

ART. XIII. *Colliery settlements in east Cumberland.*

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*We now approach the mountains on the borders of Northumberland, which are heavy and disagreeable; but to atone for their bare surface and unpleasant appearance, they produce great quantities of coal and limestone (Jollie's Cumberland Guide and Directory, 1811).*

IN no other part of Cumberland did coal mining achieve greater prominence than along the west coast. Yet not many years have passed since the last considerable workings in the rural east of the county finally closed, and as late as the 1950s some communities there were said to have "one root in the mines, the other in the land".<sup>1</sup> An even closer association between mining and agriculture is implied in earlier accounts. James Thompson, a mine agent and colliery lessee, not only built cottages for Lord Carlisle's pitmen in the Brampton district, but also "carried on a large farm to supply their wants".<sup>2</sup> The coal miners of the eastern fells were provided for in yet another way. According to one report, many of them during the 1880s were in possession of "the proverbial 'three acres and a cow'".<sup>3</sup> We are told elsewhere that each pitman had "an acre of land to graze a cow upon, if he wished".<sup>4</sup> While differing in matters of detail, contemporary accounts do at least agree that by late Victorian times a system of allotments involving live-

<sup>1</sup> *Manchester Guardian*, 30 October 1953.

<sup>2</sup> *Carlisle Journal*, 13 March 1888.

<sup>3</sup> *Carlisle Patriot*, 16 August 1889.

<sup>4</sup> *Carlisle Journal*, 13 March 1888.

stock was well established in parts of east Cumberland. It must in fact then have been of considerable antiquity since miners' cottages "with cow grassings and cow houses attached" are mentioned as early as 1836.<sup>5</sup>

Such descriptions call to mind certain areas of metalliferous mining, and not least the lead dales of Alston Moor and the northern Pennines, rather than the conventional nineteenth-century colliery district.<sup>6</sup> They also invite questions, not only about the system itself but also about its geographical distribution and its place in the local economy. Unfortunately, the fellside coal districts attracted little contemporary comment: the wealth of descriptive material available for Alston Moor or Weardale, for example, finds no parallel farther west. Such neglect is not entirely unexpected, for the east Cumberland collieries and their associated settlements were readily overlooked in a county where larger and more important mining areas demanded attention.<sup>7</sup> Yet coal was produced in substantial quantities and for a wide market.<sup>8</sup> Furthermore, coal mining together with the related activities of lime burning and quarrying, once provided work for several hundred persons in an otherwise agricultural district.<sup>9</sup>

Although coal and limestone were won at a number of places in the east of the county, the most important workings lay within the Barony of Gilsland, where they formed part of the inheritance of the Howards,

<sup>5</sup> *Carlisle Patriot*, 22 July 1836.

<sup>6</sup> A Raistrick and B. Jennings, *A history of lead mining in the Pennines* (London, 1965), esp. ch. 14; C. J. Hunt, *The lead miners of the northern Pennines* (Manchester, 1970), ch. 7.

<sup>7</sup> West Cumberland, Alston Moor and the Lake District all appear in the Blue Books devoted to the social and economic conditions of mining areas during the 19th century, but east Cumberland coal appears to have escaped notice entirely.

<sup>8</sup> A combined annual output of 200,000 tons was not unusual a century ago for the pits in east Cumberland and west Northumberland: about half of this total came from Cumberland mines. See also *Carlisle Patriot*, 23 March 1827.

<sup>9</sup> The firm of Maria Thompson & Sons, the principal local coal company, in 1861 claimed a workforce of 700 men and boys in Cumberland and Northumberland (Public Record Office, R.G.9/3907, 95).

Earls of Carlisle. Nearby, in Northumberland, were other mines and kilns, some of which also formed part of the Carlisle estates. By purchase or lease the family's interests in colliery districts were extended on both sides of the county boundary, and by the early nineteenth century included most of the landsale pits between Blenkinsopp, in Northumberland, and Croglin in Cumberland.<sup>10</sup> Nor was this all: the family also drew rents from some 56,000 acres (22,400 hectares) locally, to say nothing of further acres elsewhere.<sup>11</sup> The Carlisle papers, now in the Department of Palaeography and Diplomatic of the University of Durham, contain a wealth of information about the mining history of east Cumberland and west Northumberland. They refer particularly to output, royalties and the rise and decline of collieries. But they have much to say also about colliery farms, smallholdings and the character of settlement generally within the mining areas.

### *The Colliery Lands.*

In the 1770s Lord Carlisle's estates on the borders of Cumberland and Northumberland yielded a gross income of between £11,000 and £12,000 a year. More than half of this sum normally came from agricultural rents, manorial fines, market dues and similar sources, but a considerable amount, totalling in most years about £5,000, derived from collieries and limeworks.<sup>12</sup> Net mineral income, at between £1,300 and £1,600 a year, was comparable with that produced for J. C. Curwen by the well known Broughton Colliery near Maryport.<sup>13</sup> Carlisle's mines, whose combined annual

<sup>10</sup> The process can be traced in Howard of Naworth MSS. [hereafter HN], N 49/22 (1750); N 49/49 (c. 1757); C 565 II (1894-8).

<sup>11</sup> HN C, "Map of the Barony of Gilsland", by E. Bowman (1830); HN C 685 (1834); J. Bateman, *The great landowners of Great Britain and Ireland* (1971 ed. Leicester), 78.

<sup>12</sup> HN C 601 (1769-90) and C 665 (1755-82).

<sup>13</sup> O. Wood, "The collieries of J. C. Curwen", CW2 lxxi, 204.

output amounted to between 130,000 and 140,000 loads, were widely distributed.<sup>14</sup> In the east they were to be found along the Northumberland border, in the valleys of the Black, Hartley and Haining burns, where outcropping seams of coal were worked from shallow pits and day levels, and in the Northumberland manor of Thirlwall farther north. Another group of mines, known collectively as Tarnhouse Colliery, occupied the northern slopes of Tindale Fell, close to limestone quarries and kilns; while yet another centre of mining activity had developed in the hills above Talkin, still farther west. A distance of some 6 miles (10 kilometres) thus separated the extreme limits of the Brampton colliery district.<sup>15</sup> Much later, during the nineteenth century, collieries at Croglin and at Blenkinsopp and Lambley, in Northumberland, were acquired on lease.<sup>16</sup>

It had been the custom for many years on the Carlisle estates to lease the mines and limeworks in return for a money payment.<sup>17</sup> Between 1750 and 1838, however, the mines were worked directly by the estate. After 1772, when the limeworks were taken in hand, all the estate's mineral resources, and not coal alone as hitherto, were entrusted to the charge of a steward, or agent, whose duties were distinct from those of the Naworth land steward.

The colliery agent was evidently a busy man. As early as 1755 his accounts include items not only for labour and materials, but also for the repair of roads and for building.<sup>18</sup> By the 1760s his responsibilities had extended to what later became known as the colliery farms. These consisted before 1780 of Kirk-

<sup>14</sup> HN C 665 gives the annual output. Seven loads were accounted equal to 1 ton.

<sup>15</sup> A. Harris, "The Tindale Fell waggonway", CW2 lxxii 229.

<sup>16</sup> HN N 99/4 (1814); N 14/10 (1848); C 636 (1838).

<sup>17</sup> HN C 565 II, *Attorney-General v. Carlisle* (1894-8); HN C 708, 709, *Household Books* (1668-1700).

<sup>18</sup> HN C 665.

house and the neighbouring property of Low Bowbank, but as the estate's coal and lime enterprises grew in importance, more land was placed at the agent's disposal, and by 1805 the farms occupied some 700 acres (280 hectares) and extended, albeit tenuously in places, from Kirkhouse to Coalfell and Forest Head (Fig. 1).<sup>19</sup>

In an area where low-lying land was scarce and unenclosed fell grazings of indifferent quality widespread, the colliery farms were a valuable asset. Situated largely below 700 ft. (210 m) and including much old enclosure, they contained in Kirkhouse and Bowbank especially some of the best agricultural land in the district.<sup>20</sup> Moreover, as ground was enclosed from the commons and added to the original farms, the ready availability of lime greatly assisted improvement.<sup>21</sup>

The farms were important to the working of the mines and lime kilns in several ways. Their oats and hay, while not normally sufficient to meet all the requirements of the collieries' horses, nevertheless considerably reduced their dependence on outside sources of fodder. Barley, wheat, rye and root crops were also grown and for the most part were sold off the farms.<sup>22</sup> While some of the purchasers appear to have had no special connexion with the estate, others were employed about the mines.<sup>23</sup> In the eighteenth century the form in which the accounts are presented makes the identification of sales to the men difficult, though they undoubtedly occurred. There can be no doubt about their importance in the first forty years of the nineteenth century, however, when sales of

<sup>19</sup> HN C 201/19 (1805); HN C 645 (farm accounts, *passim*).

<sup>20</sup> HN C 713/3 (1603); HN C 201/19 (1805).

<sup>21</sup> The consumption of lime is recorded in HN C 665, 666.

<sup>22</sup> Based on farm accounts in HN C 665, 666 and 645. The emphasis varied somewhat over the years: the account given here summarises features of general importance.

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*

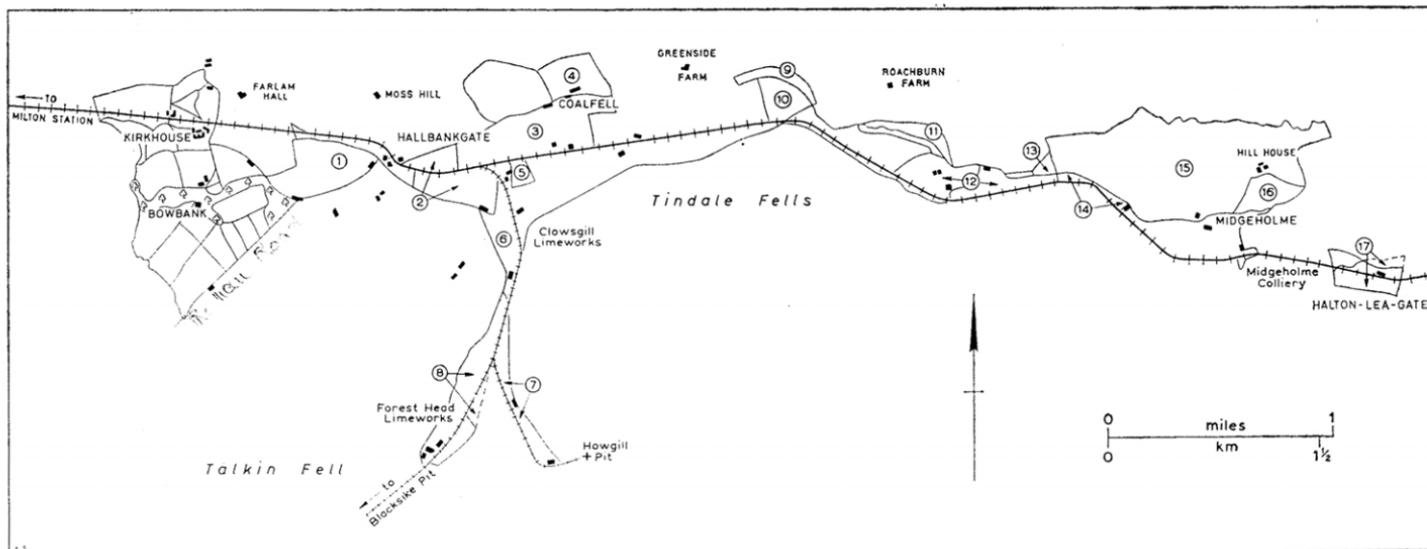


FIG. 1.—The Colliery farms, allotments and pastures. The numbers refer as follows: (1 & 2) Hallbankgate, etc., pasture and allotments, (3) Coalfell pasture, (4) Coalfell allotments, (5) Clowsgill allotments, (6) Clesketts, etc. allotments, (7) Howgill allotments, (8) Forest Head pasture and allotments, (9) Follysike allotments, (10) Bluegate pasture, (11) Woodend, etc. allotments, (12) Rigfoot pasture and allotments, (13) Haining Burn allotments, (14) Prior Dyke, etc. allotments, (15) Hill House pasture, (16) Hill House allotments, (17) Halton Lea pasture and allotments. Sources: HN C 636 and C 600.

wheat and barley are recorded in the names of "sundry workmen".<sup>24</sup> Occasionally, as in 1818, 1825 and 1827, as much as £300 or £400 changed hands in this way: in most years, however, the sale of grain to workmen realised sums of up to £200.<sup>25</sup> The price to workmen appears to have compared favourably with market prices generally.<sup>26</sup>

Cattle and sheep were kept also. Many of these were lean beasts which were fed over the winter before being sold during the following year. Beasts might also be accepted for agistment, their owners paying a small rent for this purpose.<sup>27</sup> In the nineteenth century if not before, the men were able to buy from the colliery farms both live and dead stock for their own use. They acquired in this way not only mutton, but also lambs, waif sheep and cattle, some of which almost certainly found their way on to smallholdings.<sup>28</sup>

While the geographical position of Kirkhouse and Bowbank was in many ways favourable, it was not ideal, for the two farms were situated on the edge of the colliery district, some miles from Tarnhouse and more distant still from the pits beyond Tindale Fell. Any inconvenience that this might have caused was reduced to some extent after 1780, when several of Carlisle's allotments on Farlam Common were incorporated within the farms, thus providing accommodation land in the vicinity of Forest Head and

<sup>24</sup> HN C 645 (1799-1838). Detailed accounts end in 1838 with the lease of the mines. The Thompson family papers have not been traced.

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>26</sup> This statement is based on a comparison of the prices given in the accounts with those for Cumberland in Arthur Young's *Annals of Agriculture* for the years 1794, 1796, 1803 and 1805, adjusted for local measure (1 Carlisle bushel = 3 Winchester bushels). The sale of foodstuffs to miners at preferential rates was not unusual (T. S. Ashton and J. Sykes, *The coal industry of the eighteenth century* (2nd ed. Manchester, 1964), 144-145. No evidence has been found to suggest that the system was abused in east Cumberland, although a note in the land steward's accounts for 1797 records that (agricultural?) labourers on the estate were then allowed corn "at a reduced price in preference to raising their wages" (HN C 602, 1797).

<sup>27</sup> HN C 645 (e.g., 1830). See also W. Dickinson, *Essay on the agriculture of East Cumberland* (Carlisle, Whitehaven and London, 1853), 37. *Agist*: to take in livestock to feed (*Concise O.E.D.* 4th ed., 26).

<sup>28</sup> HN C 645.

Clowsgill.<sup>29</sup> From time to time further plots of land were acquired for colliery use, although such purchases were never frequent.<sup>30</sup> They might well have been more numerous but for the presence nearby of holdings which were associated closely with mining activity. Farms of this type were occupied by estate tenants whose special status was acknowledged either by a cash payment or, more usually, by an allowance of free coal.<sup>31</sup> In return the tenants accepted the damage and inconvenience that inevitably accompanied mining operations.<sup>32</sup> They also relinquished parts of their holdings, apparently on demand, in order to facilitate mining.<sup>33</sup> However, not all the advantages lay with Carlisle: the mines and colliery farms provided a market for livestock, oats, hay and straw.<sup>34</sup>

Not the least important function of the colliery farms and their associated holdings was to furnish a lowland base from which to service isolated and often widely scattered groups of mines and limeworks. Kirkhouse in particular acquired in this way functions that were related only indirectly to farming. Between 1755 and 1787 Kirkhouse was the home of John Gray, the colliery agent, as it was later of his successors Edward Gray (1787-98), Thomas Lawson (1798-1819) and James Thompson (1819-38).<sup>35</sup> Besides the farm stead-  
ing and Farlam parish church, the settlement contained by the 1770s a number of cottages occupied by colliery employees; the offices, stables and stores for both Tarnhouse and Talkin; and various premises used by smiths, carpenters, sinkers and others engaged about the collieries and kilns.<sup>36</sup> By 1840, with the building

<sup>29</sup> CRO QRE/1/79 (1780); HN C 665, 666.

<sup>30</sup> HN C 587 (30 June 1777); C 666 (1789).

<sup>31</sup> HN C 665 (e.g., 1768, 1771, 1774), C 645 (1808).

<sup>32</sup> Losses incurred by livestock falling into open shafts are mentioned in the accounts. Land was also affected by subsidence (HN C 686).

<sup>33</sup> HN C 201/18 (1770), C 645 (1836).

<sup>34</sup> HN C 645 (e.g., 1834, 1837).

<sup>35</sup> The dates are those of stewardship. Both John and Edward Gray died in office.

<sup>36</sup> HN C 665.

of coke ovens, a smith's shop and locomotive sheds, Kirkhouse had become, in Henry Brooke's words, a little "workshop among the mountains".<sup>37</sup>

### *Cottages and Land.*

The second half of the eighteenth century saw considerable change in the settlement patterns of east Cumberland. Some came about with agricultural improvement and involved the building of new farmsteads on former common and waste. Elsewhere the growth of mining and quarrying had a similar effect, producing in some districts closer settlement than hitherto and in others an extension of the limits of settlement itself. The two processes were frequently related. Thus a quickening pace of enclosure and improvement was accompanied by a demand for more lime.<sup>38</sup> On the Carlisle estates the change is reflected in the opening of new kilns, by the consumption of more coal and by greater employment about the mines and works.<sup>39</sup> And as the colliery district was developed, more land was enclosed from the waste and improved. Improvement might involve "hedging, ditching, pareing or Denshiring, plowing, etc.", or simply the planting of a "small parcel of turnips on the waste".<sup>40</sup> Inevitably, the details of the process have in many cases been lost, but there can be little doubt that it was often accompanied by the sort of activity recorded after 1780, when several houses were built on Farlam Common.<sup>41</sup>

Such things were possible because the Brampton colliery district, like most of the eastern fells, lay along

<sup>37</sup> *Sketch of the railroad from Carlisle to Greenhead* (Carlisle 1836), 11; HN C 697/9 (1838); *Carlisle Journal*, 16 March 1839.

<sup>38</sup> Dickinson, *op. cit.*, 10, 20.

<sup>39</sup> HN C 665, 666. See also W. Hutchinson, *History of the county of Cumberland* (Carlisle, 1794), vol. 1, 142.

<sup>40</sup> HN C 665 (1777), 665 (1781). For "denshiring" see R. A. Dodgshon and C. A. Jewell in *The spade in northern and Atlantic Europe*, ed. A. Gailey and A. Fenton (Belfast, 1970), 74.

<sup>41</sup> HN C 665.

the frontiers of agricultural improvement. To the north, beyond the Military Road, a ribbon of closely settled agricultural land marked the line of the Irthing valley. Between that road and the mines, much of the country was occupied about 1770 by rough grazings, out of which had been wrested patches of improved land. According to Donald's map, the mining district itself was then largely under rough pasture.<sup>42</sup> Since elevation, exposure, steep slopes and poor drainage conspired together to limit improvement, this is hardly surprising. It was not the complete picture, however, since the lowland corridor below Tindale Fell contained both improved and unimproved ground.<sup>43</sup> Most of the former lay close to hamlets and isolated farmsteads, for while there were villages immediately beyond the colliery district, at Castle Carrock, Talkin, Hayton and elsewhere, there were none within it.<sup>44</sup>

When James Thompson leased the collieries and limeworks from Carlisle in 1838, he acquired also 1,000 acres (400 hectares) of land and no fewer than 182 cottages (Fig. 1).<sup>45</sup> The transaction gave him the original colliery farms together with their post-enclosure extensions and also other land which had once been occupied by estate tenants. In becoming lessee, Thompson had assumed responsibilities more appropriate to a farmer of agricultural land. Similar responsibilities, though on a very different scale, affected many of his employees. More than 100 of the newly-acquired cottages were provided with a cow-house, and the pitmen's agricultural activities were of sufficient importance to find mention in the lease itself. Any manure produced by the men's cattle or horses was to "be expended upon the Hay & Grass

<sup>42</sup> "The county of Cumberland", surveyed by T. Donald, engraved by J. Hodskinson (1774).

<sup>43</sup> HN C 201/18 (1770).

<sup>44</sup> HN C (maps), "A plan of the Barony of Gilsland", by T. Ramshay (1771).

<sup>45</sup> HN C 636 (1838).

lands in their separate occupations''.<sup>46</sup> Such concern is easy to understand, for cottages, grazing rights and workmen's land were worth in rent at least £600 a year.<sup>47</sup>

Many of the cottages included in the lease of 1838 had been built since 1819, when Thompson had become colliery agent; the same period had seen income from cottages and workmen's land increase sixfold (Table 2). Coal output had risen greatly and railways had been extended across the estate. Not surprisingly, both in his own day and subsequently, Thompson received credit for having transformed the colliery lands.<sup>48</sup> Much of the praise was certainly well deserved, even bearing in mind that Thompson enjoyed for many years the advice of James Loch, the "king of auditors".<sup>49</sup> Yet there were precedents locally for at least some of Thompson's business activities.

Payments to masons, plasterers, thatchers and others indicate an intermittent process of cottage-building on the colliery farms during the second half of the eighteenth century.<sup>50</sup> A comparison of rentals and colliery payrolls suggests nevertheless that many employees must have continued to find accommodation off the farms as then constituted, either in nearby villages or in cottages elsewhere.<sup>51</sup> Viewed in this light, cottage-building served a double purpose, since it increased rental income while providing accommodation close to the mines, kilns and quarries. Initially at least, the second consideration may have been the more important, for many of the cottages recorded in the early accounts were built in remote and inhospitable places for men whose jobs demanded either special

<sup>46</sup> HN C 565 IV/16 (1838).

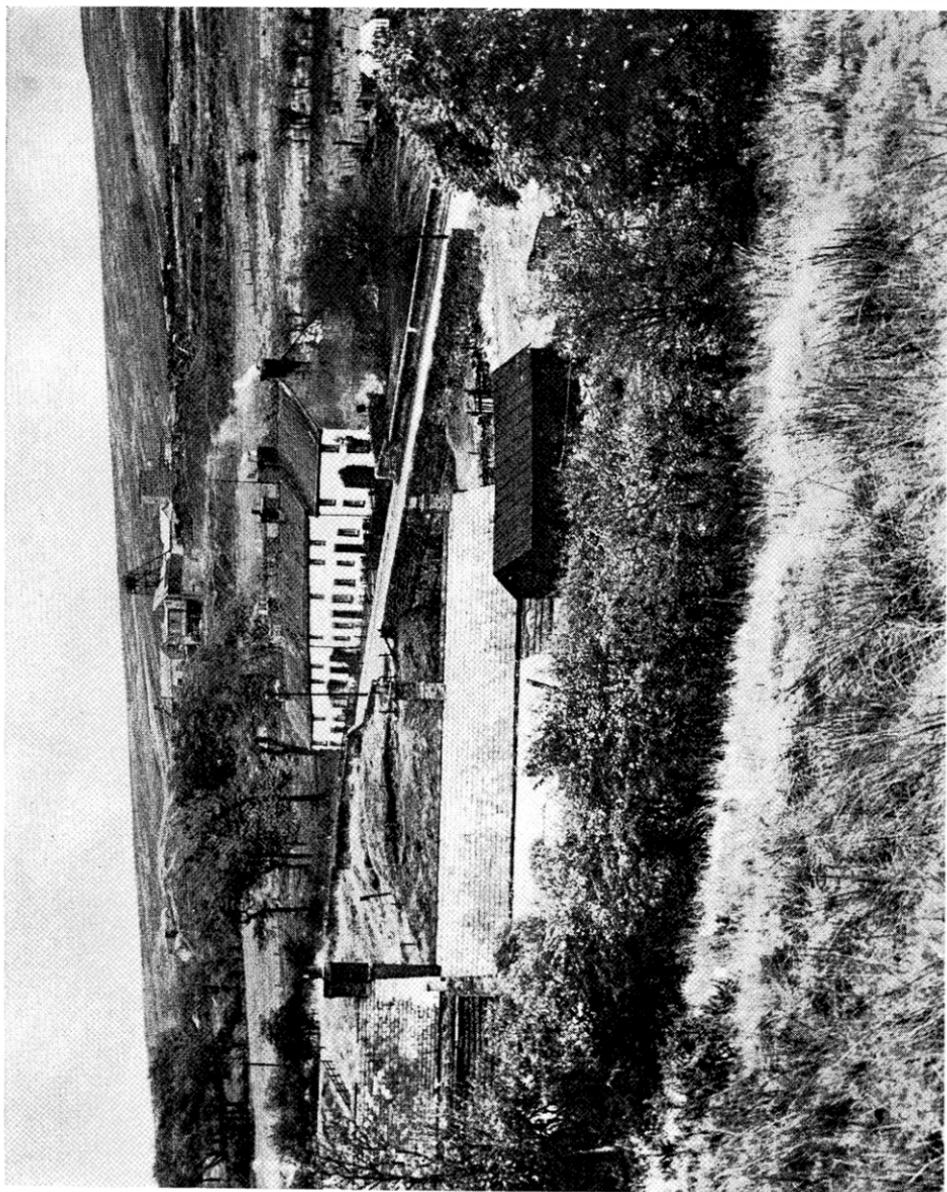
<sup>47</sup> HN C 645.

<sup>48</sup> HN C 590/15 (1824); *Carlisle Journal*, 13 March 1888.

<sup>49</sup> D. Spring, *The English landed estate in the nineteenth century* (Baltimore, 1963), 88-96, for Loch's stature as an agent. Loch was principal agent (auditor) for the Carlisle estates from 1823 until his death in 1855.

<sup>50</sup> HN C 665, 666.

<sup>51</sup> See, for example, HN C 665 and 669.



(Photo. *The Guardian*).

PLATE I.—Midgeholme in 1953. In 1838 the cottages by the road formed part of a row of two- and three-roomed houses. The entire terrace was extensively modified, apparently between 1894 and 1898, so as to provide each house with at least four rooms. All the cottages were in derelict condition in 1971. The colliery is King Pit, the successor of a 19th-century working of the same name and the last large coal mine in east Cumberland. Mining ceased in 1954.

-facing p. 129.

or constant attention. A cottage built at Forest Head in 1768 was occupied by a coke burner, for example, while another, erected in 1770, accommodated the banksman at Talkin Colliery.<sup>52</sup> Most of the cottages built at Kirkhouse and Bowbank before about 1790 appear to have been inhabited by stable grooms, smiths, maintenance men and colliery officials.<sup>53</sup> Not the least of Thompson's contributions as agent was to extend cottage-building not only to parts of the estate which had been poorly served hitherto, but also to all sections of the mining community. "Without cottages good men cannot be kept", he wrote in 1836, by which time the effects of cottage-building were apparent throughout the district (Table 1).<sup>54</sup>

**TABLE 1.**  
**Colliery Cottages, 1838.**

Armathwaite	1	Howgill	10
Baron House	2*	Hynams	4
Beck	3	Kirkhouse	5
Blacksike and Havannah	4	Midgeholme	20*
Bowbank	14	Milton	4
Brampton Staith	2	Plane Foot	2
Bluegate	1	Prior Dyke and	
Clesketts and Tortie	5	Haining Burn	2
Cleugh Head	4	Riggfoot	15
Clowgill Holme	10	Templegarth	6
Coalfell	16	Todholes	3*
Forest Head	10	Williamgill	2
Greens and Gairs	6		
Hallbankgate	11		
Halton Lea	13*	Total	182
Hill House	7		

\* Wholly or in part within Northumberland.

Source: HN C 695.

More cottages were to follow. At least 50 were built in the colliery district between 1838 and 1861, a further

<sup>52</sup> HN C 665 (1768, 1770).

<sup>53</sup> HN C 665, 666.

<sup>54</sup> HN C 590/52 (1836).

15 between 1861 and 1875 and 28 between 1875 and 1906.<sup>55</sup> Over the years, however, the housing stock slowly diminished in the face of decay and of a process of reconstruction that frequently involved turning two cottages into one. Yet some 200 colliery houses were standing between the wars, and many survive at the time of writing (Plate I).<sup>56</sup>

The earlier phases of building had produced a scatter of cottages in the lowland corridor below the fells and along the flanks of the high ground nearby. Even where they were most numerous, the houses rarely formed a tight cluster (Fig. 2). Later building did little to alter this pattern. Like Follysike (c. 1860) and Howard View (1876), many of the houses were constructed close to relatively small mines and quarries.<sup>57</sup> Not infrequently they assumed the form of an isolated terrace of perhaps ten or a dozen houses together, a form of building which was regarded as "suitable for pitmen" and for which there were local precedents going back to at least the 1830s.<sup>58</sup> In one or two places, however, and most notably at Hallbankgate (1838-49), Tindale (1865-92) and Halton-lea-Gate (1838-50), small centres of population were enlarged at about this time by extension and infilling (Fig. 3).<sup>59</sup>

According to Charles Lacy Thompson, James' grandson, the miners owed their allotments to his grandfather.<sup>60</sup> Yet, as Table 2 shows, workmen had kept livestock on the colliery estate long before 1819. In the early years covered by the figures, cow-keepers were few and the income from land and grazing quite

<sup>55</sup> HN C 686 (c. 1906). The total amount of new building was almost certainly greater than these figures indicate. Some cottages known to have been erected by the lessees of the mines are not included.

<sup>56</sup> C. Roberts, *The Radical Countess* (Carlisle 1962), 139.

<sup>57</sup> Dates from HN C 686 (c. 1906).

<sup>58</sup> File 113, Old Brewery Offices, Brampton, L. Jones to L. du Cane, 30 May 1910; HN C 636 (1838).

<sup>59</sup> Dates from HN C 686 (c. 1906) and from miscellaneous references among the Howard papers. The dates are intended only to indicate periods of significant building activity.

<sup>60</sup> *Carlisle Patriot*, 16 August 1889.

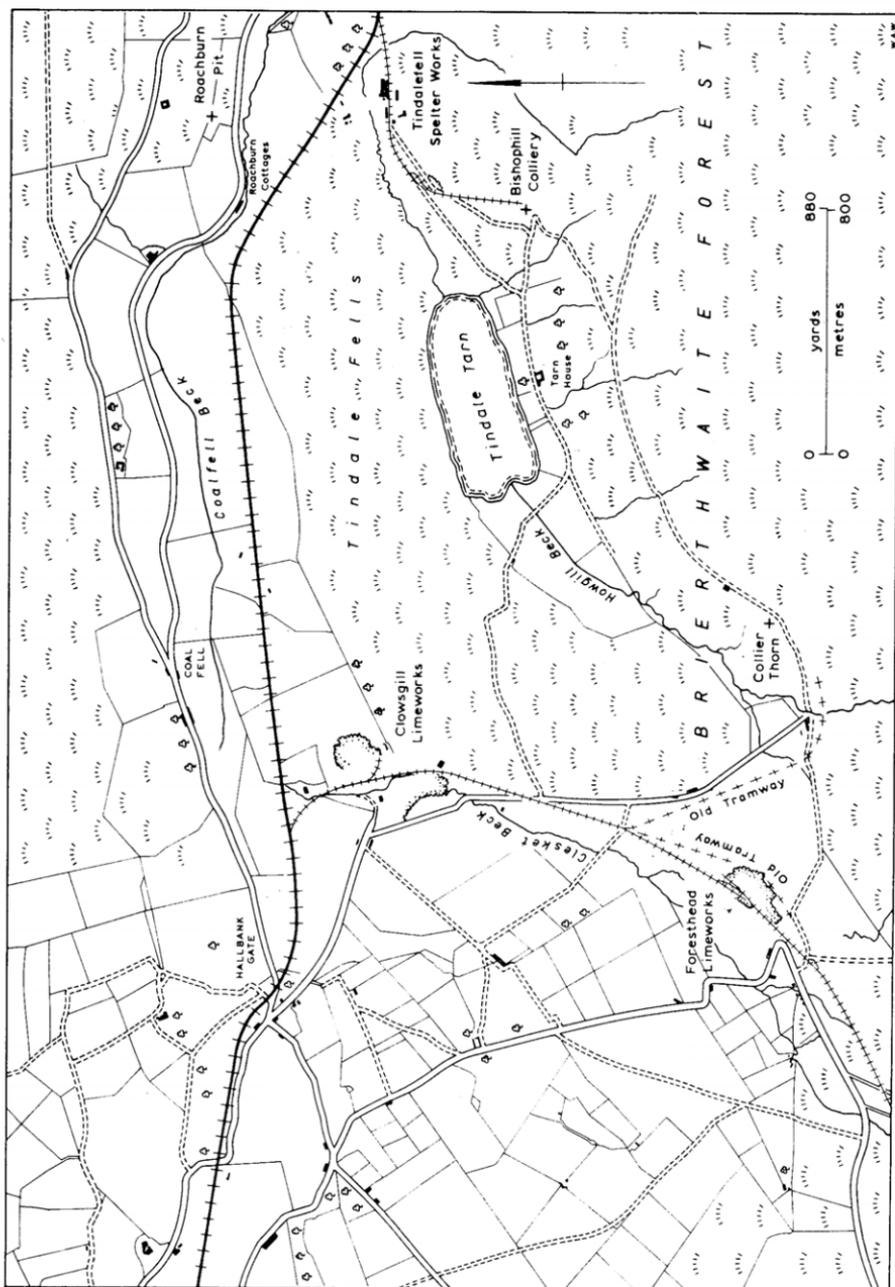


FIG. 2.—A part of the colliery district, *circa* 1860, redrawn from the First Edition of the Ordnance Survey Six-inch Sheet.

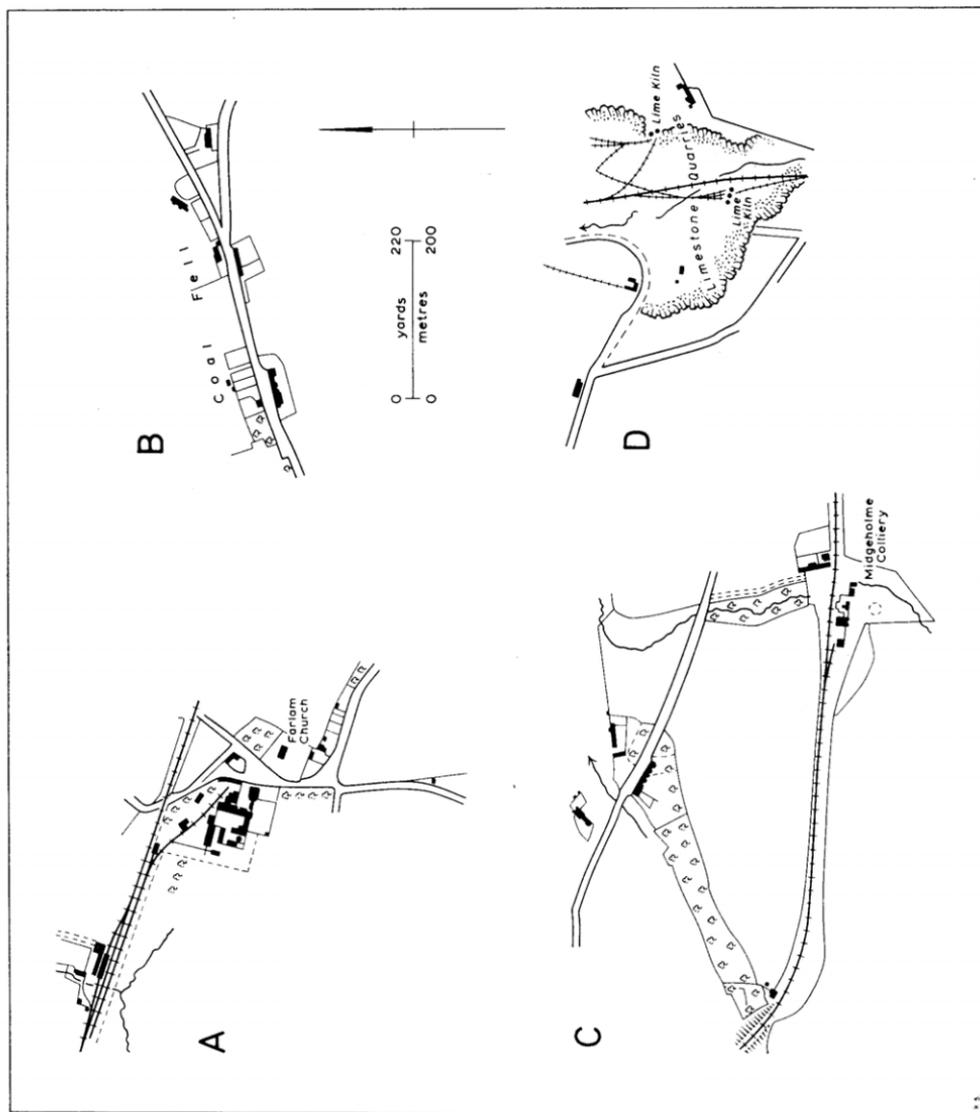


FIG. 3.—Some settlement forms within the colliery district, 1838. (A) Kirkhouse, (B) Coalfell, (C) Midgeholme, (D) Clowsgill. Source: HN C 636 (1838).

TABLE 2.

## Income from Cow Grazings and Workmen's Land.

Year	Income			Year	Income		
	£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.
1771	25.	12.	5.	1805	70.	0.	0.
1772	N.A.			1806	88.	15.	0.
1773	17.	4.	6.	1807	88.	15.	0.
1774	16.	5.	0.	1808	105.	12.	0.
1775	18.	6.	0.	1809	115.	0.	0.
1776	15.	5.	0.	1810	95.	0.	0.
1777	16.	13.	0.	1811	84.	15.	0.
1778	16.	4.	0.	1812	84.	15.	0.
1779	18.	3.	0.	1813	84.	15.	0.
1780	21.	4.	6.	1814	100.	10.	0.
1781	29.	4.	0.	1815	100.	10.	0.
1782	48.	4.	3.	1816	100.	10.	0.
1783	N.A.			1817	100.	10.	0.
1784	81.	18.	6.	1818	100.	10.	0.
1785	88.	8.	6.	1819	134.	11.	3. ( $\frac{1}{2}$ year)*
1786	84.	18.	0.	1820	294.	17.	6. ( $\frac{1}{2}$ year)
1787	126.	7.	6.	1821	657.	19.	0.
1788	130.	15.	3.	1822	N.A.		
1789	119.	5.	6.	1823	633.	0.	0.
1790	100.	4.	10.	1824	658.	17.	0.
1791	50.	0.	6.	1825	699.	2.	7.
1792	76.	7.	0.	1826	695.	17.	6.
1793	119.	11.	9.	1827	690.	18.	0.
1794	185.	10.	3.	1828	586.	3.	6.
1795	144.	10.	6.	1829	617.	14.	6.
1796	86.	19.	0.	1830	622.	19.	6.
1797	89.	16.	9.	1831	609.	4.	0.
1798	N.A.			1832	581.	6.	3.
1799	109.	2.	0.	1833.	607.	6.	6.
1800	N.A.			1834	649.	17.	0.
1801	N.A.			1835	649.	13.	6.
1802	N.A.			1836	646.	6.	6.
1803	N.A.			1837	880.	10.	10.
1804	55.	0.	0.	1838	329.	16.	0. ( $\frac{1}{2}$ year)

N.A. Not available.

\*Cottage rents included after 1819.

Sources: HN C 665, 666, 645.

small. However, there are suggestions elsewhere in the estate records that something more ambitious was tried. In 1770 a lease was granted by the estate on 58 acres (23.2 hectares) of Coalfell Farm.<sup>61</sup> Of the six lessees involved, five were colliers. Two other colliers together leased a further 18 acres (7.2 hectares) on the same holding. This experiment, if such it was, may not have survived.<sup>62</sup> After the enclosure of Farlam Common in 1780, however, income from land rose sharply as plots of ground on the former commons became available to workmen.<sup>63</sup> By the 1820s, when the accounts again provide details of cottages and land, many pitmen were paying rent for the use of small parcels of ground.<sup>64</sup> But very few appear to have thought of themselves as anything but miners, to judge from the evidence of the census schedules. One or two only are there recorded as pursuing the occupation of both farmer and coal miner.<sup>65</sup>

Despite imperfections in the evidence, it seems clear that Thompson was not responsible for introducing smallholdings to the Brampton district. Nevertheless, that they became under his direction both highly organised and geographically widespread is beyond doubt. As new cottages were built after 1819, their occupants were encouraged by the provision of byres and by access to meadow and pasture to become cow-keepers.<sup>66</sup> If their allotments proved insufficient, the men could purchase hay from the large colliery

<sup>61</sup> HN C 201/18 (1770).

<sup>62</sup> HN C 666 (e.g., 1787, for a part of Coalfell "formerly lett to work people").

<sup>63</sup> HN C 665, 666 (especially 1780-4).

<sup>64</sup> Details in HN C 645, 1820 *et seq.*

<sup>65</sup> e.g., Matthew Hodgson, Jockey Shield, pitman and farmer of 6½ acres (P.R.O. H.O. 107/2427, 1851, 44); John Bell, Forest Head, colliery foreman and farmer of 13 acres (P.R.O. R.G. 9/3908, 1861, 34).

<sup>66</sup> Loch's influence cannot be dismissed entirely. On Lord Stafford's Shropshire estate, as Loch himself pointed out, it was the policy in the mining districts "by degrees to give land sufficient for the maintenance of a cow to the more respectable and industrious" (J. Loch, *An account of the improvements on the estates of the Marquess of Stafford*, London, 1820, 100).

farms.<sup>67</sup> Each meadow or pasture was usually associated with a particular settlement, or group of settlements, thus reducing to a minimum the distance between house and land (Fig. 1). Although there were garden allotments in some places, the normal holding consisted during the second half of the nineteenth century of an acre or two (say 1 hectare) of meadow, together with rights of pasture. For these privileges the men paid in 1890 between £7 and £7. 10. 0. a year.<sup>68</sup> The system appears to have been popular. Almost 160 cottagers — well over half of all the householders on the colliery lands — were keeping cows in 1886, and on more than one occasion the men showed that they wished to retain their holdings even if they had to pay more for them.<sup>69</sup> According to one who knew them well, the allotments were of “very great benefit” to the men, and particularly “to those who have young families”.<sup>70</sup>

The extent to which smallholdings engaged the interest and sympathy of successive earls of Carlisle is not clear. Until well into the nineteenth century, the family appear to have spent little time in Cumberland, preferring instead the less austere surroundings of Castle Howard in Yorkshire.<sup>71</sup> The presence at Naworth of a series of highly capable land and colliery agents might thus be thought of particular significance.<sup>72</sup> It is unlikely, however, that much could have been achieved without the approval of either the family or the trustees who from time to time administered the estate. When, after 1838, the mines

<sup>67</sup> HN C 645. In 1816, for example, the sum of £100. 10. 0. recorded in the accounts was for “lands let, hay sold and cows kept . . . on the colliery farms”.

<sup>68</sup> HN C 590a, R. Turnbull to Messrs Thompson, 28 November 1890. The allotments appear in HN C 600/1-5 (undated).

<sup>69</sup> HN C 590a, Messrs Thompson to C. Stephenson, 13 February 1886; *Carlisle Patriot*, 20 and 27 June 1890.

<sup>70</sup> HN C 590a, J. G. Grey to T. C. Thompson, 2 November 1872.

<sup>71</sup> This conclusion is based principally on correspondence and on the land agent's accounts among the Howard of Naworth MSS.

<sup>72</sup> Successive members of the Ramshay family filled the post of land agent at Naworth for more than a century after c. 1760.

ceased to be worked by the earls of Carlisle, successive leases to the Thompson family ensured that land continued to be set aside for cow-keeping. Later, when the management of the estates was assumed by the redoubtable Rosalind Howard, wife of the ninth earl, cow-keeping received not merely approval but strong and determined support. Believing that the rents charged by the lessees were excessive, she took the allotments in hand and they became once more an integral part of the estate.<sup>73</sup>

### *The Colliery settlements.*

By the standard even of the 1830s, the cottages built before Thompson's day were "wretched hovels".<sup>74</sup> Most of them were put up as the need arose, using local stone and either thatch or slate.<sup>75</sup> Some, however, began life as byres, outbuildings or even farm steadings.<sup>76</sup> A great many probably resembled the most rudimentary of the cottages which appear in a list of *c.* 1838.<sup>77</sup> These consisted of a single ground-floor room, to which might be attached a "teefall", or outshot.<sup>78</sup> Cottages of this type tended to disappear during the course of the nineteenth century, although George Grant, of Forest Head, together with his wife and two small children, lived in such a house in 1887.<sup>79</sup> A similar cottage at Halton-lea-Gate, in Northumberland, was deemed "too small for habitation" in 1905, though it had been in use not many years before.<sup>80</sup>

<sup>73</sup> HN C 699 (1895); HN C (uncalendared) Cowkeepers' rental ledgers, 1890-1913; C. Roberts, *op. cit.*, 67; D. Henley, *Rosalind Howard, Countess of Carlisle* (London 1958), *passim*; *Cumberland News*, 20 August 1921.

<sup>74</sup> *Carlisle Patriot*, 22 July 1836.

<sup>75</sup> HN C 665, 666. Both ling and rye straw were used as thatching materials.

<sup>76</sup> HN C 665 (1775), HN C 590/62 (1837).

<sup>77</sup> HN C 695, "List of erections and cottages at Kirkhouse" (watermark 1837).

<sup>78</sup> *c.f.* the account of farmsteads in J. Bailey and G. Culley, *General view of the agriculture of Cumberland* (London, 1794), 12: "These houses, have, for the most part, a kitchen and a parlour in front, a toofall back kitchen and milk-house behind, with four of five lodging-rooms above. . . ."

<sup>79</sup> HN C 695, census (1887).

<sup>80</sup> HN C 695 (1905).

Poor though they were, such houses were probably no worse than most agricultural cottages in the district.<sup>81</sup> Thompson's improved cottages usually contained two rooms. Sometimes these occupied the ground floor of a single-storeyed structure, but there was often an upper room to which access was gained by ladder.<sup>82</sup> Many such rooms, however, were "no more than a small loft just under the roof", and it may be significant that in the list of 1838 referred to, "upstairs" could be equated with "garret".<sup>83</sup>

Most of Thompson's houses continued in use long after his death in 1851. Thompson himself appears to have built comparatively few houses during the term of his lease and it was left to his successors, assisted by the estate, to add significantly to the housing stock. Even after 1860, some new cottages contained only two rooms.<sup>84</sup>

An unfortunate consequence of the local building history was the survival into a later age of many sub-standard houses. Of 253 cottages surveyed in 1872, more than 80 were described as "old and bad".<sup>85</sup> The estate's law agent was less forthright, but no less damning, in 1887. "The general condition of repair," he wrote, "appears to be as good as could be expected in old cottages."<sup>86</sup> As many as 120 cottages built before 1838 were still in use throughout the colliery district

<sup>81</sup> E. Chadwick, *Sanitary condition of the labouring population*, P.P. (H.L.) xxvi (1842), 409, 162-163 (Irish University Press edition). In 1840 Sir John Walsham wrote of the North: "In the rural districts, the cottages on the estates of the greatest proprietors have rarely more than one single room for every purpose. In the pit-rows and in towns they have nominally two rooms, but even there the inhabitants are accustomed to live and sleep . . . in the same room" (*1st report on the state of the dwellings of the labouring classes in Cumberland, Durham, Northumberland, and Westmorland*, P.P. (H.L.) xxvii (1842), 1059 (I.U.P. edition)).

<sup>82</sup> According to Lady Carlisle, as late as 1909 there were "very few cottages with staircases . . . most of them had only dangerous ladders" (File 113, Old Brewery Offices, Brampton, "Memorandum by Lady Carlisle", 6 September 1909).

<sup>83</sup> HN C 695 (1887, vicar's survey).

<sup>84</sup> HN C 686 (c. 1906); HN C 695, census (1887).

<sup>85</sup> HN C 590a, J. G. Grey to R. du Cane, 30 November 1872.

<sup>86</sup> HN C 686 (23 October 1887).

in 1906.<sup>87</sup> Many had been modified, it is true, giving their occupants at least two bedrooms, a separate pantry, a staircase, more light or better ventilation.<sup>88</sup> But, as Table 3 suggests, housing conditions at the turn of the century left much to be desired.

What the figures cannot show is the ‘lamentably damp’ and dark condition of many houses, or the fact that most of them as late as 1890 were without piped water.<sup>89</sup> Conditions would probably have been worse but for Rosalind Howard, whose zealous and uncompromising radicalism frequently brought her into conflict with the lessees. She confessed to finding the miners ‘a strange, rough, drinking population’, but their grievances nevertheless attracted her sympathy and she took up their complaints with much the same enthusiasm that she sought to close public houses and convert them into temperance halls.<sup>90</sup> It was largely through her insistence, acting as her husband’s agent, that scores of cottages were eventually repaired and improved.

In 1887 housing conditions in east Cumberland received unfavourable notice in the national press. In a letter to *The Times*, C. F. Gunton, the vicar of Farlam, wrote:<sup>91</sup>

I see . . . that a certain large owner of property in Bermondsey was fined . . . for permitting a family consisting of the father, mother, three sons, and two daughters and a child to inhabit two rooms. I wish to say that such overcrowding is the normal state in this the Naworth Colliery district.

Two surveys, one carried out by Gunton himself and the other on behalf of the lessees, show that the

<sup>87</sup> HN C 686 (c. 1906).

<sup>88</sup> HN C 695.

<sup>89</sup> HN C 695 (1887); *Carlisle Journal*, 14 June 1889; *Carlisle Patriot*, 23 August 1889; *Carlisle Patriot*, 13 June 1890.

<sup>90</sup> Roberts, *op. cit.*, 64; HN C 186/2 and 3 (1891).

<sup>91</sup> 11 October 1887. For C. F. Gunton (1850-1929), see J. A. Venn, *Alumni Cantab.*, pt. 2, vol. iii, 173. Gunton held the living of Farlam from 1885 until 1890.

**TABLE 3.**  
**Some details of Colliery Cottages.**

(1) 1838

No. of cottages	No. of rooms	%
33	1	18.1
130	2	71.4
18	3	9.9
1	4 or more	0.5
<hr style="width: 20%; margin-left: 0;"/>		
182		

(2a) 1887, estate survey

No. of cottages	No. of rooms	%
4	1	1.4
159	2	56.6
98	3	34.9
20	4 or more	7.1
<hr style="width: 20%; margin-left: 0;"/>		
281		

(2b) 1887, vicar's survey

No. of cottages	No. of rooms	%
8	1	2.4
157	2	49.2
90	3	28.2
64	4 or more	20.1
<hr style="width: 20%; margin-left: 0;"/>		
319*		

\*Includes houses within the colliery district not occupied by miners and limeworkers.

(3) 1905

No. of cottages	No. of rooms	%
None	1	—
67	2	30.9
61	3	28.1
89	4 or more	41.0
<hr style="width: 20%; margin-left: 0;"/>		
217		

Sources: (1) HN C 695 (1838)  
 (2a) HN C 695 (1887)  
 (2b) HN C 695 (1887)  
 (3) HN C 696 (1905)

complaints were justified. The 319 dwellings covered by Gunton's survey were occupied at an average density of 5.56 inhabitants per house.<sup>92</sup> In the estate survey, which was confined to houses included in the colliery lease, the equivalent figure in 281 houses was 6.08 inhabitants.<sup>93</sup> Yet, as Gunton's survey shows, colliery houses were not necessarily the most crowded. Some cottages at Tindale were particularly bad. Built by J. C. Attwood after 1845 on land leased from the estate for the erection of a spelter works, each contained a kitchen, 14 ft. x 12 ft. (4.1 m. x 3.6 m.) on the ground floor and a bedroom above.<sup>94</sup> Fourteen cottages of this type housed in 1887 no fewer than 93 persons, or an average of 6.64 inhabitants per house.<sup>95</sup> Conditions had almost certainly deteriorated over the years, for in some cases an original cottage had been divided into two.<sup>96</sup>

These averages conceal wide variations and must be treated with caution. Some houses contained relations of the family, lodgers, a large number of children or an awkward combination of adults and children in different age groups. In other cases, the structure of the household suggests that pressures on space would have been somewhat less than the figures alone might indicate. Even so, densities of two or more persons per room appear in no fewer than 205 of the houses inspected in 1887, and it is easy to understand that a cottage which might be neat and pleasant within was nevertheless often quite incapable of providing what one visitor called "decent accommodation".<sup>97</sup>

<sup>92</sup> Calculated from HN C 695 (1887), *A census of the parish of Farlam taken by the vicar.*

<sup>93</sup> Calculated from HN C 695, "Census, Naworth Collieries, November 1887".

<sup>94</sup> HN C 607/3, 8 November 1893. The origins of the spelter works may be found in C.R.O. *Leases I*, 454 ff. and in HN C 590/121 (1845).

<sup>95</sup> Gunton's census. See also P.R.O. M.H. 12/1584, *passim*.

<sup>96</sup> HN C 607/3, 8 November 1893.

<sup>97</sup> HN C 686, R. du Cane to Messrs Thompson, 23 October 1887. For the significance of the figure quoted, see W. V. Hole and M. T. Pountney, *Trends in population, housing and occupancy rates 1861-1971*, (London, 1971), 5 ff.

Whether they had ever done so, even when new, is debatable. It was suggested in 1888 that the cottages "were probably never intended to accommodate the larger number of persons who are now allowed and are willing to crowd into them in the absence of other and better accommodation."<sup>98</sup> But Gunton himself thought that in matters of housing the local miners were "long-suffering", an opinion which receives some support from the 1871 census.<sup>99</sup> Some 300 houses, containing a population of more than 1,700 persons, were then occupied at an average density of 5.67 inhabitants per house.<sup>100</sup> One of the worst cases of overcrowding, a converted farmstead at Hill House on the Northumberland border, brought together 42 persons, all members of mining families, in six two- and three-room dwellings.<sup>101</sup> But similar examples could be found elsewhere.<sup>102</sup> Several circumstances contributed to produce overcrowding. After 1838 responsibility for housing no longer rested with the estate alone: the lessees were reluctant to invest in costly new accommodation unless compelled to do so.<sup>103</sup> Demographic causes were also at work. The estate survey of 1887 suggests that overcrowding was much more likely to be associated with numerous children than with the presence in the house of lodgers or relatives.<sup>104</sup>

Only when we know more about conditions in other

<sup>98</sup> HN C 686, R. du Cane to Messrs Thompson, 21 April 1888.

<sup>99</sup> *The Times*, 11 October 1887.

<sup>100</sup> Calculated from P.R.O. R.G. 10/5210 (1871).

<sup>101</sup> R.G. 10/5210; HN C 695, censuses of 1887.

<sup>102</sup> Nine cottages at Howgill contained a total of 64 inhabitants in 1871.

Another group of cottages known as "Roachburn Six" together accommodated 47 persons (P.R.O. R.G. 10/5210).

<sup>103</sup> For the nature of the debate, see HN C 590a, especially "Drafts for new colliery lease" (1889-91).

<sup>104</sup> The mining population tended to be comparatively youthful. The average age of 53 local miners in 1851 was 32.3 years: in Hartleyburn, Northumberland, the average age of 109 miners was then 26.2 years (P.R.O. H.O. 107/2427). The average age of 235 local miners in 1861 works out at 28.5 years. If heads of households alone are considered, the average age is 42.2 years: the equivalent group of farmers and agricultural workers had an average age of 45.0 years (P.R.O. R.G. 9/3906-8).

mining districts will it be possible to say whether the east Cumberland collier was particularly badly housed. Occupation rates of between 5.0 and 6.0 per house, although above the county average, were not unusual in the mining districts of Cumberland in the early 1870s; indeed considerably higher rates prevailed in some areas.<sup>105</sup> In these terms, east Cumberland compared favourably with the upstart iron town of Millom, for instance. Not only were many houses in Millom shared by more than one family, but they often contained lodgers as well.<sup>106</sup> It is difficult to interpret living conditions purely in such terms, however; many of the Millom houses were still new in the 1870s and for all their shortcomings were sometimes more spacious than the fellside cottages.<sup>107</sup> Similarly, it is difficult to place any realistic value on the advantages of living in a rural area with access to an allotment. However, the health of the fellside mining communities appears in a not unfavourable light both locally and by comparison with certain mining communities elsewhere.<sup>108</sup>

For most east Cumberland miners the daily journey to work involved a walk by field paths or across fells.<sup>109</sup> Such journeys seldom took the men very far from home, although the exhaustion of old pits—an increasingly common occurrence towards the end of the nineteenth century—inevitably caused problems.<sup>110</sup> Whether he worked in the heart of the colliery district

<sup>105</sup> The printed decennial census provides a summary of the number of houses in the county at each census year.

<sup>106</sup> In 57 houses within Millom Newtown, the average occupation rate in 1871 was 6.10. At Mainsgate, close to the Hodbarrow iron mines, cottages were occupied at a density of 6.73 inhabitants per house (P.R.O. R.G. 10/5267-8).

<sup>107</sup> A. Harris, *Cumberland Iron* (Truro, 1970), 46.

<sup>108</sup> *Carlisle Journal*, 9 March 1888. A death rate of 17.9 per 1,000 was regarded in Millom as "fairly satisfactory" in 1885 (*Millom Advertiser*, 14 February 1885). In the fellside colliery district the death rate was 8.6 per 1,000 in 1886 and 10.4 per 1,000 in 1887. But see P.R.O. M.H. 12/1584.

<sup>109</sup> Some may have used railway transport. See HN C 645 (1833) and *Select Committee on Railways* (1839), Appendix to 1st Report, 81, and Appendix to 2nd Report, 386.

<sup>110</sup> *Carlisle Journal*, 12 May 1893.

or on its periphery, the local miner was always within sight of open country. Hallbankgate, Tindale and Halton-lea-Gate, the most compact of the mining and industrial communities, each contained fewer inhabitants than many agricultural settlements.<sup>111</sup> Their social amenities indeed were frequently inferior compared with such places, for in Rosalind Howard's time publicans and beer-house keepers were actively discouraged. It had been otherwise at an earlier period, when special occasions were invariably marked by a gift of ale from the household at Naworth.<sup>112</sup> Lady Carlisle's temperance campaign was not without support, however, in a district where Methodism was strong and where the chapel, together with the school, the reading-room and the Co-operative store, was very often the only building with architectural pretensions.<sup>113</sup> The rural setting of the mines and kilns produced its own problems. The very accessibility of the fells led to friction locally, since large areas were preserved for game.<sup>114</sup> Children stayed away from school at hay-making, much as in other country areas, while the men themselves were said to be inclined to absent themselves from work for similar reasons.<sup>115</sup>

But the wealth of this part of the Cumberland estate lay neither in game nor in agriculture. Charles Lacy Thompson could claim in 1888 a workforce of about 1,000 in two counties.<sup>116</sup> While this is considerably

<sup>111</sup> These places each contained between about 150 and 300 inhabitants in 1871.

<sup>112</sup> E.g., the Midgeholme men in 1772-3 received liquor "at coaling the . . . Engine shaft as customary" (HN C 665). Similarly, workers at the lime kilns were given ale for being on duty at the time of Brampton Fair and on Midsummer day.

<sup>113</sup> *Carlisle Journal*, 24 August 1883; HN C 80 and 229 (for conveyances of land for chapel purposes); P.R.O. H.O. 129/556, 566 (1851), for religious census returns.

<sup>114</sup> File 112a, Old Brewery Offices, Brampton; P.R.O. I.R. 18/7242 (1840).

<sup>115</sup> C.R.O. Farlam Spelter Works School log-book (1872-96); HN C 590a, J. Thompson to Lady Carlisle, 14 June 1890.

<sup>116</sup> *Carlisle Journal*, 13 March 1888. For C. L. Thompson (1857-1920), see *Alumni Cantab.*, pt. 2, vol. vi, 159. Charles Lacy Thompson was the last of his name to hold the lease of the Naworth collieries. The lease was terminated at his own request following the Roachburn pit disaster of 1908.

larger than any earlier figure which has survived for the enterprise, those figures are not insignificant. Of the six pits open on the Cumberland estate in 1824, three employed between 17 and 20, one 11 and only two fewer than 5 hewers each.<sup>117</sup> When waggon men, drivers, carpenters and limeworkers are included, it appears that more than 200 men, women and boys were employed. In 1804 five working pits together provided jobs for about 100 persons; another 40 were employed on the Tindale Fell waggonway and between 20 and 30 at the kilns and quarries.<sup>118</sup> As early as 1771-72, the workforce had numbered at least sixty individuals.<sup>119</sup> These are substantial figures for an area whose total population in 1821 numbered fewer than 1800.<sup>120</sup> Their significance can be expressed in another way. For every person employed on the land in Farlam there were in 1841 at least three others in the mines or at the kilns and quarries.<sup>121</sup> In 1871 the equivalent ratio was about one in five, or one in six if zinc smelting is included, and many of the fellside communities had become heavily committed to a narrow range of occupations.<sup>122</sup> In this they resembled their mining counterparts near the coast: the consequences were to prove in the long run no less far reaching than in that area.<sup>123</sup>

Unlike west Cumberland, however, the eastern fells attracted few long-distance migrants. Mining certainly drew newcomers to the district, both in the eighteenth century and later, but rarely from far afield.<sup>124</sup> On

<sup>117</sup> HN C (uncalendared), *Bill Book* (1823-6).

<sup>118</sup> HN C 669 (1804).

<sup>119</sup> HN C 669 (1771-2).

<sup>120</sup> The population quoted is that of Talkin, Naworth, Farlam, Denton and Hartleyburn.

<sup>121</sup> P.R.O. H.O. 107/168 (1841).

<sup>122</sup> P.R.O. R.G. 10/5210.

<sup>123</sup> *Manchester Guardian*, 30 October 1953; File 112a, Old Brewery Offices, Brampton.

<sup>124</sup> W. Hutchinson, *Cumberland*, vol. i, 142. James Thompson reported in 1834 that "the old cottages at Riggfoot are at present rebuilding, with a view of bringing 2 or 3 of the best families from Blenkinsopp at the end of the year" (HN C 590/47, 1834).

the Cumberland side they came mostly from other parts of the county and from parishes nearby in Northumberland. In that county it was the Cumberland-born who provided most of the out-county migrants.<sup>125</sup> The Irish, numerous along the west coast, were here missing, and with them a distinctive feature of regional social geography.<sup>126</sup> Not the least interesting detail in the surviving colliery records is the recurrence of the same family, or clan, names from one generation to the next. Sons followed fathers into the mines and quarries, producing for the historian a fine confusion of Armstrongs, Bells, Heslops, Hetheringtons, Pattinsons and Ruddicks, to name a few. Such families provided hewers, putters, waggon-drivers or colliery officials almost throughout the entire period for which there is documentary evidence of mining locally.<sup>127</sup> The claim that the fellside miner was strongly attached to his native district was evidently based on something more than local pride.<sup>128</sup>

### **Conclusion.**

A pattern of settlement similar to that in east Cumberland is not unusual in districts where mining and land reclamation were once closely allied.<sup>129</sup> But smallholdings based on livestock, though common in upland areas of metalliferous mining, appear less frequently in the literature of coal mining.<sup>130</sup> If contemporary opinion can be accepted, by the 1880s at least the system described in this paper was unique

<sup>125</sup> These remarks are founded on the birthplace data in the census schedules of the period 1841-71.

<sup>126</sup> See, for example, J. Denvir, *The Irish in Britain* (London, 1892), 444-5.

<sup>127</sup> Materials for a detailed study exist in the Howard MSS., the census schedules, the parish records (C.R.O. DRC 6) and the surviving Militia Lists (C.R.O. Q/Mil.).

<sup>128</sup> *Carlisle Patriot*, 16 August 1889.

<sup>129</sup> B. Jennings (ed.), *A history of Nidderdale* (Huddersfield, 1967), 153-154, 298, 338-339; A. K. H. Jenkin, *The Cornish miner* (London, 1962 ed.), 253.

<sup>130</sup> See, for example, A. Young, *A six months' tour through the north of England*, ii (London, 1770), 283 ff.; T. Rowley, *The Shropshire landscape* (London, 1972), 211-215; CW2 lxxiii 209.

among the coal districts of Cumberland.<sup>131</sup> That it then appears to have been confined to a particular estate is not without significance. Moreover, no attempt seems to have been made to extend an allotment system to the Howard's leasehold collieries, although some of these were situated in country not unlike that near Brampton, and one of them at least carried with it a farm.<sup>132</sup> Whether the roots of the system strike more deeply than appears at present is a subject that awaits investigation. Certainly, small coal pits are known to have been worked intermittently in the district from an early period.<sup>133</sup> But from the 1750s onwards, there is little evidence to suggest that Carlisle's mines were conducted on anything but a highly organised and professional basis.<sup>134</sup> Attitudes, however, changed and while cow-keeping retained its popularity with the men it came eventually to be regarded with disfavour by management. By 1890, it appeared to Charles Lacy Thompson that there were sound reasons why pitmen should not be part-time farmers who spent "their strength in reclaiming Lord Carlisle's fells".<sup>135</sup> But by this time their efforts, combined with those of the estate, had left an enduring impression on the local scene.

### Acknowledgements.

This paper relies heavily on the Howard of Naworth papers in the Department of Palaeography and Diplomatic of the University of Durham. I am most grateful to the staff of the Department for allowing me to consult these documents.

<sup>131</sup> *Carlisle Patriot*, 16 August 1889.

<sup>132</sup> HN N 99/4 (1814). The farm, Angerton, was attached to Blenkinsopp Colliery. But see HN C 590a, for cow keeping near Haltwhistle, c. 1890.

<sup>133</sup> A colliery had been "sett up at ffarlam by John Bell of Boonhill in his ground" (HN C 624, 1730); see also HN C 645 (1803).

<sup>134</sup> Even in the early years of the 18th century, the mines had worked throughout the year and were evidently subject to careful management, HN C 664/1; "Richard Peck's View Book", 11-13 (1725-6), North of England Inst. Mining Engineers, Newcastle.

<sup>135</sup> HN C 590a, R. E. Turnbull to Lady Carlisle, 10 May 1890.