Elizabeth to hold possession of it "if she lives so longe & be my wife towards the bringing up of my children." "It is my wyll that my said sonne Wyllm shall give everyone of his iiiij brethren Thomas Edwd Walter & John iijli vji viijd within towe yeares next after he have had occupation of my tenement" over and beside their children portions & "to geive the said sommes out of my medoe in depe medows and called by the name of hucklenpke" ....... To son William all husbandrie geare after decease of wyfe and also "one sylver sponne" and to John my son "another sylver sponne." Elizabeth my wife hole executor of all goods and to pay debts and expenses & for supervisors I desire Walter Cwp' of Scalles John Gardner of Conckle & Thomas Waynes & Thomas Cwp' to be dessyring them for Gods sake to see this my wyll be performed.

Witnes Xpofer Pette Thomas ffell yonger Thomas Waynes Thomas Cowp Willm Waynes Edwd Walker.

Inventory praysed xvj Marche, 1593, totall xxxviiiij vij viijd
Among the debts—Elizabeth Cowper my sister xijii
funerall expenses xxiiij su̇ma declar'one xxiiij xviiijd viijd

This will which is in a very difficult hand to decipher, contains much about property.
Seeing that his mother was only married in 1567, therefore when he made his will in 1593 enumerating five children, he could not have been more than 25 years old; his baptismal register is not found. He may have been born in 1568, 9, or 70, and some of his sons may have been twins, for their baptisms are not recorded.*

From Thomas, apparently his second son, were descended at least five more generations of Cowpers at Urswick and six generations at Saltcoats or Sandside near Ulverston, and at Hawkshead, including the present writer. Their marriages generally were with Fells, Ashburners, Myres or Gardiners, all local Low Furness stocks. The wills of the Urswick Cowpers suggest a gradual decline in fortune, as far as I can judge, although they maintained their position as yeoman. One of them, Edward of the Flanne (1625-1687) turned Quaker, and there is a full record in the Quaker register at Devonshire house. Some of them were fined for attending conventicles at Swarthmoor in the time of the Fells (1684) and several of them were married at Swarthmoor hall.

The direct ancestor of the Saltcoats and Hawkshead Cowpers was William Cowper of Saltcoats 1651-1737, the son of Jasper of Sunbreak, who was grandson of Leonard whose will, 1593, has been already quoted.

* It is not certain that the Elizabeth baptized in 1568 was the same as Elizabeth his sister.