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‘And who is my neighbour?’: The Methodists of Hunsonby and Winskill in their Local Context, 1821-1871

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This article extends the investigation into the Methodists of Hunsonby, Cumbria, begun in my article published in CW 2012. It investigates the relationships within the parish of Addingham, near Kirkoswald, in Cumberland, between the Methodists and the Church of England, and the ‘view from the vicarage’, and then moves on to explain the methodology used to ascertain the names of individual Methodists which enabled me to consider them in their local village context, before finally discussing their situation in 1871.

Please see the glossary in my earlier article for an explanation of Methodist terminology.

People and parish

IN 1821 Ralph Tatham had been Vicar of Addingham since 1795 and was 70 years old. His curate, John Jackson, signed the registers of births, marriages and deaths week after week, while Tatham presumably resided in his other parish in Bishopton, Co. Durham, where he died in 1825. He was followed by three young men in succession between 1825 and 1830, who continued to employ John Jackson. William Tomkyns Briggs, vicar from 1830-1834, also held the perpetual curacy of St John’s, Hampton Wick from 1831-1834, and did not officiate at a single baptism, wedding or burial at Addingham. The vicars seem to have been absentees in the period when the Methodists were first establishing their society in Hunsonby, and the continuity and activity at parish level were provided by the curate, who was also the schoolmaster of Maughanby Grammar School, situated near the church, and for a short time of Hunsonby School as well.

The next vicar, Henry St Andrew St John, seems to have brought more regularity to his ministry: he gradually dispensed with the curate and conducted all the services himself, even signing off the churchwardens’ accounts himself in 1836. Finally, in 1838, with the arrival of William Sharpe, some continuity was established: he stayed until 1855 and in both 1841 and 1851 was listed as resident in Little Salkeld vicarage.¹ However, despite his regular presence officiating at services, the record keeping was much less organised than had been the case during John Jackson’s curacy: the accounts were not signed off and there was no mention of the required triennial visitations by the archdeacon. Sharp increased the number of services of Holy Communion from five to eight per annum, but after an initial improvement in the total number of communions made annually the erratic, but clearly downward, slide was resumed after 1843. At the same time, from 1840-43, Methodist membership was following a similar pattern, with a period of strong growth followed by a fall in numbers, but in their case this was followed by a resumption of growth in 1849.²

The view from the vicarage is revealed in the triennial returns for the archdeacons' visitations to Addingham.³ Edward Brown, the vicar between 1855 and 1868, put forward several reasons for the failure of his parishioners to attend services regularly: the occupation of most of them as stock farmers and their lack of domestic servants; the distance to church, although he did his 'best' to visit them in their homes; and the neglect of public worship by the bulk of farm servants, perhaps on account of their migratory habits.⁴ Brown, worried about the church rates question, was watching his church expenses, which were 'few' in 1864, and gave the intemperate, even cantankerous, impression of somebody decidedly lacking in enthusiasm for his lot. There was no reading room or evening school; Brown reported a lecture given in 1864 'of what value I cannot see'. He held no missionary meetings and suspended both Sunday School and afternoon service during winter, citing 'impracticability' and the lack of a suitable conveniently situated building as the reasons.

Brown did not mince his words: education locally was decidedly bad and the state of the schools lamentable. He was highly critical of the schoolmaster, the Methodist Adam Dryden: 'the present master holds the bishop's licence merely as he says to secure his own tenure. He professes to be a Methodist Local Preacher but I believe him to be a mere time server [his emphasis]', he wrote in 1858, at a time when Dryden was taking 11 or 12 Methodist services per quarter and leading a weekly class. In 1861 he complained that Dryden had replaced the teaching of the Church of England catechism by the Methodist one, was holding a Dissenting Sunday School in 'the nominal church school at Hunsonby' and was 'under no superintendence but does what he likes'. Whether this amounted to an objection on the part of the incumbent to Methodism itself, or just to the individual, or indeed to both, is not clear: Brown also objected in similar terms in the same year to John Hodgson, the schoolmaster at Maughanby Grammar School (a 'mean filthy building') who declined to have a Sunday School in the building and who 'gives holidays when he likes and does what he likes'. The churchwardens, by contrast, when asked in 1861 whether the schoolmaster was duly licensed and a person of 'sober life and conversation', replied in the affirmative: the churchwarden for Hunsonby, Joseph Milburne, was almost certainly not a Methodist.⁵ Brown pressed repeatedly for a church at Gamblesby, which was finally built in 1868, but in 1872 his successor, Alexander Rhind Webster (1868-74) was complaining of overwork: without a curate the new church was a burden and Webster was 'obliged to divide the Sunday services as well as I can'. He seemed to like his flock no more than Brown had, complaining that they did not join in well at services and 'like most Cumbrians they are wonderfully stolid and unimpressionable'.⁶ He felt that, because of the opportunities afforded by four Dissenting chapels in the parish and, again, the distance to church, 'the people had for three generations been alienated from the Church', while their parents and elders prevented confirmed children from communicating 'on the ground that they are too young'.⁷

It is difficult to observe the involvement of ordinary parishioners in the life of their church. In contrast to the many recorded positions of responsibility in their chapel or circuit afforded to Methodists, Addingham, to judge from the records, offered only the post of churchwarden, while Edward Brown considered none but himself and his wife fit to teach at the Sunday School.⁸ The churchwardens' accounts detail, albeit

somewhat erratically, the number of services held each Sunday and the number of communicants at each service. The clergy had come to regard taking communion as the test of church membership and thus we may find in these figures some indication of the size of Addingham's active congregation.⁹ In 1820-21 there were a total of 214 communions made, with an average of 42 people taking the sacrament at the five communion services held in the year. Total communions fell to a low of 84 in 1854-5, after which Brown established a more regular pattern of services and they briefly improved. A further significant rise seemed to occur after the abolition of church rates in 1868, so that by 1871-2 total communions made were back up to 192. This increase was, however, probably more apparent than real, being driven more by the necessity of raising income from extra collections than by pastoral needs: the number of services held increased from eight to fourteen per annum, while collection totals almost trebled, but the average number of communicants per service was only 13, spread over 14 services in the year. Although the effect of the new church at Gamblesby cannot be ignored, it seems likely that some individuals took the sacrament more often (and contributed to more collections) but that fewer people attended overall.¹⁰

Actual attendance, however, as opposed to communicants, is no easier to demonstrate for the Anglicans than it is for the Methodists. The 1851 Census of Religious Worship shows 50 in the congregation on census day, while Brown in 1858 estimated his congregations at between 50 and 200, saying that they varied 'extremely' owing to the distances involved.¹¹ The communion figures do indeed testify to an erratic attendance, although they also show that Brown was consistently over-generous in his figures for communicants per service: in 1861, for example, he gave a normal attendance of 8-40, although 40 had not in fact been reached since 1843.¹² Both church and chapel seem to have been in demographic decline from 1854 to 1864, although a brief rally by both around 1860-1 may have encouraged Brown to comment that attendance on the means of grace had 'rather improved than otherwise' in 1861.¹³ However, by 1867, when the Methodists of Hunsonby were at a peak of membership after three years of startlingly rapid revival, and even the Addingham figures for average and total communicants were rising slightly, Brown was, rather oddly, of the opinion that there had been no change as to religious profession in his parish.¹⁴ None of these figures, of course, permits us to identify exactly which Hunsonby and Winskill residents attended the parish church.

Parish registers, however, do give details of the place of residence and are available for almost the entire period under review. The burial registers are indicative of demographic changes locally but these affected Methodist and Anglican alike; until the 1880 Burial Act only clergy of the Church of England could conduct funerals in the parish churchyard. The burial registers, therefore, do not indicate Methodists acting in any distinctive way and they generally show an individual in isolation from his community, unlike the records for baptisms and marriages. Evidence from marriage registers, which may indicate distinctively Methodist choices within the community, is discussed below.

TABLE 1. Number of Baptisms, Addingham and Hunsonby Methodist, 1841-1870.

	Methodist Hunsonby and Winskill	Addingham Parish	Total	Methodist as % of total
1841-1850	4	155	159	2.5%
1851-1860	12	165	177	6.8%
1861-1870	19	166	185	10.3%

Calculations based on statistics from DFCM 3/1/25, Methodist baptisms, 1841-70; PR 29/8, Addingham baptisms, 1841-70.

Baptism records (Table 1.) proved very fruitful, both in illuminating Methodist behaviour and in identifying Hunsonby and Winskill residents. The Penrith circuit baptism registers start in 1839.¹⁵ In 1840 Joseph Grisdale was the first Hunsonby member to avail himself of this new opportunity, for his seventh child, followed by his eighth (the next baptism listed for Hunsonby) in 1845; his earlier children were all baptised into the Church of England, despite his Methodist membership.¹⁶ The initial uptake was clearly slow but by 1871 there had been a further 37 baptisms in a total of 19 Hunsonby and Winskill families; 1858 seems to have been a turning point, after which the proportion of Methodist baptisms in the parish for Hunsonby and Winskill families increased significantly. Membership from 1853-1864 was generally falling and it seems possible that the marked increase after 1858 was created both by a younger and more fertile membership – the second generation of Hunsonby Methodists – and also by a greater willingness to use the Methodist rite. Additionally, the weekly visits begun in this period by the ministers for the Thursday evening worship meeting permitted an increased ministerial oversight, whilst also making the baptism service more practicable. After 1865, when the ministers began to take Sunday services more frequently, Sunday became the normal day for baptism. Moreover, the large ‘respectable’ new chapel that replaced the original small barn-like structure in 1862 may have been a factor. By this decade, the decision of George Samuel Dryden, son of a local preacher and himself a society steward and chapel trustee for Ainstable, to have his two children baptised, in 1865 and 1866, using the Church of England rite stands out as unusual in a way it would not have done earlier.

Many families in Hunsonby and Winskill had children who were baptised into either the Established or Methodist Church although Matthew Watson, an agricultural labourer and head of a large family, appeared to submit the same child to the Methodist rite one year and the Church of England the next.¹⁷ When only younger children were baptised as Methodists (as was the case with the family of Isaac Lowthian), this may give a clue as to when their parents became members or moved into the township, and when only one child in the middle of several was baptised into the Church of England (as was the case with a daughter of Joseph Davidson), this may indicate a concern about its health: it was probably quicker to obtain the vicar to perform a baptism in cases of urgent necessity. In this instance, the child died aged five weeks. When Mary Gedling took her last child to the church to be baptised – unlike her previous two children – was this because he was born too long after the death of her husband Joseph and the Church was less fussy about illegitimate births? Hazlehurst’s suggestion that the opposite was true and that chapels, in fact, gave a better reception

to the unmarried than did the Established Church is not born out by the contrast between the parochial registers, which noted several illegitimate births in most years, and the Methodist registers, which listed almost none.¹⁸

It is difficult to distinguish for certain from the evidence available whether the situation at the parish church was the cause or the effect of Methodist expansion. The society certainly took root here at a time of clerical weakness at the parish level, but it had probably been so for many years under Tatham. If Tatham had fostered only a general apathy towards matters of religion, why should Methodism be flourishing in Gamblesby, only three miles away and in the same parish, and yet take so long to reach Hunsonby? We do not know what the Methodists of Hunsonby thought of the succession of vicars, by turns elderly, short-term or non-resident and always living at a distance. Did they credit some with the wisdom of old age or find them unattractive when compared to the relative youth of many of their local preachers? Did they compare the brief tenure of vicars in the 1820s and 1830s unfavourably with the length of service of their own class leaders? Did they find them remote, compared to the presence of preachers and leaders within their own community, and the ready appreciation of local ways that this facilitated?¹⁹ Did the antipathy displayed by both Brown and Webster provoke a hostile response?

There is evidence from elsewhere in the circuit of the 'fluid population who did not seem to mind whether they went to the parish church or the Dissenting chapels' that was revealed by the 1851 Census of Religious Worship.²⁰ Robert Gate, who laid the foundation stone for the second chapel in Hunsonby, Hannah Wharton, a young Methodist girl in Temple Sowerby, and the Anglican John Sutherland visiting his Falder relatives in Winskill, were all happy to attend the services of different denominations, although Sutherland, while never mentioning the sermons, good or bad, at Addingham, was on several occasions critical of Hunsonby preaching, finding a sermon by his brother-in-law James Falder, for example, 'very poor stuff'.²¹

The conclusions about the family that may be drawn from the choice of baptismal rite have already been noted, but there seems to be no obvious explanation for the complete mixture of rites received by the eight children of John Lancaster, from a long established Methodist family, or by the six born to John Gedling. Obelkevich found that the families of labourers displayed a mixture of baptisms into either the Established or Methodist Church more often did those with a higher social standing, since the labouring classes in Lincolnshire tended to have a weaker commitment to any particular institution and to shop around or be guided by convenience: both Lancaster and Gedling were agricultural labourers.²² This, however, does not explain the fact that many of the apparently most committed Methodists, including Robert Davidson, George Wilson and William Workman – none of whom were labourers – all had children baptised at Addingham after 1840.²³

This same ambivalence is also evident when we look at the position of churchwarden. Probably 20 individuals served as churchwardens in Addingham between 1820 and 1871, of whom possibly 12 were Methodists. In the early years of the century many different names appeared as churchwardens and the intervals between their years of

service were long, but from 1860 to 1872 the role was becoming more restricted, certainly in terms of the individuals chosen – Joseph Milburne and Thomas Tinkler, probably both Anglicans, served nine years between them – but also possibly in terms of religious profession. In only three of these years did Methodists serve. Since this was both a religious and a secular position, with responsibilities to both the church and the village community, and, moreover, one for which any parish ratepayer could be chosen, service as churchwarden is more likely to be evidence of a certain social standing than of a distinctive religious conviction,²⁴ but it may also indicate a degree of willing accommodation, both on the part of Methodists with the parish church and also on the part of Anglican villagers with their Methodist neighbours. The increasing restriction of the role of churchwarden to a small clique may indicate a lessening of this willing accommodation. However, George Wilson, a Methodist class leader for 20 years, was referred to as the ‘Church Master’ when calling a meeting to discuss church repairs, and in 1868, after the death of Edward Brown, he was described as the chairman of the meeting.²⁵ At some point, between the death in 1847 of his wife, a member of the Methodist Holliday family, and the census of 1861, he had remarried, and in 1862 he ceased leading his class, by then reduced to only two members: had he perhaps moved back to worshipping at the parish church or was he, too, happy to support both? He was a contributor to the fund raising for the new Wordsworth Street chapel in Penrith in 1874.²⁶ A comparison of the figures for Methodist membership with those for communions made at Addingham (even after allowing for the often great variation in the latter from year to year) would seem to bear out this co-operative rather than competitive relationship. In the years up to 1835 the Methodists established themselves and then maintained their numbers fairly steadily, even as the Addingham figures were plunging, and from about 1849 to 1853 Methodist membership may have grown at the expense of the parish church, but otherwise their trajectories show some similarities. Although Addingham was undoubtedly declining throughout this period, it is perhaps the case that here, as in Gloucestershire, ‘ecumenicism, rather than sectarian rivalry, was the fruit of enthusiasm’ and that the ups and downs of religious enthusiasm in the parish had a similar effect upon both chapel *and* church.²⁷

Members and neighbours

It has been suggested that in an earlier period of religious conflict, in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, ‘local communities were often able to absorb religious differences and to subordinate them to ideals of “neighbourliness”’.²⁸ The investigation now moves on to see if it is possible, from the records that survive, to discern how far religious faith affected everyday business or social dealings in Hunsonby and Winskill, between neighbours who may have attended chapel or church or neither, and whether differences in faith may have led to differences in ‘neighbourliness’.

The essential first task, therefore, was to establish the names of those individuals who were members of the Hunsonby Methodist society. The list of members of the 1830 class,²⁹ plus the evidence from the circuit records, which gives the place of residence for many of those who held official church posts or donated money, established a core of definite members. However, many of these records do not cover the whole period from 1821-1871 and, even where they do, what was recorded was subject to

idiosyncratic variation. There was also an inbuilt bias towards those who were able, by their ability, their economic standing, their health and even their gender, to take official positions. The baptismal registers, which date from 1839, helped to remedy some of these defects and extended the core group by providing names not encountered anywhere else. It has been claimed, in Hazelhurst's study of Victorian Methodism in Lakeland, that we cannot assume that those bringing their children for baptism were society members, and that they may not have had any real connections with the chapel in question but, since the connexional rules clearly stated that baptism was intended only for members, it seemed reasonable to include those people.³⁰ These sources, plus one additional name found in a local newspaper, produced a list of 55 family units (generally of several people but occasionally comprising only one individual), a few of whom, to judge from the census data, were probably only short-term residents in the area. There was an unavoidable gap between the early evidence from the class list of 1830 and the later evidence from the baptism and census data, which was only partially covered by other circuit sources. In many cases we cannot be sure of the later involvement of the core class of 1830, since the use of baptism data inevitably excludes the childless and those past child-bearing age, and the problem is again compounded by the limited number of local names. Although they formed two-thirds of the 1830 class, women may well be under-represented, since they were permitted no official roles at that time in Hunsonby and were easily lost in the records when they changed their names on marriage. Those who chose to remain adherents only, rather than full members, are presumably still unaccounted for.

Each baptism record provided three names (father, mother and child) which could then be traced in other documents, while relating the parents to the marriage records permitted links to be made with family members of an earlier generation, and also with the bride's family and those people who acted as witnesses. Furthermore, it was possible to use the census data to look forward at the next generation. A web of Methodist families thus began to emerge. Burgess has written that the Methodists

TABLE 2. Society membership and adult population, Hunsonby and Winskill, 1841-71.

		Census	Census	Census	Census
	1821*	1841	1851	1861	1871
Adult population (15 and over)		125	123	140	173
Children		66	66	68	105
Total population	151	191	189	208	278
Methodist membership (Mar)	[Sept 1825] 24	24	26	36	44
Membership as % of adult pop.		19.2%	21%	26%	25%
Membership as % of total pop.	15.9%	12.5%	13.7%	17.3%	15.8%

*W. Parson, and W. White, *History, Directory and Gazetteer of Cumberland and Westmorland and that Part of the Lake District in Lancashire* (Leeds and Newcastle, 1829), p.450.

All other data compiled from TNA, HO 107/171/3; HO107/2426; RG9/3905; RG10/5206, RG11/5146 Census Returns, 1841-1881; CAS (C), DFCM 3/1/12, Penrith, Ct St Accts, 1842-1869; DFCM 3/1/13, Penrith, Ct St Accts, 1869-1871.

All calculations are my own.

All figures exclude the tinkers in tents of 1851 and the navvies in huts of 1871.

had an ‘extraordinary ability to take over an entire village in the fellside communities’ and has pointed to Hunsonby as an extreme example of this phenomenon: in fact, by comparing Methodist membership figures to the total census population, even when this included two families of tinkers in tents (1851) and 84 temporary railway navvies and their families (1871), he has even understated his case.³¹ A comparison of membership figures with the total permanent adult population (taken as those over 15, at which age they could become members of the Society) indicates a situation of even greater dominance (Table 2). However, it also became clear that some village names did not seem to have had any Methodist connections.

The figures also indicate an increase in family size, with children forming a larger percentage of the population in 1871, consequent upon the rising birth rate demonstrated in the baptism statistics for 1861-71, which itself followed an increase in the marriage rate in the decade 1851-61 (Table 4). The proportion of women in the township fell while that of men stayed the same, which seems to suggest that any changes in membership may have been due, at that time, to factors other than just the removal of men in search of work. Indeed, it is possible that single women were also moving away in search of work.

TABLE 3. Hunsonby and Winskill Methodist Households, 1841-71

	1841	*2 1851	1861	*3 1871
Hunsonby Society membership *1	(March) 24	(June) 32	(Dec 1860) 39	(March) 44
Members identified	23	31	39	32
Hunsonby households	5	7	7	8
Winskill households	5	10	13	15
Other outlying farms	1	3	2	2
Total Methodist households	11	20	22	25
Number of households in township	32	37	42	54
Methodist households as % of total	34%	54%	52%	46%

Data extracted from TNA, HO 107/171/3; HO107/2426; RG9/3905; RG10/5206, Census Returns 1841-1871, and then compared to list of identified Methodists.

*1 Membership figures from CAS (C), DFCM 3/1/12, Penrith, Ct St Accts, 1842-1869; CAS (C), DFCM 3/1/13, Penrith, Ct St Accts, 1869-1871, are given in order to indicate the close match of census identification with the official figures.

*2 1851 excludes families of tinkers in tents.

*3 1871 excludes railway navvies’ huts.

Identified Methodists were then located on the censuses for 1841-71 (Table 3) which indicated that, while the number of Methodist members had increased, absolutely until 1871 and as a percentage of the population until 1861, 1851 may have marked the peak percentage of Methodist households. This conclusion, however, has to be tentative, given that in 1871 the certain identification in the census of quite a large number of members proved impossible. The missing individuals may have been the children of other members who were not yet old enough to hold official positions or to have children baptised (and thus to be identified by name), a supposition which the increase in family size would seem to make likely, or they may have been

TABLE 4. Place of residence on marriage, Hunsonby and Winskill residents, 1821-71

	1821-30	1831-40	1841-50	1851-60	1861-70	1871	Total 1821-1871
Both Addingham	26 [60%]	18 [56%]	20 [59%]	25 [61%]	15 [54%]	2	106 [58%]
Outside parish	17 [40%]	14 [44%]	14 [41%]	16 [39%]	13 [46%]	3	77 [42%]
Total	43	32	34	41	28	5	183

Figures compiled from CAS (C), PR 29/9, Addingham, Register of Marriages, 1821-71; CAS (C), DRC6/1, Addingham, Bishop's Transcripts, 1821-71.

TABLE 5. Place of birth as given on census record, 1851-71

	1851	1851%	1861	1861%	1871	1871%
Hunsonby or Winskill	100	53%	n/a	n/a	117	41%
Addingham total	117	62%	111	53%	164	59%
Other Cumberland	52	27%	71	34%	83	31%
Westmorland	9	5%	15	7%	19	6%
Other	5	3%	11	5%	12	4%
Total other	66	35%	97	46%	114	41%
Total population	183 [Census 189*]		208		278	

*Some place names are illegible

Data from TNA, HO107/2426; RG9/3905; RG10/5206, Census Returns 1851-1871

Excludes tinkers in 1851 and railway navvies in 1871

resident outside the township: both William Workman and Robert Butterworth, for example, were living in Great Salkeld in 1861 but were still involved in the Hunsonby society. Both these explanations would result in fewer Methodist households in the township, even at a time when membership numbers were still rising. Alternatively, or additionally, the unidentified members may have been people who had moved into the township relatively recently and so, again, did not feature in the records. This latter supposition is supported by the 1871 census, which shows an increase in both the number of households and in the number of people born outside the township since 1851 (Tables 3 & 5).

The census data also made it clear that by 1871 many more members lived in Winskill than in Hunsonby and, indeed, four of the five local preachers lived in Winskill: the people of Winskill were perhaps more open to the influence of their Methodist neighbours, the Falder and Davidson families, who were both early and long-term supporters. This influence may well have been heightened by the loss in 1843 of the Methodist Thomas Hall as Hunsonby's dominant resident landowner and the eventual division of his land amongst several non-resident legatees.

Those identified as Methodists were then followed up in other official records relating to land. These documents – the land tax assessments of 1819 and 1829, the 1849 enclosure records, the electoral rolls from 1834-1874 and the 1873 'Return of the Owners of Land', a national survey which listed all the people and organisations who owned at least one acre of land – were originally produced for specific reasons and thus

each had its own individual focus. They are, therefore, not strictly comparable over time or with one another but, nevertheless, they have much to reveal of a township which throughout the period in question was still primarily agricultural. The 1819 land tax assessments indicate that more than half of those assessed for Hunsonby and Winskill were owner-occupiers, which perhaps allowed them the independence of thought and action necessary to be a Methodist in the early years, before Methodism became the dominant religious and social culture in the township.³² They also show that early Methodism attracted some of those who were already amongst the more prosperous individuals: Thomas Hall was listed as the largest resident landowner, while Thomas Benson and Joseph Falder owned less but were the most substantial tenants, with Joseph Falder farming about 18 per cent of the total land assessed in the village.³³ All three were members of the 1830 class. By 1829 both Hall and Falder had increased their own land holdings, while John Bailiff, also a member of the 1830 class, had acquired a tenancy large enough to place him 11th in a list of 31 people liable to the tax.

The enclosure and allocation in 1849 of Little Salkeld Common, which included the township, gave some inhabitants a further opportunity to acquire land: amongst 49 individual and corporate owners, the vicar and the Dean and Chapter of Carlisle had by far the largest allocations, but Thomas Benson was able to buy significantly from the enclosure commissioners, thus becoming probably the largest resident private landowner, with 74 acres, while Robert Davidson (eighth) purchased 37 acres and thus owned more than Joseph Falder (tenth, with 26 acres).³⁴ The enclosure schedules make it plain that the vast majority of the new owners listed were actually little more than smallholders, with only six individuals owning more than 30 acres.³⁵ By 1873, however, the largest resident landowner in Hunsonby and Winskill was Thomas Tinkler, with 377 acres (not all necessarily in the township), whose family were twelfth in the ranking of landowners in 1849 and whose only apparent connection to Methodism was through the marriages of two of his sisters.³⁶ He was followed by Joseph and John Falder (sons of the aforementioned Joseph, with 192 acres between them) and J.W. Davidson, son of Robert (78 acres). After the exclusion of two sets of trustees (of the poor and of the school lands), and of two people who seem to have been resident outside the village, the list of the top 19 landowners revealed by the survey was reduced to a group of 15, of whom 12 are known to have been Methodists.³⁷

A final piece of evidence illustrating the economic standing of the Methodists within their community is provided by the electoral rolls from 1834 onwards, which show that, even before the Reform Act of 1867 extended the franchise, the overwhelming majority of the male identified Methodists had the vote, mostly through a freehold qualification. It seems clear, then, that many Methodists prospered, albeit in a modest way, during our period: the four Davidson brothers, whose father started as a shoemaker, were all, in local terms, substantial farmers by 1881 and seem to have exemplified the economic progress often attributed to Methodists.³⁸ Not all members did so well: members of the Watson and the Gedling families, for example, remained mostly landless labourers and domestic servants, with a long-term need for poor relief.³⁹ Moreover, it is also clear from the land records that it was the non-Methodist Tinklers who enjoyed the most economic success.

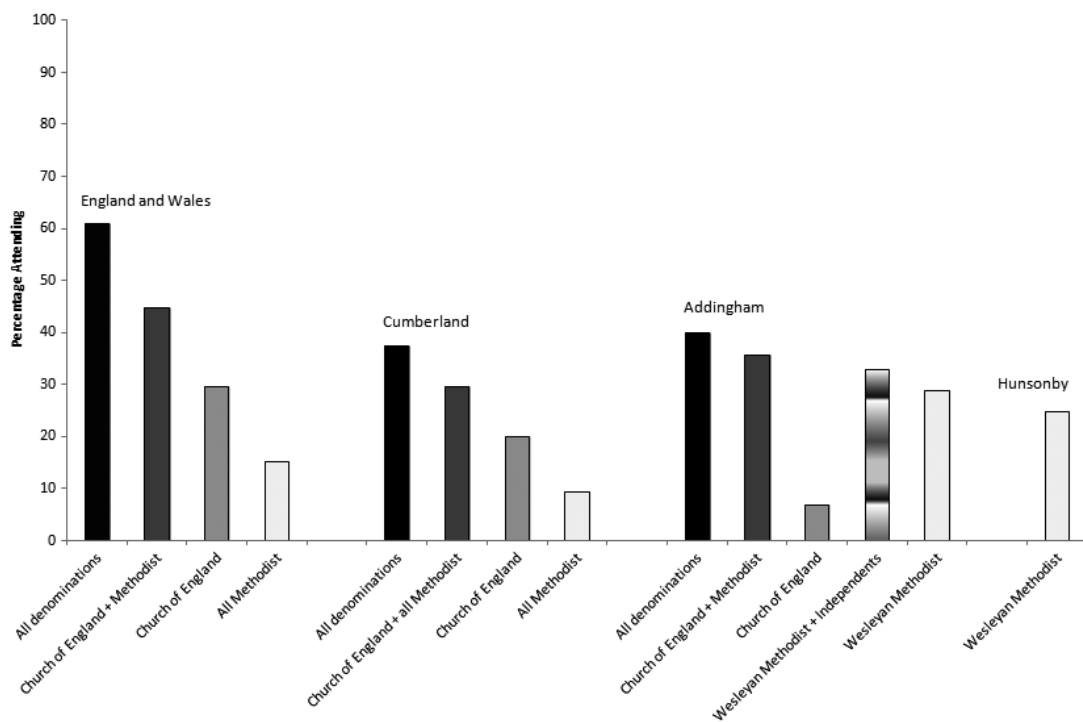
It has been pointed out that the Methodist circuit system placed the emphasis on loyalty to a particular group of people rather than to a geographical area, and Methodists have indeed been accused of fragmenting communities.⁴⁰ The two areas of marriage and employment were therefore examined for any evidence of this effect in Hunsonby and Winskill, in order to see if matters of faith altered the behaviour of residents towards their neighbours. Wesley was keen to encourage marriage only between members: he praised the Methodists of Weardale, for example, for 'they have in general married with each other; and that not for the sake of money, but virtue'.⁴¹ The residents of Hunsonby and Winskill did not look far afield for marriage partners, and while the number of weddings varied from decade to decade, the pattern of marriages locally contracted did not change significantly in the period covered by this investigation, as Table 5. makes clear.

The census returns for 1851 show that 53 per cent of the residents of Hunsonby and Winskill were born there: this figure had fallen to 41 per cent by 1871, but, in compensation, the percentage born within the parish had increased (Table 5). While marriages rose by a significant 20 per cent between 1851 and 1860, those involving people outside Addingham grew by only 14 per cent indicating that part of the increase was due to more marriages where both parties came from within the parish. In the same decade, however, although the number of people living in the township rose by ten per cent, the numbers listed on the census as born outside the parish showed an increase of 17.5 per cent, indicating some settling of outsiders within the township. Despite this, at times such as the later 1860s, when a third of the adult population of the township were Methodist members, and Methodism was strong throughout the parish, when perhaps Methodism, through intermarriage, was becoming a communal rather than an associational activity, it must have been hard to find a partner who was *not* a Methodist from such a small and immobile pool.⁴² There are, however, indications that some religious preference in the choice of spouse may have been exercised. The marriages of all four children of Paul Gedling, for example, show clear Methodist links, while the wedding of Sarah Hall, both daughter and niece of a Thomas Hall, to William Hardcastle, the son of a one-time Methodist minister in the circuit, was witnessed by William and Mary Workman and John Hill, all Methodists. The Falders, Bensons, Halls, Hollidays, Hopes and Lancasters all frequently intermarried. Other village families, however, such as the Browns, the Cooks and the Milburnes, do not seem to have married Methodists.⁴³

It is also possible that the Methodists, conscious of Wesley's rules of 1743 that they should do good to those 'that are of the household of faith...employing them preferably to others', actively sought to employ their co-religionists.⁴⁴ Of 42 households listed in the 1861 census, probably 22 were headed by Methodists and, as we have seen, several of these were amongst the more prosperous residents of the township and therefore more likely to employ help on the farm or in the house, or as apprentices. Firm conclusions are difficult: the Milburnes, for example, who show no Methodist connections, had several children old enough to help on the farm and therefore perhaps no need at that time to employ staff, while the two apprentices shown on the census in 1861 as employed by the Methodist tailor, Joseph Cheesbrough, both of whom were from outside the township, have not been linked with the chapel: young

single individuals, of whom there were many working as servants in the villages, were unlikely to hold official positions or to bring children for baptism and thus do not appear in the surviving Methodist records. However, the employer seeking a servant had access to a geographical pool beyond the township, since young single people tended to move around in search of work, and therefore the evidence from the census returns, which shows many of the younger members of identified local Methodist families employed, at some stage, as servants or apprentices to other members, is significant. Methodist employers may well have preferred to hire fellow-believers as farm and domestic servants: was it chance that three of Matthew Watson's 11 children were employed by Methodists in 1881 or was this one example of charitable support for a co-religionist? Conversely, it is also notable that the farmstead at Farmanby, in the gift of the clergyman master of Carlisle Grammar School, seems never to have been let to a Methodist, while the non-Methodist Tinkler family, for example, did not employ any known Methodists.⁴⁵ Members may have both discriminated and been discriminated against.

FIG. 1. 1851 Census of Religious Worship: comparison of percentage of population attending on census Sunday: nationally; in Cumberland; at Addingham; in Hunsonby.



England and Wales, and Cumberland figures from B. I. Coleman, *The Church of England in the Mid-Nineteenth Century: a Social Geography*, (London 1980).

Addingham figures from TNA, HO 129/565, Census of Religious Worship, 1851.

Whether faith was a condition or a consequence of employment is not clear, although Urdank found in his Cotswold study that servants could face direct pressure from their employers to conform to the religious orientation and discipline of their households.⁴⁶ In Addingham, in the earlier years, bearing in mind the attendance figures revealed for

Cumberland in the 1851 Census of Religious Worship, this could, perhaps, have led to non-attendance, rather than the reverse (Fig. 1). Snell has argued that

the degree of commitment which led to registration in an Anglican register might differ from that which led a family to register a baptism, for example, in a Wesleyan ... register. Anglican attendance or registration was liable to have been influenced by local deferential social relationships, particularly in rural areas, in a way that was less common for Methodist registration...'.⁴⁷

It seems entirely possible, however, given the local strength of Methodism, that a similar deferential reaction on the part of employees may have led to increased attendance at the chapel rather than the church. Further research amongst those not thought to have been members would be needed to establish the extent of any preferences as to marriage or employment. The degree to which these choices, observable in the official records, actually affected the day-to-day quality of neighbourliness in the township is difficult to assess. The surviving evidence of Methodism is mainly statistical, relating to numbers and buildings, rather than to the personal and emotional, which presents a real difficulty for the researcher looking at a movement with an essentially oral culture.⁴⁸ The evidence from the Sutherland diary, the only individual account of life in Hunsonby and Winskill so far discovered, is that he, as an Anglican, albeit one closely connected to local Methodists, felt able attend Methodist services and meetings and also their social events.⁴⁹ It seems very likely that in such a small township religious differences had usually to be ignored to enable the community to function and, indeed, any hostility created by the trenchant views of Brown and Webster described above may have served to unite villagers in a common cause; equally at some periods, with Methodism so dominant, the chapel way of life may have become so pervasive locally as to become indistinguishable from the village way of life and thus a force for cohesion rather than division.

Conclusion: the circuit divided

For Hunsonby and Winskill, and especially for its Methodists, the ten years after 1860 may have brought both success and hardship. Nationally, agriculture in 1860 was in the middle of a period of improvement and success which continued until the major depression which started in 1873, although the increasing number of recipients of parish poor money in the later 1860s may reveal that Hunsonby and Winskill were being affected by the downturn before this.⁵⁰ The 1871 census indicates a township subject to social and economic changes: there were fewer farmers than in 1851 (although there appear to have been 12 Methodist farmers in both years), more servants and more labourers (even allowing for the discrepancies inevitable with the somewhat imprecise occupational terminology used in the returns), and many more tradesmen. The occupations they pursued had broadened to include an accountant-cum-land agent, and a cashier on the Settle-Carlisle railway. Methodist numbers were variable, with the lowest membership since 1840 (19) occurring in 1864, followed by the highest (63) in 1867 and then another rapid fall.⁵¹ The increase in tradesmen may have been an important factor in the enlarged membership of the later 1860s: Obelkevich has pointed out that artisans and shopkeepers were more consistently Wesleyan than were any other occupational group. Since he has, however, also pointed out that the wives of farmers were more likely to follow their husbands in matters

of faith than were the wives of labourers, the increase in one group may have been negated by that in the other.⁵² Within its own parish, the township was of increasing importance, with its population relative to that of Addingham rising from 26 per cent in 1851 to 37 per cent in 1871 (excluding the railway navvies' settlement), the highest percentage since 1801.⁵³ These demographic changes were, almost certainly, caused in part by the building of the Settle-Carlisle railway line nearby.

The Methodists marked the new decade by planning for an ambitious new chapel and the Quarterly Meeting agreed to rebuild in September 1860. A site at the bottom of Hunsonby, just over the beck, was purchased in May 1861 and the Methodist conference agreed to the sale of the old chapel in June 1861.⁵⁴ In November 1862, they opened their new building: with seating for 226; it was the largest chapel in the circuit.⁵⁵ The construction was completed at a relatively modest cost, with the stone being given free by a Mr Benson and the job of carting it to the site being done by friends, and with some expedition, since the whole project took less than ten months from advertising for tenders to the opening service.⁵⁶ There was evidently a degree of rivalry with Ainstable about which had the better chapel and also some deviation from the original plans, which were thought by some to be for a building both too large and too expensive: at the opening, the superintendent minister, Thomas Brumwell, expressed the hope that Gamblesby would subsequently be able to carry through the plans in their entirety.⁵⁷

There is some evidence that such a large building may have strained the resources of the Hunsonby membership. Apart from its size, the new chapel was also notable for having the lowest percentage of free seats in the circuit, apart from Penrith: paying for a seat was an acknowledged way to persuade those who were not actually members of the society to contribute towards its costs, but it was a stratagem that perhaps owed more to mid-century pragmatism than to the evangelical imperatives of an earlier age – seating in the original chapel in Hunsonby was nearly all free.⁵⁸ Contributions to the missionary fund had already started to decline relative to the offerings given by the other circuit societies from the later 1850s, when only Penrith, Gamblesby and Beauthorn gave more, until by 1870 Hunsonby managed only three shillings towards the Christmas Offering, the lowest of the 16 societies that contributed.⁵⁹ The 1862 minutes of the annual General Trustees meeting show Hunsonby failing, unlike other societies, to send in any surplus monies and contributing significantly less than others to the anniversary collections. In 1863 it was the only chapel in the circuit that failed to contribute to the anniversary collection.⁶⁰ It is possible that the Hunsonby members preferred to put their effort and money into the tangible asset of a building, rather than towards the support of the itinerant ministry.⁶¹

Their half-hearted support may have been an early indication of a general feeling of dissatisfaction with the Penrith circuit, since Hunsonby was included, in 1868, amongst the many chapels in the circuit whose trustees had failed to produce their account books.⁶² In 1860, just when agreement was reached to rebuild at Hunsonby, total circuit membership peaked, almost entirely owing to an extraordinary surge in numbers in Penrith itself, followed almost immediately by an equally large plunge, after which a somewhat unsteady rise in both town and circuit was resumed.⁶³ By 1864,

the Quarterly Meeting, in discussing (and postponing) moving the third preacher's residence to Kirkoswald may already have been considering a division of the circuit.⁶⁴ Indeed, one wonders whether ambitious members in Hunsonby were hoping that *they* might become the centre of a new circuit when they began to plan their new 'decent, neat, commodious' chapel⁶⁵ – if the circuit were to be split, Hunsonby was certainly more central geographically to the Eden Valley societies than was Kirkoswald, while its membership was comparable. In June 1868 a resolution was put to the Circuit Quarterly Meeting from the Leaders' Meeting in Penrith that the time had come to divide the circuit and a committee was appointed to look into it. In September two Penrith society members proposed to this committee that the circuit should be divided, while two country members opposed the motion.⁶⁶ The chairman, forced to use his casting vote, was in favour of division. However, when this was put to the Quarterly Meeting, the vote went against.⁶⁷ At a very well attended meeting in December 1870 division was once again put forward. This time, however, it was not so clearly a town-versus-country split, being proposed by a Penrith member and seconded by Mr. Tinniswood from Salkeld.⁶⁸ The proposition was carried on the understanding that Penrith would take two married (and therefore more expensive) ministers, while Kirkoswald would take one married and one single, and also that Penrith would contribute towards the building and furnishing of the Kirkoswald minister's house.⁶⁹ The last Quarterly Meeting of the old circuit was held in June 1871.

Dividing a circuit had long been the established method by which Methodism both extended its mission and kept circuits to a reasonable size. Ward has called the creation of financially unsound country circuits at this period – in order to ease the monetary problems of Methodist societies in the towns – 'this ruinous process,' which, together with the exchange of the circuit horse for an unmarried preacher, as also happened in Penrith, was a symbol of the decline of the itinerancy.⁷⁰ This, however, is not how it appeared at the time: in 1873 there was a plea for the creation of village circuits, specifically to counteract a perceived threat from what Frederick Jobson (1812-1881) called the 'Popish' practices of High Church clergymen.⁷¹ It was also felt that for 'the convenience of working and to obviate the loss of time in travelling, the ideal circuit outside the large towns was a cluster of villages round a fairly populous centre with a staff of two or at the most three ministers'⁷² – exactly like the intended new circuit, in fact, except that Kirkoswald was geographically towards one end of its circuit.

Quite what was the motivation for dividing the Penrith circuit we cannot tell from the records but it is clear that the matter was contested and that the town circuit was the instigator.⁷³ The local situation was not straightforward, since in 1870 the proposed new Kirkoswald Circuit must have looked in many ways stronger than that created around Penrith. All its societies, apart from Raygarthfield, were of long standing and had long maintained fairly steady memberships, even if not all were as strong as Hunsonby, whereas the new Penrith Circuit, to judge from the entries in the account books, was much less settled, with many very small societies. However, while at first sight it may seem rather odd for Penrith to have saddled itself with so many of the smallest societies, it may have seemed to make financial as well as geographical sense, since the Penrith Circuit was frequently in debt and in 1871 the Kirkoswald societies, for whatever reason, were contributing less per head to central circuit funds than

were the apparently weaker ones around Penrith and much less than the Penrith town members themselves.

Obelkevich has written that chapels 'reflected simultaneously the lingering desire for community and the irreversible dissolution of village society', a contradiction which was evident in 1871, as the villages of Hunsonby and Winskill, and in particular their Methodists, stood on the brink of several changes and challenges.⁷⁴ As part of the Penrith Circuit, which reached right down to the southern end of Ullswater and had regular and frequent changes of circuit ministers, members of the Hunsonby society, particularly those who took on official positions, had been exposed to a wider world beyond the natural barrier of the Eden. The preaching plans show that the circuit ministers themselves came to officiate at Hunsonby with increasing frequency as the years passed and that many other services were taken by local preachers from Penrith. The traffic, however, was one way: contrary to the situation found by Obelkevich in Lincolnshire, the Hunsonby local preachers generally took services only in their neighbouring villages and almost never in Penrith.⁷⁵

The members in Hunsonby in 1871 may have hoped to play a larger part in their new Kirkoswald circuit, which, in making for a more rural focus for the Methodists, was something of a reversion to the earlier days in the Brough circuit. Nationally, Davies writes, mid-century Wesleyan Methodism became 'concentrated intensely upon itself...the annual Wesleyan Conference [warned] against novel-reading, against visiting even pious friends on the Sabbath, against financial speculation and political activity'.⁷⁶ Addingham, too, seemed to be reverting to earlier ways. Rev. Webster, burdened by his extra church in Gamblesby was not in residence for long, if at all, for he conducted his last baptism in April 1871 and thereafter, until 1874 when a new vicar was appointed, the parish seems to have been in the care once again of the curate, a state of affairs last encountered in 1834 and a contrast to the national situation, where the clergy by 1871 were more generally resident and active in their parishes.⁷⁷ The clergy's understanding of their role, moreover, was changing from a belief that the parson was there to cater for the needs of all his parishioners, to a narrower view that their ministry should concentrate on those who were loyally and distinctively Anglican, a view which the abolition of church rates in 1868 both reflected and reinforced.⁷⁸ Thus it seems that, paradoxically, both the Methodist society and the parish were becoming more restricted and more local in their outlook – the Methodists because of their new and more rural circuit, and their less evangelical approach after the 1850s, and the Anglicans because of their revised and more limited understanding of the word 'parishioner' – just at the time when the building of the Settle-Carlisle line was bringing an influx of newcomers with new trades into the township and promising new possibilities for travel. The rapidly growing temperance movement, with its Bands of Hope and public lectures, was providing a different outlet for people's commitment and enthusiasm, while on the horizon a severe agricultural depression loomed.

By 1871 Hunsonby was one of the most successful societies in the circuit: numbers were generally high and remained relatively steady over our 50-year period; three classes had been required over a long period, until one ceased to function in 1862; the membership had supplied many local preachers, including several of long service, and

also a circuit steward, William Workman, at a period when the role was normally taken by a Penrith society member. Again, compared with other societies, the Hunsonby Methodists had built early and they were then the first society in the circuit to rebuild, erecting a chapel of large and, for this locality, unusual design. Yet, despite William Workman's role as circuit steward at the time, by the 1860s the Methodists of Hunsonby were perhaps taking a less active and helpful role in the circuit – certainly they were contributing less financially than they had previously. Workman served only the minimum term of three years and was then succeeded by another Penrith society man. Is it too fanciful to conjecture that Workman, for whatever reason, grew disenchanted with the running of the circuit or even that he was yet another example of an awkward Hunsonby colleague?⁷⁹ Did he step down voluntarily or was he pushed out, and did his view perhaps colour that of his local society members? The 1851 Census of Religious Worship, despite the high membership numbers, showed a congregation at Hunsonby Chapel that was smaller than we might have expected, based upon the normal multipliers used to extrapolate congregation from membership, and smaller than that achieved by other local societies. In relative terms, the membership had only just about kept up with the population increase: in 1825, as the society was starting, the 24 members formed probably 15 per cent of the population of Hunsonby and Winskill⁸⁰ while by 1871 the 44 members stood only a little higher, at 15.8 per cent, and they were probably living in a smaller number of households than in 1851, thus restricting their sphere of influence. It is possible that, even as the new Kirkoswald Circuit was created, the seeds of decline were already sown.

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2. Addingham figures from CAS (C), PR29/11 & 12, Addingham, Church Wardens' Accts (hereafter Add, CW Accts); Methodist figures from CAS (C), DFCM 3/1/11A, 12 & 13, Penrith, Circuit Stewards' Accounts (hereafter Ct St Accts)
3. All following quotations from CAS (C), DRC Acc HC 3966, Clergy Visitation (hereafter Visitation), 1858; 1861; 1864; 1867; 1872.
4. CAS (C), DRC Acc HC 3966, Visitation, 1858; 1861. A parliamentary commission on church building agreed that people were probably willing to travel no more than a mile to church – 'It may be doubted whether churches have ever recruited more than a very small fraction of their membership from persons living as much as 2 miles distant from the nearest church building,' it reported in 1853: quoted in R. Currie, A. Gilbert, and L. Horsley, *Churches and Churchgoers; Patterns of Church Growth in the British Isles since 1700* (Oxford, 1977).
5. CAS (C), DRC Acc HC 3966, Visitation, 1858, 1861. The school inspector in 1867 agreed with Brown's assessment – see www.stevebulman.f9.co.uk/cumbria/addingham_school.html, School Inspector's Report for Addingham School, ca. 1867, transcribed by Paul Haslam, accessed 3.09.08.
6. CAS (C), DRC Acc HC 3966, Visitation, 1872. However, on census night 1871, Webster's curate Charles Angell, appointed in 1871, was resident in the vicarage and the vicar was visiting in Lancashire: CAS (C), DRC 5/111, Diocese of Carlisle, Bishops' Call Books, 1871; RG10/5206, Census 1871. The curate conducted all the baptisms from April 1871-74. J. Obelkevich, *Religion and Rural Society: South Lindsay, 1825-1875* (Oxford, 1976), 146, 148, cites similar 'thwarting of the clerical will by popular resistance'.

7. By 1872 there were Wesleyan Methodist chapels in Hunsonby, Glassonby, and Gamblesby, where there was also an Independent chapel: TNA, HO 129/565, Census of Religious Worship, 1851; CAS (C), DRC Acc HC 3966, Visitation, 1858; 1872.
8. CAS (C), DRC Acc HC 3966, Visitation, 1864.
9. Obelkevich, *Religion and Rural Society*, 137.
10. Webster claimed an average of 20 communicants for Addingham and Gamblesby combined in 1872: CAS (C), DRC Acc HC 3966, Visitation, 1872.
11. TNA, HO 129/565, Census of Religious Worship, 1851 – a total of 210 attended the three Methodist chapels; CAS (C), DRC Acc HC 3966, Visitation, 1858.
12. CAS (C), DRC Acc HC 3966, Visitation, 1861; CAS (C), PR29/11, Add, CW Accts, Christmas Day 1843.
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17. CAS (C), DFCM 3/1/25, Meth Baps, 1839-1857, entry 281; CAS (C), DRC 6/1, Addingham, Bishop's Transcripts (hereafter Add BT) 25 Mar 1855.
18. R. Hazelhurst, *Mining for God: Methodism in the Lake District in the Nineteenth Century*, Diploma Dissertation, Lancaster University (1998), p.9; for example, between 1857-69, 3.3% of Addingham baptisms are noted as illegitimate but this applies to only 0.5% of Penrith Circuit baptisms. In Cumberland as a whole illegitimacy in 1860 stood at almost 13%: see Cumberland and Westmorland, *Advertiser*, 20.5.1862, 3b.
19. The same unfavourable comparisons could also, of course, have frequently been made between their own itinerant ministers and their lay preachers: J. Burgess, *A History of Cumbrian Methodism*, (Kendal, 1980), 150, writes of a 'mutual antipathy between flock and preacher' in Cumbria generally.
20. D. M. Thompson, 'The 1851 Religious Census: problems and possibilities', *Victorian Studies*, xi, (1967), 95.
21. Sutherland, *Diary*, e.g. 29 Dec 1850, 15 Jan 1855, 25 July 1858, 4 Aug 1861; G. G.S. Thomas, *Life of Robert Gate* (London, 1869), 57; CAS (K), WDY 199, photocopy of J. Burgess, ed, *Diary of Hannah Wharton, 1871-1873: Temple Sowerby and Kendal*, Cumbria Religious History Society (1982), *passim*. H. McLeod, *Religion and Society in England, 1850-1914*, (Basingstoke 1996), 56, notes that many were not fully committed to either the Church of England or Methodism even after 1850, especially in rural areas. Edward Royle in a lecture to the Wesley Historical Society AGM, 28.6.08, demonstrated that 'Church Methodism', with people choosing at different times in their lives and for their own differing reasons, both religious and practical, to attend church *and* chapel, continued in rural Yorkshire even as late as the 1890s.
22. Obelkevich, *Religion and Rural Society*, 241.
23. CAS (C), DRC 6/1, Add BT: Davidson, 1840 and 1844; Wilson, 1840, 1841, 1843, 1844, 1846; Workman, 1841.
24. W.E. Tate, *The Parish Chest*, (Chichester, 3rd ed. 1983), 85-6, 87; T. Fetherstonhaugh, *Our Cumberland Village*, (Carlisle 1925) 159.
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29. See my previous article in CW3 12 (2012)
30. Hazelhurst, *Mining for God*, 9; H.W. Williams, *The Constitution and Polity of Wesleyan Methodism*, (London 1881), 302.

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32. J. Marshall, *Portrait of Cumbria*, (London 1981), 45.
33. CAS (C), QRP1, Land Tax assessment, Leath Ward, Addingham, 1819.
34. CAS (C), QRE1/31, Enclosure of Little Salkeld Common, 1849. John Graham was the largest proprietor but is not listed as resident on the 1851 census: TNA, HO107/2426, Census 1851.
35. Up to 30 acres is the definition of a smallholding used by Obelkevich, *Religion and Rural Society*, p. 48. Ian Whyte sets the level at five acres in C. Dyer, ed., *The Self-Contained Village? The social history of rural communities, 1250-1900*, (Hatfield 2007) 107.
36. Cumberland Return of the Owners of Land, 1873, UK Genealogy Archives, 2004 [CD]; CAS (C), DX 1874, Papers relating to property in Hunsonby, 1787-1907, is a collection of legal documents which all seem to relate to the land and property ownership of the Tinkler family, who bought up much of the land dispersed to non-resident landowners by the wills of Thomas Hall and John Hill. A mortgage on a substantial portion of this was taken out in 1871.
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38. TNA, RG11/5146, Census 1881.
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46. Urdank, *Religion and Society*, 283.
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48. Hempton, *Empire of the Spirit*, 56.
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53. Addingham population from *Carlisle Diocesan Calendar*, 1872; TNA, HO107/2426; RG10/5206, Census Returns 1851, 1871.
54. CAS (C), DFCM 3/1/1, Penrith, Quarterly Meeting (hereafter QM), Sept 1860; Deed of conveyance, 18th May 1861, in possession of the author; CAS (C), DX 1874, Papers relating to property in Hunsonby, 15th June 1861.
55. CAS (C) DFCM 4/1/8, KO, Return of chapels and preaching places, 1873.
56. *The Cumberland and Westmorland Advertiser*, 21 Jan 1862, 1c and 11 Nov 1862, 3a-c.
57. *Advertiser*, 11 Nov 1862, 3a-c. Gamblesby certainly cost a lot more (£650) but was significantly smaller, with seating for 178, so perhaps this hope was not achieved: John Rylands Library, MARC, Carlisle District (WM) Meeting Minutes, May 1865; CAS (C), DFCM 4/1/6A, KO, Trustees lists book with site plans, 1871-1919.

58. TNA, HO 129/565, Census of Religious Worship, 1851; CAS (C), DFCM 4/1/6A, KO, Trustees lists book with site plans, 1871-1919; CAS (C), DFCM 4/1/8, KO, Return of chapels and preaching places, 1873. In contrast, the pews at Addingham church in 1861 were all free, although individual pews were allocated to particular villages and regular attenders would sit in the same places: CAS (C), DRC Acc HC 3966, Visitation, 1861.
59. CAS (C), DFCM 3/1/17, Circuit Offerings Book, 1849-1866; CAS (C), DFCM 3/1/18, Penrith Wesleyan Missionary Society Account Book, 1824-42; CAS (C), DFCM 3/1/19, Penrith Wesleyan Missionary Society Account Book, 1867-78.
60. CAS (C), DFCM 3/1/6, Penrith, Minutes of the General Trustees Meeting, April 1862, April 1863. The district meeting also seemed concerned about the state of affairs at Hunsonby: Carlisle District Meeting Minutes, May 1863 and May 1865.
61. Hempton, *Empire of the Spirit*, (Newhaven and London 2005), p. 127 refers to this reluctance in the American context but it seems likely to have been a common feeling.
62. CAS (C), DFCM 3/1/6, Penrith, Minutes of the General Trustees Meeting, Mar 1868; see Obelkevich, *Religion and Rural Society*, 205, for complaints of unwillingness on the part of villages to contribute to circuit funds in Lincolnshire.
63. CAS (C), DFCM 3/1/12, Penrith, Ct St Accts, 1842-1869; CAS (C), DFCM 3/1/13, Penrith, Ct St Accts, 1869-1871.
64. CAS (C), DFCM 3/1/1, Penrith, QM, March 1864.
65. *Advertiser*, 29 Apr 1862, 2g.
66. Certain identification is impossible but those opposing were Hindson (probably from Lazonby) and Atkinson (probably from Ousby).
67. CAS (C), DFCM 3/1/1, Penrith, QM, Sept 1868.
68. CAS (C), DFCM 3/1/1, Penrith, QM, Dec 1870; Preaching Plan, Oct – Jan, 1870-71 (photocopy in possession of author): Tinniswood's Christian name is not recorded.
69. CAS (C), DFCM 3/1/1, Penrith, QM, Sept 1868.
70. W.R.Ward, *Religion and Society in England, 1790-1850*, (London 1972), p.100.
71. F. J.Jobson, *A Plea for the Support and Spread of Methodism in the Villages*, 1873, 4-8, quoted in Davies *et al*, *A History of the Methodist Church*, 4, 544-546.
72. Townsend *et al*, *A New History of Methodism*, I, p.462-3: the authors recognised when writing this in 1909 that the creation of such circuits had, in fact, been a mistake.
73. My understanding of the Quarterly Meeting minutes differs from the vivid version of John Burgess in his *A History of Cumbrian Methodism*, p. 131. I have found nothing to sustain his version of events in the documents he cites, particularly CAS (C), DFCM 3/1/77, Minutes of the Penrith Leaders' Meeting, 1867-74.
74. Obelkevich, *Religion and Rural Society*, 89.
75. Obelkevich, *Religion and Rural Society*, 204.
76. Davies *et al*, *A History of the Methodist Church*, 2, 239.
77. Edward Royle, *Modern Britain: a social history 1750-1997* (London, 1987), 311.
78. Obelkevich, *Religion and Rural Society*, 179.
79. See my previous article in CW 2012
80. Membership figure from CAS (C), DFCM 3/1/11A, Penrith, Ct St Accts, Sept 1825; population figure (151) from William Parson and William White, *History, Directory and Gazetteer of Cumberland and Westmorland and that Part of the Lake District in Lancashire*, (Leeds and Newcastle, 1829), 450