

ART. VIII.—*The Burroughs of Carleton Hall*. By
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THE prosperity of Whitehaven in the 18th century led to a radical change in the pattern of landownership in the surrounding countryside. The old landed families, such as the Irtons, Penningtons, Stanleys and Ponsonbys, in general remained unaffected but to them was added a new class of prosperous merchants, buying land and building or rebuilding country-houses for their own occupation. Typical of this latter class were the Senhouses of Calder Abbey and the Lutwidges of Holmrook Hall. Mainly owing to the disappearance of their family papers, this new class of mercantile landowners has been almost totally ignored by subsequent historians. Professor Edward Hughes in his *North-Country Life in the 18th Century*, ii (Cumberland and Westmorland) makes frequent mention of members of the Lutwidge family but appears not to have known of their long connection with Holmrook. It is with a less important family — the Burroughs of Carleton Hall near Holmrook — that I deal in this paper.

The origin of the Burrough (or Burrow as it is often spelt) family in West Cumberland is unknown. It was a fairly common surname in the Lune Valley in Westmorland, and the family at Carleton was in the late 18th century to have fresh links with that area. The connection, however, remains unproved. An Edward Burrow was buried at Muncaster on 12 May 1708, and his occupation is given in the Bishop's Transcript of the Register as cook. He died intestate, leaving a widow, Mary, and his estate comprised goods

£18. 10s. od., debts being £20 and funeral expenses £5. Edward Burrow of Muncaster, schoolmaster, was bondsman. Muncaster Registers from about 1660 to 1720 are missing, and with the exception of 1676 the Bishop's Transcripts begin in 1690. The later Muncaster Registers record:

18 August 1690 Arthur, son of Edward Burrow baptised.
 11 May 1698 Margaret, dau. of Edward Burrow baptised.
 21 February 1732 Mary Burrough was buried.

In view of his connection with the Penningtons and the fact that he was described in 1730 as "schoolmaster of Drigg",¹ it is tempting to suggest that Edward Burrough of Carleton was also the Muncaster schoolmaster mentioned in the 1708 bond and that he was probably the eldest son of the Edward Burrow who died in that year.

Edward Burrough of Carleton was born about 1686.² He was certainly living in Carleton by 1716, when his name appears on the return of inhabitants paying potato tythe.³ On 29 August 1717 he married at Holy Trinity Church, Whitehaven, Lucy Stanley.⁴ In 1722 he was, on Lord Lonsdale's nomination, appointed to the Harbour Commission of Whitehaven,

¹ Letter of Sir William Pennington to the Bishop of Chester, 6 June 1730. Since writing the above the Court Book for Drigg and Carleton has been deposited with the Pennington MSS. and this confirms that Edward Burrough of Carleton was the son of Edward Burrow of Muncaster who died in 1708. The entries are: 16 February 1707, Edward Burrow of Muncaster is admitted to a customary tenement and messuage in Carleton by the surrender of William Copley. 24 May 1708, Formal admittance of Edward Burrow to this same tenement as heir of his father Edward Burrow deceased. The entry records that a moiety was reserved to his mother Mary Burrow according to the custom of Calder Lordship. 18 March 1709, Jurors of Court find Edward Burrow heir to his father Edward Burrow deceased and with the Lord's consent allow him to extend his house onto the common.

² The exact date is uncertain, but in his letter of 30 June 1774 to the Bishop of Chester he describes himself as being 88.

³ Pennington MSS.

⁴ In the church register, Lucy Stanley is described as Lady L. Stanley. Mr C. R. Hudleston has suggested that she might be the widow of Edward Stanley of Dalegarth. Edward Stanley married at Eskdale, on 21 August 1711, Lucy Smith, and in his will dated 21 November 1714 he left her £220 and an annuity of £10.

and in 1723 he was one of the trustees for the new school founded by Joseph Walker in Carleton. Edward and Lucy Burrough's son, Stanley, was baptised in Drigg Church on 4 September 1725.

These scattered fragments of information do little to fill out our picture of the man, and his early life. His cultured handwriting suggests that he received a more than token education. He was also a man of considerable wealth, but the source of this remains a complete mystery.

In 1730 he was offered the livings of Drigg and Irton by Sir William Pennington of Muncaster, and the presentation is dated 6 June. Before this could take effect Sir William died, and his son, Sir Joseph, confirmed the nomination on 27 July, "humbly desiring, if your Lordship (the Bishop of Chester) find him duly qualified; he may be admitted into holy orders".⁵ In Sir William Pennington's nomination Edward Burrough is described as being "now Schoolmaster of Drigg". It seems probable that he was the first schoolmaster of Carleton School of which, as mentioned above, he had been an original trustee. On 22 August 1730 he wrote to his brother Joseph at the Custom House at Whitehaven:

Brother,

I was favour'd with yours and th' inclos'd last week, but could not well give answer, till I had been at Muncaster to inform my self: accordingly I was there on Wednesday, waiting on Sir Joseph at the Court held there that Day; (who is now busy in holding his Courts) and Mr Herbert told me he thought Thursday next would be the most proper day for your vissitt, Sir Joseph being at home that Day.

On Monday comes D^r Archer for his Lady,⁶ who hath been

⁵ Chester Diocese Papers at the Record Office, Carlisle (DRC/10/12).

⁶ John Archer, M.D., of Oxenholme, was Mayor of Kendal in 1707. His youngest sister, Elizabeth, married Bishop Nicolson on 3 June 1686. He married as his second wife Elizabeth, eldest daughter of Sir William Pennington of Muncaster, at Muncaster on 28 January 1723. He died in 1735 and she married secondly after 1737 Thomas Strickland of Sizergh. (H. Hornyold-Strickland, *Strickland of Sizergh*, 164.)

at Muncaster since Sir William's Death. On Wednesday they go away, her sister Mrs Margaret Pennington⁷ goes along with 'em to Oxenholm, and takes her farewell of this country: so there remains none but Sir Joseph and his family: I hear nothing of the Lord Lonsdale's paying his vissit. Friday is the Court at Drigg and I hope to see Sir Joseph at my House. The old Lord of Irton⁸ hath promis'd on Friday morn to wait upon Sir Joseph at my House; so if you come on Thursday and night with me as I expect, you'll stand fair of haveing a sight of both your Godfathers.

Pray read seal and deliver the inclos'd in order that I may be favour'd and with an answer speedily, because the middle of the next month I intend (God willing) to wait upon the Bishop at Manchester for orders. I am with due Respect to you and yours.

Your affectionate serv^t.

Edward Burrough⁹

Sir Joseph hath been pleas'd to mention Arthur's petition again to him.

The lot of the average parish priest in West Cumberland in the 18th century was a poor one. In 1778, apart from fees, the income of the two livings amounted to six guineas from land, plus £10 per annum that was paid out of the tithes by the Penningtons as lay impropriators. Even this latter payment was not absolutely safe. Sir James Lowther in a notorious case refused to honour this obligation at Cockermouth.¹⁰ The Governors of Queen Anne's Bounty always made it a condition of a grant that the amount paid by the lay impropriator be changed into a formal endowment.

Burrough's fixed salary as a minister was therefore about £16, but he also had the salary of schoolmaster. The school at Carleton was endowed with £260, and it is probable that his income from this source was

⁷ Margaret, youngest daughter of Sir William Pennington. She never married.

⁸ George Irton, born 1667, succeeded to Irton in 1700 and died 7 December 1749. The memorial to him and his wife in Irton Church records "after a long life spent with the greatest industry they retrieved an estate almost lost". See CW2 xli 102 f.

⁹ Burrow MSS.

¹⁰ Cf. C. M. L. Bouch, *Prelates and People*, 390.

about £20. Edward's total annual income from his post was therefore in the region of £40. Nor did the livings provide any accommodation to compensate for this poor financial return. There was no parsonage at Irton, and that at Drigg is described in the 1778 Terrier as being "a dwelling-house, near the church-yard, chiefly built with clay and covered with Thatch, having two rooms floored with clay".¹¹ Edward Burrough, of course, never lived there and both parishes were without a vicarage until the 19th century. The poverty of the clergy was great and it is no wonder that in 1781 Colonel John Pennington wrote eloquently to the Bishop of Chester on behalf of the "poor Curate" of Muncaster who was expected on an income of £10, half that of a farm labourer's, to keep up appearances.¹²

Fortunately for Edward Burrough he was not dependent on his stipend. A letter to his brother Joseph, dated Carleton, 22 November 1732, gives some evidence of his financial position:

Brother,

Being the other night at Irton Hall Mrs Irton¹³ laid her commands upon me to return you Thanks for your late Token to her, which I perceive was very acceptable. Here was a man with me the other day out of Lancashire, who wanted to borrow £3 or £4,000. I told him I only expected about £200 this Candlemas; but would rather deal with some safe hand in your Town, if you hear of any who may want such a sum at that Time.

Do suppose you have got nothing from Carlisle as yet, be pleas'd ere long to write to Jackson to perform his promise to you and to remitt the Interest however before Candlemas for I shall then want it. I hope this will find both you and your's well, as we are. I am mightily well pleas'd with my little nephew and am your's

Edward Burrough.¹⁴

Coll^r. Called the other day to see your son and gave him a shilling.

¹¹ Chester Diocese Papers at the Record Office, Carlisle (DRC/9).

¹² Pennington MSS. at the Record Office, Carlisle.

¹³ Elizabeth, daughter of David Poole of Knottingley and Sykehouse, Yorkshire, married George Irton in 1695.

¹⁴ Burrow MSS.

It is quite obvious from this letter that not only was Edward Burrough wealthy by the standards of his time, but also that this was well known. He can have had no financial need whatever to work as school-master and parish priest for the miserable salary involved. Moreover the Bishop's Transcripts that he wrote in his clear, elegant hand until he resigned are evidence of the conscientiousness with which he performed his duties.

Lucy Burrough died in 1731 and was buried at Drigg on 27 July. Within a year Edward Burrough married again and his second wife is described as Elizabeth Hunter, spinster, of Drigg.¹⁵ Hunter was a common name in Drigg and Irton, and there was an Irton yeoman family of that name to which Elizabeth may have belonged. Elizabeth was unable to sign her name to her will, and though this may have been due to age it is possible she was illiterate. When in 1773 Edward was unable to write to Sir Joseph Pennington himself, it was his daughter Lucy who wrote the letter for him. Of the children of Edward and Elizabeth Burrough, five daughters survived infancy: Anne bap. 25 December 1734 bur. 26 February 1742, Mary bap. 22 December 1738 bur. 7 February 1811, Elizabeth bap. 6 September 1741 bur. 11 June 1762, Anne bap. 3 January 1745 bur. 11 November 1820, Lucy bap. 10 January 1750 bur. 14 January 1779.

Edward Burrough held the livings of Drigg and Irton for forty-five years, resigning them in 1775. Some years before this his age had begun to show itself. In the Bishop's Transcripts it is possible to notice a marked deterioration in his handwriting in 1769. In 1774 he found it impossible any longer to run the two parishes single-handed, and on 30 June 1774 he wrote to the Bishop of Chester:

¹⁵ Lancaster Marriage Bond, 20 May 1732. The printed version describes Edward Burrow as butcher. Mr Sharpe France has very kindly examined the bond for me and confirms that butcher is a misreading of clericus.



CARLETON HALL, HOLMROOK.
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May it please your Lordship,

The Petition of Edward Burrow Clerk, above forty years Minister of the two adjacent and perpetual Curacies of Drigg and Irton. (Impropriated Livings) in your Lordship's Diocese of Chester, and county of Cumberland. Humbly sheweth, That your Petitioner being old and infirm hath an occasion for an Assistant for I am eighty eight years of age. And sends the Bearer hereof Edward Greenwood, who bears a good character to wait upon your Lordship for Deacon's Orders, and Licence to officiate with me, in the said cures. I shall give him a yearly salary of twenty pounds, until he becomes better provided for, and your petitioner will ever pray, and Remain,

My Lord,

Your Lordship's most obedient

Humble Servant

Edward Burrow.¹⁶

Edward Burrough was buried at Drigg 21 February 1776. The *Cumberland Pacquet* of 22 February states that he was "in the 92nd year of his age", but judging from his letter to the Bishop this is an exaggeration. Probate of his will was granted 11 June 1776. It is written in his own hand and in its concise clarity is typical of the man.

In the name of God, Amen. I Edward Burrough of Carleton in the Parish of Drigg and County of Cumberland Clerk, being of perfect mind and memory, do make this my last Will and Testament and write with my own hand, as followeth

I give Bequeath and Devise unto my Wife Elizabeth Burrough all my Freehold Estate, with all and every the Appurtenances situate and being in Carleton and lately enfranchised by the Earl of Egremont, and comonly call'd and known by the name of Marshal's Tenement to have and to hold during the time of her pure viduity, and after that time I give bequeath and devise all and every the aforesaid premises unto my Daughter Lucy Burrough her heirs and assigns for ever.

I give and Bequeath unto my Daughter Mary Burrough the sum of five hundred pounds, and to my Daughter Anne Burrough the sum of one thousand pounds, and to my Daughter Lucy Burrough one thousand pounds. I give and bequeath unto Joseph Stanley Burrough the sum of one hundred pounds and to his sister Lucy one hundred pounds if she be living

¹⁶ Chester Diocese Papers at the Record Office, Carlisle (DRC/10/12).

and come to receive it. Lastly, all and Residue of my personal Estate I give and bequeath to my wife Elizabeth Burrough and to my son Stanley Burrough whom I do hereby make joyn'd Executors of this my last will and Testam^t. Revoking all others. In witness hereof I have hereunto put my hand and seal this eleventh Day of December in the year of our Lord 1769

Edw^d. Burrough.

Elizabeth Burrough survived her husband eighteen years and was buried at Drigg 31 July 1794. In her will dated 20 December 1793, probate of which was granted on 9 December 1794, she leaves:

To her son in law the Reverend Stanley Burrough ten pounds, to his wife Mary £10, to Joseph Burrough of Moorsend in the parish of Irton £5, all her household goods to her daughters Mary and Anne "(onely excepting and reserving two dining tables, one of which mahogany, the other of walnut and my large looking glass, which I give and bequeath unto my grand-daughter Elizabeth Atkinson)", her farm at Row in Wabertwaite to her brother in law John Hodgkin for his life with remainder to Anne Atkinson and her issue. Hall Carleton and the field called Irt Riggs to her daughter Mary, and her two freehold enclosures in the Townfields of Carleton called Churchbridge and Millholm to her daughter Anne whom she makes residuary legatee.

Her personal estate was under £1,000 and I suspect that the reason for the smallness of this amount is due to the fact that after her husband's death she had invested her share of his estate in the only commodity she understood, namely land.

Edward Burrough's son, Stanley, followed his father into the Church. He was educated by his father, and that he became a competent Latin scholar was a credit to both of them. He entered the Queen's College, Oxford, on the old foundation, matriculating 14 June 1744. He graduated in 1749, and proceeded to M.A. in 1753. In the Oxford Collection, published in Edinburgh in 1751, there appeared a poem by him entitled "Lines on the Death of His Royal Highness, Frederick Prince of Wales by Stanley Burrough, B.A., Taberdar

of Queen's College". It hardly adds to his literary stature, and the first verse is typical of the remainder :

"Ah! whither doth the pleasing vision fly?
The cheering scene, the beauteous prospect where?
How chang'd each object meets the aching eye!
What barren wastes on every side appear!"¹⁷

By 18 August 1752, when he sent a Latin oration to Queen's, he was at Rugby School, having been invited by Dr. Richmond, a fellow Cumbrian, to go there as his assistant. Upon Richmond's resignation in 1759, Stanley Burrough succeeded to the headmastership. From Rouse's *History of Rugby School* it seems that his tenure of this office was marked by a period of stagnation, and apart from making the first attempt to unite the school for religious services on Sunday little change occurred. The picture of a conservative and rather unbusinesslike man is reinforced by the reasons for his resignation in 1778 given by Rouse :

Towards the end of Burrough's mastership an important change took place in the constitution of the School. Burrough being then of an advanced age, and perhaps not feeling equal to the call upon his energies which the new scheme must involve thought fit to resign his post.

His "advanced age" was in fact 53! He left behind him at Rugby, we are told, "the memory of a kindly heart, and a most happy command of temper". For a short period of his time at Rugby he was Rector of Cotesbach in Leicestershire, 1763-1768.

While the "Constitutional" changes at Rugby may have caused his resignation there may be another explanation. He had married Mary Frewen whose family was descended from the youngest brother and heir of Archbishop Accepted Frewen.¹⁸ Mary

¹⁷ In the Frewen of Northiam MSS. in East Sussex Record Office there is a manuscript copy of this poem. I am grateful to the Archivist for his assistance in letting me have copies of this and other documents deposited with him referring to Stanley Burrough.

¹⁸ For the Frewen family. Cf. Burke's Landed Gentry sub Frewen of Northiam.

Frewen's brother, the Rev. Thomas Frewen, inherited the Cold Overton estate in 1778. Mr Frewen-Turner, as he then became, had been Rector of Sapcote but on inheriting the estate of Cold Overton he resigned this living to his brother-in-law. Stanley Burrough remained Rector of Sapcote until his death on 12 April 1807. His wife died on 12 September 1801, aged 86, and they were both buried beneath the east window of the church.

In his will made on 30 June 1802, apart from substantial legacies to the Frewen-Turner family and annuities to his servants, Stanley Burrough left his farm, Gasketh in Irton, and the nine-acre field called Mill Field in Drigg to Joseph Burrough, husbandman, who had been working it for him. He also left £200 to each of Joseph Burrough's children. This is almost certainly the Joseph Stanley Burrough mentioned in Edward Burrough's will. No relationship is acknowledged in either will, but it is possible that Joseph Stanley Burrough was either a son or grandson of Arthur Burrough.

Stanley Burrough also left twenty guineas each to Cuthbert Atkinson, his wife and daughter (i.e. Ann and Elizabeth Atkinson), and his residuary estate was divided between his wife's niece Mary Frewen and his half-sister Mary Burrough. Mary Burrough in an affidavit attached to the will was described as "of Sapcote" and may well have been living with him. He was a man of considerable fortune and his personal estate amounted to nearly £10,000.

Apart from these legacies he left bequests in the form of rent charges for various charitable purposes, including those to the schoolmasters of Irton and Sapcote, and the Sapcote Friendly Society. His will was very badly drafted, and from a statement of Case,¹⁹ dated 14 August 1843, it would appear that they were invalid and were not honoured.

¹⁹ In the Frewen MSS.

Of the three daughters of Edward Burrough to survive him, Lucy was buried at Drigg on 14 January 1779, and Mary died on 3 February 1811. In her will, dated 30 November 1778, Lucy Burrough left £300 to her mother, and her freehold estate "known by the name of Marshall's Tenement" to her sister Mary, and her lawful issue, whom failing to her sister Anne and her lawful issue, whom failing to her cousin Edward Ashton Burrough. She left ten guineas to her brother Stanley Burrough, and to his wife for mourning rings. Lastly, she made her two surviving sisters joint residuary legatees. There is no record of her sister Mary's will but her real estate became part of the Carleton Estate until 1920.

When Lucy Burrough died the need to appoint her cousin, Edward Ashton Burrough, as ultimate heir of her freehold estate must have seemed very necessary. Stanley Burrough had no children, and none of her sisters had married. Six years later, however, her sister Anne at the age of forty married Cuthbert Atkinson on 10 September 1785, and had an only child, Elizabeth, who was baptized at Muncaster on 11 October 1786.

Cuthbert Atkinson, whose tombstone, probably moved from Drigg in 1850, stands against the North wall of Carleton Hall, is a man of considerable interest. His family had been settled at Waverton near Wigton for several generations, and he was baptized at Wigton on 1 February 1744. There are no records of his early life, but by 1781 he was Steward to Colonel John Pennington²⁰ at Muncaster. Following their marriage, Cuthbert and Anne Atkinson lived at Muncaster until Mrs Elizabeth Burrough died in 1794, when they moved to Carleton. Carleton Hall is mentioned as such in none of the Burrough wills. It seems

²⁰ For John Pennington cf. my paper on John Pennington, 1st Lord Muncaster. CW2 lxvi 347 f.

probable, however, that Anne Atkinson inherited it on her mother's death. The sense of a united and affectionate family centred on Carleton Hall runs through all the history of the Burrough family there. All the sisters had lived there together, and Mary continued to do so until her death. The relations between the sisters and their half-brother and his wife seem always to have been friendly, as is evidenced by the mutual legacies in Stanley and Lucy Burrough's wills.

Cuthbert Atkinson had an exacting career, even for so capable a man of business as he was. The Pennington estates were in need of radical reform, and Lord Muncaster was determined to develop and improve them on a scale which strained his resources to breaking point. From a series of letters written by Lord Muncaster in October and November 1795 to Cuthbert Atkinson, when the latter was inspecting the Pennington Estate at Warter in Yorkshire, it is possible to see how what was, in fact, a partnership, worked in practice — Lord Muncaster eager, imaginative, and wishing to try every agricultural innovation as he heard of it, while at the same time wishing to buy neighbouring land to round off his estate. Cuthbert Atkinson encouraged the former while successfully dissuading Lord Muncaster from fresh purchases of land.

Lord Muncaster's achievements as an agriculturalist would not have been possible without Atkinson's support. Lord Muncaster's trust in him was complete. "You must act," wrote Lord Muncaster on 27 October 1795, "the best (under the circumstances) for my interest your judgement directs."²¹ This close association between the two men was to continue until Lord Muncaster's death in 1813. That Lord Muncaster's regard was returned is shown by one piece of evidence.

²¹ Pennington MSS.

When in the early 1800's Lord Muncaster's financial situation became desperate, Atkinson lent him £5,460 out of a total fortune which at his death was merely about £9,000. Moreover, when Lord Muncaster's executors found the security on which it was charged, i.e. the Hestholme or High Eskholme estate was inconvenient, he willingly changed it for other and less satisfactory security. Following Atkinson's death in 1816 it was eleven years before his executors (John Hudleston of Raynors and George Harrison) secured a Court Order for the sale of the properties concerned, and hence the payment of principal and interest.²²

An attractive light is thrown upon Atkinson's character by his concern for one Skelding, who in selling his property for the benefit of his debtors had fallen foul of some technicality. Atkinson had been marginally concerned in the matter and took it upon himself on 7 November 1792 to write to the Commissioners of Excise on behalf of Skelding. He ended with a strong plea for charity. "I should hope that your Honours wou'd be so generous, as to Indulge poor Skelding, who is absolutely in Indigent circumstances, and who sold the premises Bonafide for the Benefit of his creditors, and who has a wife and three small children still to provide for — should this operate with your goodness, I should be very happy as I have taken this liberty to write to you, merely out of charity for this poor man and family."²³

The agrarian lawlessness of the years of the war with France did not leave this area of Cumberland unscathed. There is a memorandum in the Pennington Papers, undated, but probably written in 1801 by Atkinson. It was apparently written in answer to what was undoubtedly a malicious prosecution brought

²² Huddleston v. Lindsey, 1821. C.13 274/46; Huddleston v. Woodgate, 1826. C.13 b3016 (at P.R.O.).

²³ Pennington MSS.

against him. The ground of the accusation was directed against the enclosure of land from the Common of Carleton Green amounting to about one acre, which Mrs. Burrough and her daughter Mary had secured in 1793 in order to plant a shelter-belt to protect the house against westerly gales. Atkinson points out that alternative land was offered in exchange which the jury of the Manor Court decided was sufficient. He goes on to describe the lawlessness from which he had suffered and to accuse the plaintiffs of being behind it. In 1797, 1798, 1799 and 1800 there had been continual outbreaks of violence — rams had been barbarously injured, Lord Muncaster's warren at Drigg nearly destroyed, and plantations cut down. Finally, "on Sunday 19 July last while Defendant and his family were in Church, his carriage standing by the churchyard gates, was shamefully spoiled."

These attacks seem to have been directed at Atkinson because he was the principal inhabitant of Drigg and Carleton rather than because he was Lord Muncaster's steward. He was certainly also a target because he was on the Committee and one of the firmest supporters of the Association of principal inhabitants of the parish formed to combat this violence.

While his management of Lord Muncaster's affairs occupied most of Atkinson's time, he was interested in other ventures. It appears from a lease in the Pennington MSS., which may not have been executed, that he considered leasing Lord Muncaster's mining rights in Ulpha in about 1807. In about 1810 he was concerned with a proposal to rebuild Drigg Church. He submitted a memorandum to Lord Muncaster, who as impropiator was responsible for repair of the chancel, giving a rough plan of the proposed church and an estimate for £411. 2s. 6d. from James Tyson, builder, for erecting it. Unfortunately for posterity

nothing came of this, the main stumbling block being the parishioners who were unwilling to bear their share of the cost. Atkinson comments on this, "however it may be necessary to observe, that they cannot plead want, as they are in general a lot of opulent yeomen".²⁴

Lord Muncaster died 8 October 1813, and although Atkinson helped his executors, he was by now himself an elderly man. While there must long have been a house on the site of Carleton Hall, perhaps remodelled by Edward Burrough, the Regency charm of Carleton in its superb position must surely be attributable to him. He died 15 June 1816 at Carleton. His wife survived him and was buried at Drigg on 11 November 1820. Their only child, Elizabeth, had married on 25 August 1807 her cousin Joseph Burrow, great-grandson of Joseph Burrow, the younger brother of Edward Burrough of Carleton.

Joseph Burrow, Edward Burrough's brother, made his career in the Customs. He is first mentioned in the Custom House Records on 3 December 1718 when he was sent to view a petitioner's District. From the following year onwards there are a number of letters signed "per pro" the Collector of Customs. It was to Joseph Burrow that Sir William Pennington wrote on 2 July 1729 to complain about the quality of the coal delivered to him.²⁵ When Ferdinando Latus,²⁶ who had been Collector of Whitehaven, died, Joseph Burrow was appointed to succeed him on 31 August 1738.

Joseph Burrow married Ann Bodle at Brigham Church on 30 November 1724. The following of their children survived infancy: Mary born 20 October 1725 buried 13 June 1776, Edward born 21 November

²⁴ *Ibid.*

²⁵ *Ibid.*

²⁶ Joseph Burrow's predecessor as Collector of the Customs at Whitehaven.

1726 died 1800, Joseph born 3 November 1731 died 10 March 1774, Ann born 14 May 1733 died 12 April 1768, James born 10 November 1737 died July 1778, Elizabeth born 20 June 1740 buried 5 May 1812. Joseph Burrow's wife Ann died 3 August 1752.

The papers in the Jackson Collection in Tullie House, Carlisle, referring to Joseph Burrow and his family, begin at the extreme end of his life when he was about 85. He wrote to his son Edward who was Collector of the Customs at Port Glasgow on 14 April 1774:

Son at Glasgow

I had yours of 19th ull^t.; we must all submit to the afflictions we are liable to in this world; and may the better do it on consideration from whom (they) come. I have lost a dutyfull and good natur'd son; but foresaw it some years agoe; and that want of health occasion'd an Indolence in business which I now perceive both in his publick and private affairs; haveing Intrusted him with the Receipt of the Collection since Christmas 1772 I have with regard to the Customs brought them to A period the 5 January last being the day I Resign'd; and have now Remitted all that was due from me on the severall branches of that Revenue and crav'd an Imprest on the present Coll^r. for what I was then overpaid on others; as to his private affairs he allways kept me in the dark. He died in debt; and has left Mess^{ires} Budsworth and Hall his executors; this I believe was chiefly owing to his undertaking to pay all his brother James' debts; which obliged him to borrow money on bond that I have promised to pay out of what I intended to leave that Extravagant Youth at Halifax (Nova Scotia); I gave him (i.e. James) Leave on his marriage to draw on me for £100; which he says in his letter of the 5th Febry last has accordingly done to be paid at the house of Andrew Perrot Esq^r merchant in London on the 11th October; I desired the Commiss^{rs} Leave to resign and sent them my deputation to Cancel; on the 15 M^r Stanley by their directions wrote me they had receiv'd it and was sorry to part with me. I had some years agoe offer'd £900 for a resignation, but wu'd not accept thereof being contrary to Law; I keep the receipt of Excise Salt Lights ec ec by way of amusement in my old age; but an now Inform'd Sir James Lowther is endeavoring to turn me out of them all in fav^r of my successor; he has great Intrest; and no doubt will prevail and disappoint me

of my intention to keep poor Ben your brother's man in the office to collect the Lights and other duties to Harbour ec for me; he has been as A Clerk to your brother some time above stairs; and acquainted with figures; Is very honest; and if you cu'd help him to anything under you; to be bread I should take it well; I have Left you my estate at Oxenholm and this house (8 Cross St. Whitehaven) under proper limitations; and appointed you my executor; as to my Legacies I hope my Personals will enable you to pay them all; and I charge you when I am gone to be very kind to your sisters; and have an eye to the Education of your Brother's two sons tho' under the care of his Executors; and that you will then consider yourself as a father Brother and Uncle to them all; my Blessing upon you an Family

Yours ec

Joseph Burrow.²⁷

It is obviously the letter of a very old man who knew that death was not far away, and who wished to put his affairs in order. The son he had lost was Joseph, who had died on 10 March. The estate at Oxenholme was that same estate, then belonging to Dr. Archer, mentioned in his brother's letter 44 years previously. Joseph Burrow had bought it in 1754. On 20 June 1774, Joseph Burrow reckoned his fortune. In debts due to him partly in Harbour Tickets, and one of £1,700 from James Spedding & Co., and also in smaller sums such as Mr Wilson of Dallam Tour £600, Tho. Lutwidge Esq.²⁸ £200, he had £5,382. He valued Oxenholme at £3,000 and his house at Cross Street at £800.²⁹ It was a considerable fortune to have amassed. He died on 24 June 1775.

His death was followed by financial disputes which split the family irrevocably. In his will, Joseph Burrow left his daughter Mary £2,400, and his daughter Elizabeth £2,300. Mary Burrow died a year after her father and her failure to leave a proper will caused

²⁷ Burrow MSS.

²⁸ This branch of the Lutwidge family were cousins of the Holmrook Hall family.

²⁹ Memorandum in Burrow MSS.

considerable disagreement. Eight or ten days before her death Mary sent for the Reverend Thomas Sewell³⁰ "who had been an Intimate acquaintance of her father's and who had drawn her father's will", and asked him to make minutes of her will. The Case Stated goes on to list the legacies which she wished to make, but at the time she was undecided what to do with her residuary estate. For the remaining days of her life, Mary was too ill to do more. Her sister Elizabeth and brother James believed this will invalid and secured letters of administration. Her eldest brother, Edward, asked whether her intentions were sufficient, and Counsel's Opinion was that they were. From a later statement of account, preserved among the Burrow Papers, it is clear that her bequests were in fact honoured, and the residuary estate divided as on intestacy. Relations between Edward Burrow and his sister Elizabeth cannot have been improved by her behaviour in this matter, and the breach was widened by Edward's dilatoriness in paying her her father's legacy.

Edward Burrow had married Anne Broadley and was at the time of his father's death Collector of the Customs at Port Glasgow. Edward was almost certainly the Mr. Burrow, Collector at Hull, who was in 1766 the centre of a minor 18th-century cause célèbre. There are records of the case both in the Customs Archives, and also in the Pennington Papers as Sir Joseph Pennington was on the Customs Board before whom the case came. In the Pennington MSS. it is labelled Mr Mantle's case against Mr Burrow. The case lists numerous charges, and Joseph Pennington has minuted against each the verdict, and only rarely did the Board find in the Collector's favour.

On 28 May 1766, verdict and sentence are given in a letter to Mr Clamtree:

³⁰ Vicar of Holy Trinity, Whitehaven, 1745-1780. For him see CW2 lxii 265 f.

Having maturely weighed and considered the several charges exhibited against Mr Burrow, the Collector at Hull, his Answers thereto, and also your and Mr Frewin's judicious Reports and Observations, together with the papers transmitted by you on the occasion. We are, upon the whole, of opinion that he has been guilty of many great Irregularities, and that his Behaviour has been very arbitrary and unbecoming to the Merchants, as well as to the Officers belonging to the port. We therefore direct you to signify to him Our Disapprobation of his Conduct. And you are to reprimand him for his Misbehaviour in the most publick and severe manner in the Custom House, in the presence of every Officer at the port, who shall be able to attend, for which purpose you are to apprize them thereof: And you are to give publick Notice that such Merchants, as shall chuse it, may also attend at the same time. And it appearing that a rapacious and avaritious Disposition, has led him into many of those Irregularities which have occasioned this expensive Inquiry; We hereby mulct him in the sum of three hundred pounds, which he is forthwith to remit to the Receiver General, giving Us, notice thereof.³¹

The Board also announces that it has written to the Revenue asking them to replace Mr Burrow who had been Deputy to the Customers. They also give him a series of detailed instructions as to his future behaviour. Provided that he gives them "further security in the additional sum of six thousand pounds" he is not to be dismissed.

The Collector having expressed great sorrow and Contrition, and given the most solemn promises and Assurances, that he will conduct himself for the future in the execution of his Duty in a becoming and proper Manner; We have in consideration thereof been induced to continue him upon Trial for a year. And he is to assure himself that if he recurs to any part of his former irregular Conduct, We shall proceed to his Dismission.

Edward Burrow, if he it was, was either unable to find the additional £6,000 or refused to undergo the humiliation of so public a reprimand. On 5 August

³¹ For this and other information on Edward Burrow I am indebted to Mr R. C. Jarvis, F.S.A.

1766 Mr Burrow's Deputations as Collector of the Customs and Collector of the Coal Duties at Hull were sent to the Board to be cancelled. In 1774, Edward Burrow was the author (as an act of expiation?) of the most elaborate *Book of Rates* (of Customs duties) ever published. This volume also had the distinction of being set by Robert and Andrew Foulis.

There is among the Burrow Papers a considerable amount of correspondence between Edward Burrow and his sister Elizabeth. The main point at issue was the payment to Elizabeth of her father's legacy. Edward was extremely dilatory in paying this to her, and the financial disputes continued for nearly 30 years. Elizabeth Burrow's marriage to Robert Blakeney on 10 March 1780 worsened the relations still further. Elizabeth had been considering marriage for some time, as in his letter to her, dated 9 March 1779,³² Edward tried to remove the unfavourable impression made on her by his previous letter. In this he had apparently written, "I think you judg'd perfectly right to enter into No Engagements for I do not think, I honestly tell you, that your Constitution can support the fatigues of a married state".

If Edward was sometimes tactless in his handling of her, the picture of Elizabeth Burrow gained from the Burrow Papers is not an attractive one. Impulsive and unreliable, she was quick to take offence, and even quicker to express it. Edward Burrow's letters are always reasoned and affectionate. On 9 March 1779 he offers her a home, "I have already told you that we should be very happy to have you always with us, and to make my house here (Bromley, Kent) your own".

Elizabeth Burrow's marriage was an astonishing one. If the memorial stone to his memory in Distington

³² Burrow MSS.

Church is correct, Robert Blakeney³³ was about 22 at the time of his marriage and his bride 38! It is hardly surprising that her brother doubted its wisdom. Robert Blakeney was the last of the Blakeney family of Distington, and became Collector of Customs at Whitehaven. Robert Blakeney adopted his wife's quarrels, and the rest of her life was beset with tedious financial wrangles with her brother and then his eldest daughter. Edward Burrow, who was elected M.P. for Cocker-mouth in 1796, died in 1800. His daughter Charlotte married, on 22 April, Rochford Grange, and at the time Edward Burrow settled his Bromley estate on her, thus disinheriting his only son, Edward Broadley Burrow. Robert Blakeney's draft of a vitriolic letter to Charlotte, not dated, but written after her father's death, probably failed of its object to secure continuance of the annuity which in final settlement of their disputes Edward Burrow had settled on his sister. In a letter from the Custom House, London, dated 17 February 1803, Charles Ambrose Stephenson wrote: "I delay'd answering you before on account of making such Enquiries respecting Mr Grange as I hope will answer your purpose though not your Expectation. Mr G. has been dismiss'd the Customs for a length of time and am sorry to add his pecuniary concerns are much embarrass'd and he confin'd in the King's Bench Prison".³⁴ Elizabeth Blakeney was buried on 5 May 1812; her husband survived her, dying on 6 November 1822.

Elizabeth Blakeney was at her death the only sur-

³³ For Robert Blakeney and the Blakeney family see William Jackson, *Papers and Pedigrees*, 24-32, especially 30 f.

In Add. MSS. 9422 in the British Museum is a letter from the Rev. Henry Lowther, Rector of Distington, to the Lysons brothers, dated 16 January 1815. The brothers had addressed a letter to "The Rev. Robert Blakeney", and Mr Lowther rather tartly told them: "He has nothing whatever to do with clerical matters; being an inferior officer in the Customs at Whitehaven and Clerk to the Trustees." [Ex. inf. C. R. Hudleston.]

³⁴ Burrow MSS.

vivor of her brothers and sisters. Her brother James, "that extravagant youth" who was Collector of Customs in Halifax, Nova Scotia, died on 20 June 1778 in Kent, leaving a daughter Elizabeth. Ann Burrow, who died 12 April 1768, had married Henry Birkett of Carlisle, leaving an only son, Edward Joseph Birkett.³⁵

Joseph Burrow, second son of the Collector, made the most distinguished marriage of his generation. He married on 24 April 1760, at Kirkby Lonsdale, Elizabeth, eldest of the four daughters of Hugh Ashton and his wife Eleanor (née Benn) of Kirfitt and Underley Halls. On the death of her brother, James Ashton, in 1765, Elizabeth Burrow and her three sisters inherited the Underley Estate as co-heiresses. Underley was not, of course, in the 18th century the princely house and estate it became in the 19th and only fetched £10,550 when sold to Alexander Nowell in 1808 at the height of the Napoleonic War boom in land prices. Joseph and Elizabeth Burrow had three children, all of whom were baptized in Holy Trinity Church, Whitehaven: Joseph bap. 20 June 1762, James Edward bap. 24 April 1764, Edward Ashton bap. 24 April 1766. James Edward died in infancy and was buried at Holy Trinity on 26 February 1765. Elizabeth Burrow predeceased her husband and was buried at Holy Trinity on 15 April 1773. It was the care of the two orphaned children which concerned their grandfather in the last year of his life.

There is very little information concerning these two children. Edward Ashton Burrow was chosen by his cousin, Lucy Burrough, as the heir of her estate in

³⁵ Edward Joseph Birkett was born 5 April 1768 and bap. St Mary's, Carlisle, 28 April. He died 25 December 1831, aged 63. Memorial in Carlisle Cathedral. His widow, Dorothy, died at Etterby Lodge near Carlisle 16 January 1842, aged 76.

Henry Birkett was bap. St Mary's, Carlisle, 24 March 1736. For E. J. Birkett, cf. Venn: *Alumin Cantab.*, 2nd series, i 271. [Ex. inf. C. R. Hudleston.]

Carleton if her sisters had no children. In the will of his aunt, Frances Burrow (née Ashton), dated 16 December 1803, of which he was an executor, Edward Ashton Burrow is described as "of Bolton, manufacturer". He had earlier, in 1797, inherited one-sixth of the share of his aunt, Eleanor Watkins (née Ashton), in the Underley Estate. The last reference to him I have found is as a witness to the marriage of his nephew Joseph and Elizabeth Atkinson on 25 August 1807.

Edward Ashton's elder brother, Joseph, inherited his mother's share of the Underley Estate. He married Mary Meals at Cockermouth on 31 December 1783, when both were described as "of this parish". His name occurs occasionally in the Underley Papers, but he seems to have inherited his father's sickly constitution, as in 1787 he died at Kirkby Lonsdale and was buried there on 3 June. He left an only child, Joseph, who, as above mentioned, married Elizabeth Atkinson of Carleton Hall.

Elizabeth died 21 February 1830: her husband, Joseph Burrow, survived her and died 19 August 1849. Their eldest son, Edward Atkinson Burrow, inherited the Carleton Estate. He married on 5 October 1837 at Christ Church, St Marylebone, Elizabeth Sarah Rawlins, stepdaughter of William Burke of Grenada. This Anglican ceremony followed a previous ceremony according to the rites of the Roman Catholic Church. Edward Atkinson Burrow was drowned in the River Esk on 17 January 1863 while returning to Carleton from a meeting of the Bootle Guardians, driving his Irish car along the old shore road. His wife died in London on 29 May 1867. Her will, probate of which was granted on 26 July 1867, is a complicated but interesting document. She left all the Carleton Estate to her brother-in-law, the Reverend Joseph Ashton Burrow, but charged with a mortgage of £7,000. Part

of this sum was left in family legacies and small amounts to old servants. The residue, however, was left to the Reverend Henry Edward Manning, Catholic Archbishop of Westminster. It is clear that she did not like her husband's youngest brother as she expressed in her will the wish that if he had no heirs of his body, Joseph Ashton Burrow would nominate as his heir one of the sons of his four sisters, Maria, Laura, Emily and Clara.

Joseph Ashton Burrow never lived at Carleton Hall after his sister-in-law's death. He was born on 22 September 1812 and baptized at Drigg on 27 September. He went up to Queens' College, Cambridge, in 1833, moving to Emmanuel in 1834. He graduated in 1838 and was ordained deacon at Durham on 15 December of that year. He was priested 4 July 1840. From 1838-1841 he was curate of St Andrew's Newcastle, and from 1841-1856 chaplain in the Royal Navy. In 1860 he became co-Principal of the Naval College of North Grove House, Southsea. He died at 8 St Martin's Place, Trafalgar Square, London, on 21 January 1881, and was buried at Drigg a week later. His will left the ultimate interest in the estate to Percy Carleton Burrow, or de Burrow, and his sister, Fanny Carleton. This led to a Chancery suit in which this mysterious couple were decreed to be presumed dead if they ever existed. It seems probable that his mind was failing and he could not remember clearly the names of his brother Alfred's two children, Arthur Alfred Edward and Juliet Fanny Margaret Burrow.

Joseph Ashton Burrow's brother Alfred Ashton succeeded him in the ownership of the estate and died on 14 February 1903 when his two children succeeded him as tenants-in-common. Arthur Alfred Edward Burrow survived his sister and on 30 July 1921 sold Carleton Hall, thus bringing to an end his family's

long connection with the house and its immediate neighbourhood.

No account of Carleton Hall in the fifty years following Mrs Burrow's death in 1867 would be complete without some mention of the Barratt family who held an unbroken tenancy from that year to 1920. James Barratt, of Lymm Hall in Cheshire, was a successful Manchester solicitor who married in 1860 as his second wife Sarah Hester, youngest daughter of Thomas Eamshaw Tidswell of Withington, Cheshire. He retired to Carleton where he died on 15 May 1869. His second wife and his four daughters continued to live at Carleton until 1920 when, on Miss Kate Barratt's death her sister Edith left the house to live in Southport. There are still those who look back beyond the years of neglect and decay which followed Miss Edith Barratt's departure to the years when the four sisters presided over the house and village. They cherished the house and gardens, and the library which their father created, and during their long tenancy Carleton had a charm and distinction which lingered in the memories of all who had known it.

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