

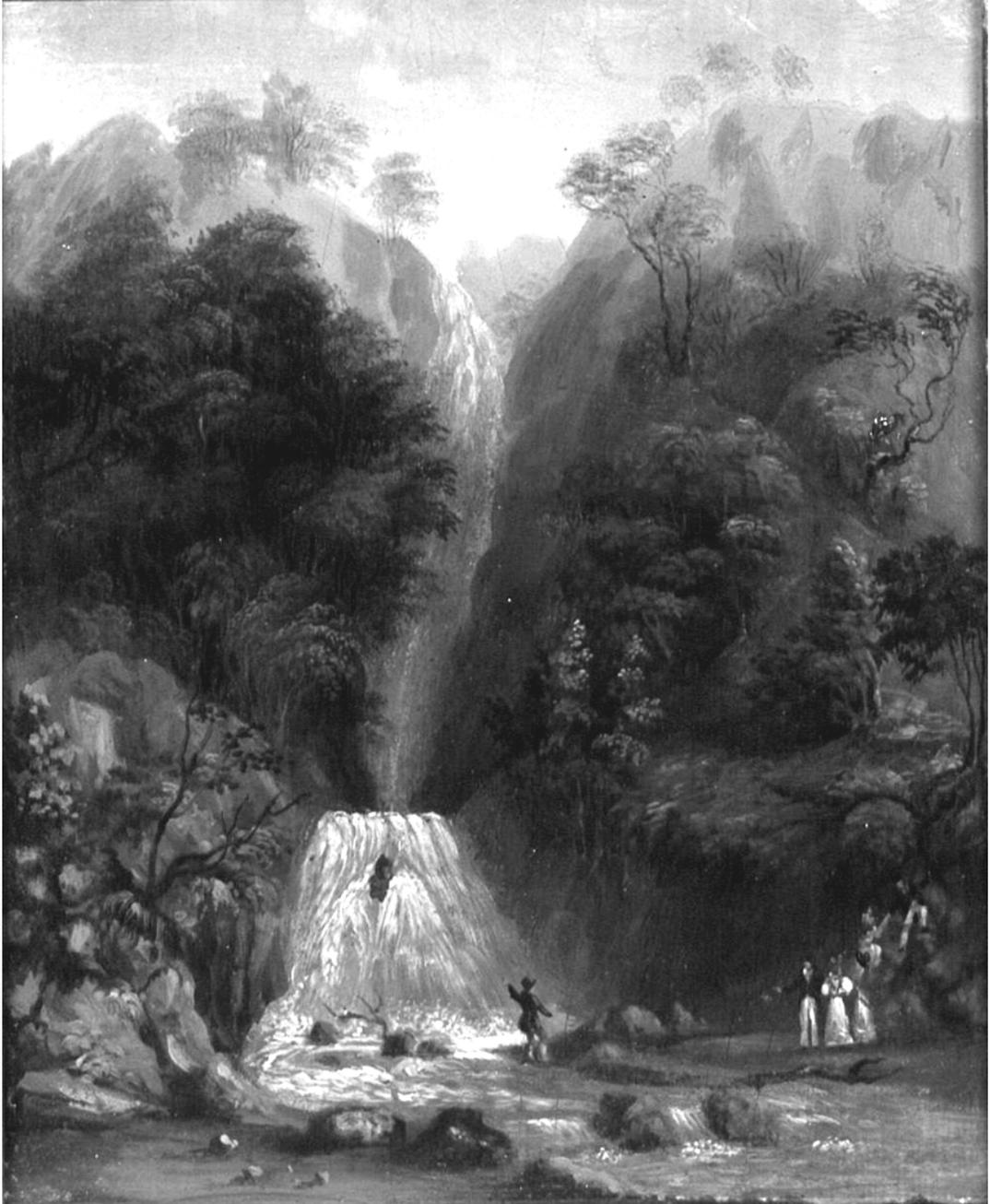
The Journal

No. 55 – February 2015

Lorton & Derwent Fells Local History Society

Brackenthwaite Buttermere Embleton Loweswater Mockerkin Pardshaw Whinfall Wythop

www.derwentfells.com



Scale Force, by Thomas Allom, oils, 1841 or later.

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The Journal

Six months ago I was wondering how to fill this edition of the *Journal* and now I find it difficult to keep within 24 pages, even holding some over until August.

Many members will remember the talk which Dr Michael Winstanley gave in May 2013 on Thomas Allom, and so I was pleased to receive an exposition of Allom's illustrations of our local scenes. It is a coincidence that the article which Michael and I wrote in 2009 about Isabella Huxtable, nee Nixon, is also followed up in this article. This follows family research by Blair Nixon from Canada, a descendant of the Lorton Nixons, who read our *Journal* online.

Our cover image (it will be in colour on the website) of Scale Force by Thomas Allom is by courtesy of the Wordsworth Trust, which has kindly supported a number of our projects over the years. Please consider supporting them by visiting Dove Cottage, the Wordsworth Museum and its special exhibition 'Grasmere and the Great War', until 1st March. Which is my cue to ask members to consider writing and contributing more WWI articles on our locality – we still have three years.

Derek Denman

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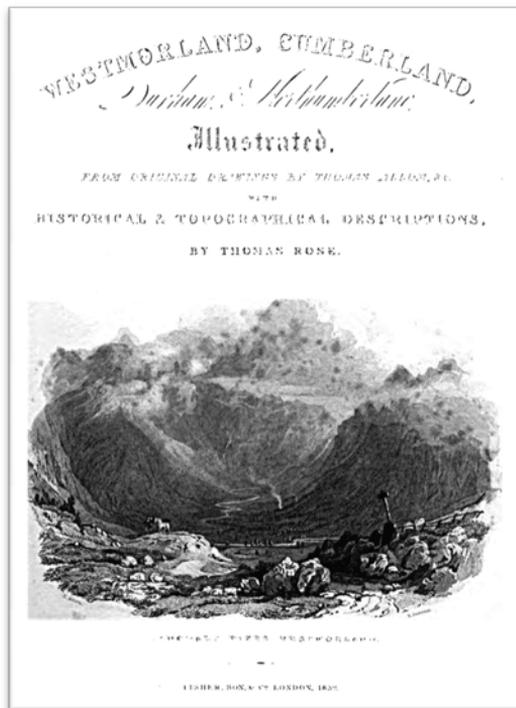
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Thomas Allom's prints of Derwent Fells

by Michael Winstanley



In 1832 a young Londoner toured the northern counties of England making sketches. On his return he worked up some of his sketches as watercolours which he entered into the Society of British Artists' annual exhibition the following year.¹ Superficially his journey resembled those undertaken by many of his contemporaries who followed in the footsteps of William Gilpin in search of spiritual stimulation and 'picturesque' landscapes. But this young man was no such tourist.

The artist's name was Thomas Allom and he had been commissioned by Henry Fisher, Son and Co. to provide drawings for a new publication, *Westmoreland, Cumberland, Durham and Northumberland Illustrated* to be published in monthly instalments at 1s (5p) each between 1832

¹ Allom exhibited eight watercolours of Westmorland, Cumberland, Durham and Northumberland at the Society of British Artists in 1833 (no 531); in 1834 he exhibited Ullswater (75) Birker Force (154). J. Johnson, (compiler), *Works exhibited at the Royal Society of British Artists* (Woodbridge, 1975), p. 7.

and 35. The preface to the collection boasted that the images represented 'the Augustan Age of Pictorial Art', creating 'a refined taste throughout the nation for faithful and vivid delineations of native scenery'. The complete publication contained 216 prints. Allom was responsible for no less than 189; George Pickering contributed a further twenty, Henry Gastineau six and the architect John Dobson, one. 'Historical and Topographical Descriptions' were provided by Thomas Rose.

As the title makes clear, this was not a guide book to the landscape of the English Lakes. There were no maps of suggested itineraries and viewing points and no description of a tour. Rather it reflected a broader interest in topography which was then sweeping the country and which demanded an accurate portrayal of places.² Images of the Lakes appeared alongside those of less romantic depictions of Sunderland, Newcastle upon Tyne, South Shields and Lymington iron works. These were presented without any obvious logical order. Yet with 132 illustrations of Westmorland and Cumberland it was, and remains, by far and away the largest single published collection of prints of pre-Victorian Lakeland. As well as landscapes, ruins and castles, the illustrations included townscapes, cathedrals, industrial sites, quarries (as in Langdale and Longsleddale), and the houses of leading local families: Lowther Castle, Brougham Hall, Underley Hall, Sizergh, Storrs, Naworth, Muncaster, Thirwall, and Wood Hall near Cockermouth.

The illustrations themselves were a product of an advance in printing which simultaneously enhanced the quality of reproductions, extended feasible print runs, and dramatically lowered retail prices. Prior to the 1820s publishers had struggled to find a medium through which they could reproduce images of landscape and topographical scenes. They faced one or more three related problems: quality, quantity and cost. Wood cuts were relatively crude and had a limited life.

² For the Lakes guides see especially Peter Bicknell, *The Picturesque Scenery of the Lake District, 1752-1855* (St Paul's Bibliographies, Winchester, 1990); for a general guide see Ronald Russell, *Guide to British Topographical Prints* (David & Charles, Newton Abbot, 1979).

Copper plates, used by Joseph Farington in his series of views in 1789, had a relatively short life before they lost their sharpness and usually required a large format to show fine detail. William Green had experimented with soft ground etching in his *Sixty Studies from Nature* in 1809 but one review suggested that his landscape studies 'serve to show what soft ground is *not* capable of effecting in landscape-etching'.³ Green's aquatints, however, widely admired as were those of Theodore Henry Fielding and John Walton who spent two years in the Lakes and produced 48 lavishly coloured scenes in 1821 in their *Picturesque Tour of the English Lakes, Containing a Description of the Most Romantic Scenery of Cumberland, Westmoreland, and Lancashire*.⁴ But such volumes had been expensive. Farington's original collection of just twenty prints retailed at £4 8s and his extended collection of 43 prints with accompanying text by Thomas Hartwell Horne in 1816 at 8 or 12 guineas depending on the format;⁵ William Green's 60 etchings cost 5 guineas; Fielding and Walton's coloured aquatints sold at £3 12s. Even John Robinson's, *Guide to the Lakes* (1819) which only contained twenty rather rudimentary prints, retailed at 15 shillings.

Allom's prints and Rose's accompanying text by contrast retailed for a mere 3d each. Reviewers were incredulous, not just at fine quality but at the price. 'We cannot let the works pass without noticing the price at which they are published – the first part contains no less than seventeen views with descriptive letter press for four shillings.' According to the *Kendal Chronicle* it was 'one of the cheapest and most finished works of the kind we have ever seen'.⁶

The innovation responsible for this was the perfection of engraving on steel. This had first been used in publications barely a

³ Review of William Green, *Sixty Studies from Nature* (Ambleside, 1809) in *London Review*, 1809, p. 358.

⁴ T. H. Fielding and J. Walton, *A Picturesque Tour of the English Lakes, containing a description of the most romantic scenery of Cumberland, Westmoreland, and Lancashire* (Ackermann, London, 1821).

⁵ Thomas Hartwell Horne, *The Lakes of Lancashire, Westmoreland, and Cumberland* (Cadell and Davies, London 1816).

⁶ *The Athenaeum*, 28 July 1832.

decade earlier. As a much harder metal than copper, skilled engravers were able to produce finer lines without risk of the surrounding metal collapsing. Consequently both artist and engraver could work on a smaller scale; most of the prints were no more than 6" x 4" (152 x 102 mm) faithfully copied from detailed drawings which Allom had worked up in his studio back in London. The reduction in cost was effected because steel did not lose its sharpness to the same extent as copper allowing for much longer print runs.⁷ Consequently, over the next quarter of a century many of Allom's original images were reproduced in foreign editions or in other books by Fisher and Jackson often specifically reworked for the Lake District tourist.⁸ This made them even more available, and for that reason they can often still be found for sale, sadly often with later garish hand-colouring, in many antiques shops at inexpensive prices.

Despite the centrality of Allom's illustrations to the appeal of the book, however, it is invariably catalogued today under Thomas Rose as author of the text. This exploratory article is not directly concerned with who Allom and Rose were.⁹ Instead it explores Allom's four drawings of the Derwent Fells area and Rose's accompanying letterpress in an attempt to assess the quality and originality of their

work and their respective claims for credit for this publication.¹⁰

Loweswater from Water End

This viewpoint is still clearly identifiable today from the roadside leading into Water End. There had been earlier prints of the lake by John Warwick Smith (1795) William Green (1814) and Theodore Fielding (1821) but Allom's view would appear to be the first published representation of the lake from this location.¹¹

Rose makes no attempt to locate it or describe it. Instead he quotes selectively from Robinson's reproduction of Thomas West's description of a perspective 'taken from the round knoll at the lower end of the lake' where 'the appearance of the mountains that bound it is astonishing'. Neither Robinson nor Rose however makes clear that West's description refers not to Loweswater but to the view over Crummock Water from this point.

You have Mellbreak on the right, and Grasmer on the left, and betwixt them a stupendous amphitheatre of mountains, whose tops are all broken and dissimilar, and of different hues, and their bases skirted with wood, or clothed with verdure. In the centre point of this amphitheatre is huge pyramical broken rock, that seems with its figure to change, as you move across the foreground, and gives much variety to the scenes...¹²

The remainder of Rose's text consists of an unattributed and slightly altered passage from John Lyde Wilson's poem, 'Peace and

⁷ For a discussion of steel engraving see Basil Hunnisett *Engraved on Steel; the history of picture production using steel plates* (Ashgate, Aldershot, 1998); Russell, *British Topographical Prints*, pp. 119-40.

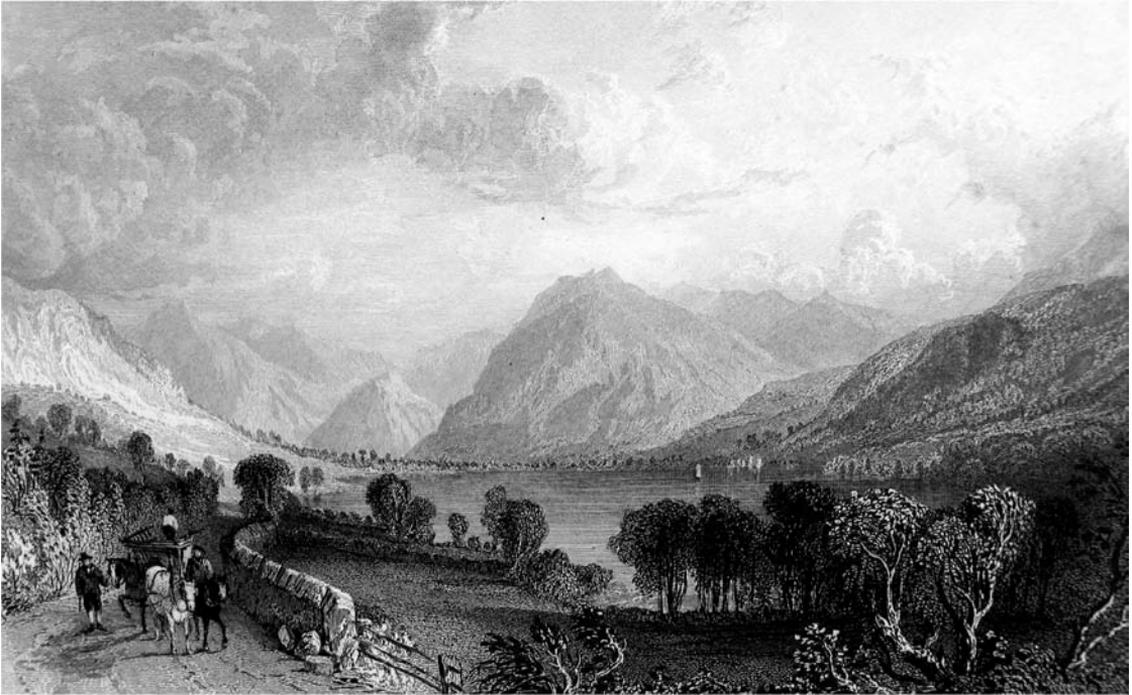
⁸ Thomas Rose, *Westmorland its Lake and Mountain Scenery* (Peter Jackson, Late Fisher, Son & Co., 1847); 58 plates after Allom; Thomas Rose, *Cumberland its Lake and Mountain Scenery* (Peter Jackson, 1847) 47 plates after Allom; Thomas Rose, *The British Switzerland; or picturesque Rambles in the English Lake District; comprising a series of views of the Lake and Mountain scenery in Westmorland, Cumberland, Lancashire, Durham and Northumberland: from drawings taken on the spot by Thomas Allom* (The London Printing and Publishing Co. Ltd., London, & New York, 1858) 109 plates after Allom; Thomas Rose, *Lake and Mountain Scenery. Westmorland and Cumberland from drawings on the spot by T. Allom and G. Pickering* (London Printing and Publishing Co. Ltd., 1858) 23 plates after Allom.

⁹ This will be the subject of fuller article elsewhere.

¹⁰ In addition he supplied distant views of Cocker mouth and Wood Hall and a romantic depiction of border raiders in Honister Pass.

¹¹ George Tattersall, *The Lakes of England* (Sherwood & Co. London, 1836) included a similar view. It was also sketched the same year by Edward Lear; Michael Baron, 'The Excursion of Edward Lear to Crummock, Buttermere and Loweswater on 27th & 28th September 1836', *The Journal of the Lorton and Derwent Fells History Society*, no. 39 (2007), pp. 1-7.

¹² John Robinson, *A Guide to the Lakes in Cumberland, Westmorland and Lancashire* (Lackington etc, London, 1819), pp. 179, 181; Thomas West, *Guide to the Lakes* (1789 edition), p. 138. This is probably the view by Richard Wilson (or follower) which is in Abbot Hall Gallery. <http://www.bbc.co.uk/arts/yourpaintings/paintings/crummock-lake-from-near-loweswater-chapel> accessed 8 Oct. 2014.



Loweswater from Water End, vol.2 p.13 engraved by W. Floyd, 1833

Innocence': 'Look, where I may a tranquillizing soul..' but substitutes 'I' for 'you',¹³ which had no particular connection with the place.

The correct location for the view was inserted in later editions such as Thomas Rose, *Cumberland, its Lake and Mountain Scenery*.¹⁴

Crummock Water

Allom's view of this lake is also unusual. Other artists preferred to sketch from viewing 'stations' shown on Crosthwaite's map of 1794 near the road over Randon Knot or Buttermere Hawse, just beyond the end of the carriage road above Kirk Stile Inn or at the end of the footpath from Scale Inn to foot of the lake.¹⁵ Allom's view, however, is taken from a point to the north of Low Ling Crag, which is visible in the print.

It becomes clear from other contemporary sources why so few artists adopted this perspective. Allom presumably travelled along the indistinct

paths which traverse the side of the lake below Mellbreak to obtain it. When Edward Baines and his companion had attempted to traverse this route on horseback in 1827 they had found it 'not only difficult but really dangerous', beset with quagmires and steep cliffs. Baines advised 'no person to follow our example'.

Our horse sank so deep in some of the bogs that we were apprehensive he would either stick fast or break his leg in endeavouring to get out; the rocks shelve so rapidly to the edge of the lake in one or two parts, that the animal could not pass along the track, and we were obliged to ride him into the water to get round the base of the rocks.¹⁶

Rose accurately names the mountains but he does not make it clear that his text is a paraphrase of a passage from Baines' *Companion to the Lakes* which described the panorama from the end of the lake rather than from this point.¹⁷

¹³ John Wilson Lyde, *The Isle of Palms and other poems* (Longman etc, Edinburgh, 1812), p. 329.

¹⁴ Rose, *Cumberland its Lake and Mountain Scenery*, p. 67.

¹⁵ P. Crosthwaite, *An Accurate Map of Buttermere, Crummock Water and Lowes-water Lakes*, 1794; West, *Guide*, p. 136.

¹⁶ Edward Baines jun., *A Companion to the Lakes of Cumberland, Westmorland and Lancashire* (3rd edition, Simpkin & Marshall, London, 1834), pp. 175-78.

¹⁷ Baines, *Companion*, p. 175.



Crummock Water, vol.1 p.56, engraved by W. le Petit, 1833

<p>Rose, 1833 The vast mountain of Grasmoo, its barren sides streaked with beds of shale, is seen robed with thunder-cloud; and immediately in front is the comparatively low but abrupt hill, called Randon Knot, extending a bold promontory into the lake.</p>	<p>Baines 1827 (3rd edition, 1834) The former [Grasmoo] is an immense mountain, whose barren sides are streaked with beds of shale. The monotony of these ridges is somewhat broken by a comparatively low abrupt hill, called Randon Knot, which stands out into the valley at the foot of Grasmoo, and pushes a bold promontory into the Lake.</p>
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The rest of Rose's text consists of material which has no relation to the location. It includes rather ambiguous reflections prompted by a quotation from Alexander Pope's *Essay on Man*.¹⁸

If to 'look through nature up to nature's God' is the legitimate object of refined and sensitive minds, in their contemplations of material beauty, scenes similar to that which

we have described, cannot fail to excite emotions of reverence...

Pope's words were regularly cited to extol reflection on the divine creation of landscape and environment. Rose's intention can be interpreted in this vein. 'To recognise a supreme power in the dark cloud and in the stirring wind, is not the mere simplicity of an untutored mind.... standing in those cloud-roofed temples ... the philosopher and peasant alike [are] compelled to acknowledge the presence of the "God the Mountains"'.¹⁹

God of the mountains at whose will the clouds
cluster around the heights who sendeth them
to send their fertilizing showers, and raise
the drooping herb, and o'er the thirsty vale
spread their green freshness; at whose voice
the hills
grow black with storms.¹⁹

However, this is an extract from Robert Southey's poem *Madoc in Aztlan* (1805) which bore no relation to the Lakes or even to England. It related the adventures

¹⁸ Alexander Pope, 'Essay on Man' (Dublin, 1734).

¹⁹ Robert Southey, *Poetical Works* (Galignani, Paris, 1829) p. 245. The poem was first published in 1805.

of a mythical Welsh prince who sailed to South America. The 'God of the mountains' whose presence Rose apparently urges 'the philosopher and peasant alike' to acknowledge was the pagan god Mextili to whom the Aztecas, the local tribe in Southey's poem, were preparing to sacrifice a child companion of Madoc's. Rather than reflect on Pope's Christian God, therefore, Rose's choice of text seems to promote 'enlarged conceptions of Deity' among those with 'refined and sensitive minds', to imagine the possibility that there were darker deities at work in Nature. Whether this was his intention and, if so, how many of his readers were aware of the origins of the quotation and able to appreciate it we will never know. Significantly perhaps, all references to Southey's poem were omitted when the text was revised for Rose, *Cumberland, its Lake and Mountain Scenery*.²⁰

Scale Force

Vol. 1 p. 64, engraved by J.C. Bentley, 1833

The attractions of Scale Force, the Lakes' highest waterfall with a 170 foot (51.8m)²¹ drop, had long been extolled by writers and poets ever since Thomas West made its existence known to a wider audience.

Just in front, between Blea-crag and Mell-break, (two spiral hills) the hoarse resounding noise of a water-fall is heard across the lake, concealed within the bosom of the cliff, through which it has forced its way, and when viewed from the foot of the fall, is a most astonishing phaenomenon.²²

Wordsworth and Coleridge had visited it in 1802.

The first fall a thin broad white ribbon from a stupendous height; uninterrupted tho' not impinged by, the perpendicular Rock down which it falls, or rather parallel with which – there is no pool at the bottom, but a common shallow brook over flattish small pebbles – but the chasm thro' which it flows, is stupendous – so wildly wooded that the mosses & wet weeds & perilous Tree increase the Horror of the rocks which ledge only enough to interrupt not stop your fall -

& the tree – O God! to think of a poor wretch hanging with one arm from it.²³

Wordsworth later recalled it as 'a fine chasm, with a lofty, though but slender, fall of water', and Samuel Taylor Coleridge as a 'white downfall of which glimmered through the trees, that hang before it like the bushy hair over a madman's eyes'.²⁴ Rambler (Joseph Palmer), provided a fuller description

The steep on both sides is covered with variety of moss, fern, ash, and oak, all fed by constant spray; the flourish in indescribable verdure. The delicacy of the effect is heightened by being in a narrow chasm, a hundred yards in the rock, before it rushes into the lower fall, at the point of which you have a grand view. Clamber up the left side, and look into the first basin; and, although you may be wet with spray, you cannot help feeling the solemnity of this deep, this musical abyss, enchanting as verdure and melody can make it; ...²⁵

Tourists, however, were reputedly deterred from viewing the force by the difficulty of access. Horne's description of 1816, for example, was 'collected from information procured chiefly from our guide'.²⁶ The easiest approaches were by boat across the lake from the inns at Scale Hill and Buttermere but even these required an uphill climb through difficult ground to reach the viewing point at the bottom of the force. Overland access, whether from Loweswater or Buttermere, was not for the faint hearted especially if they heeded the usual advice to view the force after heavy rain when the force was at its most spectacular. As Baines discovered, the overland route from Buttermere was little better than the path he had taken from Loweswater. Against the advice of the local

²⁰ Rose, *Cumberland: its Lake and Mountain Scenery*, p. 31.

²¹ Figures vary depending on the criteria used.

²² West, *Guide to the Lakes*, p. 136.

²³ Quoted in Derek Denman, 'Coleridge and Wordsworth in the Derwent Fells Townships: 1799-1804', *The Journal of the Lorton and Derwent Fells History Society*, no. 39 (2007), p. 14.

²⁴ William Wordsworth, *Guide to the Lakes* ((1835 edition) p. xvi.

²⁵ Joseph Budworth (Rambler), *A Fortnight's Rambles in the Lakes in Westmoreland, Lancashire and Cumberland* (1792), pp. 193-96. Budworth later changed his name to Palmer.

²⁶ Horne, *Lakes*, pp. 54-55. Rose relies on this for with a significant portion of his brief description.



Scale Force: Thomas Allom, 1832, and the author's photograph May 2013

guide on the boat he and his companion set out on the route on the grounds that it could not be worse than the one they already taken, but soon had reason to regret their decision. After sinking into bog their horse obstinately refused to go any further and they were obliged to retrace their steps and take to higher ground 'where there was neither high-way nor byeway' eventually arriving 'wet and weary' at the inn and no doubt more mindful of local guides' advice in the future.²⁷ Rose's description would also have deterred prospective ramblers from taking the route.

The journey on foot is both dangerous and inconvenient, leading over a rapid river, with only a single plank laid across, and continuing over a boggy pasture along the foot of the Red Pike mountain.

Possibly because of its inaccessibility few artists had attempted to portray the force

²⁷ Baines, *Companion*, pp. 175-78.

and those who had done had found it difficult to capture the movement of the water or the sublimity of the chasm through which it fell. An early crude sketch by Craig shows two figures on a rock admiring a torrent of water descending between bare rocks.²⁸ A more elaborate aquatint by Fielding and Walton (1821) shows the fall between verdant vegetation. Were it not for the captions viewers could be forgiven for thinking that these were different waterfalls.²⁹

Thomas Allom's illustration of 1832, however, was a fairly accurate reflection of the reality which is still recognisable today even on a relatively dry day. Allom clearly relished this scene and reproduced it in

²⁸ Possibly William Marshall Craig since John Pye is known to have done engravings for other prints by Craig.

²⁹ Both viewable on *Guides to the Lakes* website, <http://www.geog.port.ac.uk/webmap/thelakes/> accessed 28 Nov. 2014. Images taken from holdings in Dove Cottage, Grasmere.

other media. An identical brown and grey wash over pencil drawing 8 inches by 12 inches was sold at Bearne's Fine Art in 2006.³⁰ The Wordsworth Centre at Grasmere possesses a small (159 x 127 mm) oil painting of the scene by Allom, probably executed a decade later when he began to paint in this medium rather than watercolour (see the front cover).³¹

Buttermere

Buttermere had more commonly been depicted from an elevated perspective on the road over Randon Knot, sometimes with Crummock Water in the foreground as in John Warwick Smith's aquatint of 1795,³² Joseph Farington's print of 1816, William Green's aquatint of 1819 and Harwood's rather later impressionistic sketch of 1842.³³ J.M.W. Turner's dramatic oil painting exhibited in 1798, now in the Tate, was also composed near this station,³⁴ as was one of George Pickering's two prints of the area which Fisher included in the publication in 1835.³⁵

Rose's text, yet again, did not do justice to the scene he was commissioned to describe. He simply paraphrased parts of Gilpin's description of the lake without

acknowledgement, relying again on Robinson who had also quoted Gilpin at length, albeit with credit.³⁶ Rose's account of Mary Robinson, the Maid of Buttermere is also a selective paraphrase of sections of Robinson's text.³⁷

Rose, 1833, p. 67.

This is one of the smallest lakes, extending about a mile and half only in length, and a quarter of a mile in breadth; of an oblong form, and sweeping at one end round a woody promontory. The neighbouring scenery is eminently grand and picturesque. Along the western side, an extensive range of mountainous declivity stretches from one end, and, to appearance, every where fall precipitately into the water. The eastern side is woody, and forms a rich and beautiful contrast to the other. The vale of Buttermere is rather confined in that part which the lake occupies, but at the outlet is opens, and extends a considerable distance

Gilpin (3rd edition 1808) p. 232 quoted in Robinson 1819, pp. 164-65.

This lake is small; about a mile and half in length, and a quarter of a mile in breadth; of an oblong form, sweeping at one end round a woody promontory. The scenery about is grand and beautiful. On the west side a long range of mountainous declivity stretches from end to end, falling every where precipitately into the water; at least it had that appearance to the eye, though on the spot probably a margin of meadow might extend from the bottom of the mountain. The eastern side of the lake is woody, and contrasts happily with the western ... The vale of Buttermere is rather confined in that part which the lake occupies. Below it extends a considerable way.

Both Robinson and Rose omitted Gilpin's suggestion that the beauty of Buttermere as a lake was compromised by the 'woody promontory' and that it was best appreciated with a 'levelled eye' rather than 'elevated one'.³⁸

³⁰Blouin Art Sals Index, <http://artsalesindex.artinfo.com/asi/lots/524061> accessed 28 Nov. 2014.

³¹ Reproduced on BBC *Your Paintings* website, <http://www.bbc.co.uk/arts/yourpaintings/paintings/scale-force> and Wordsworth Trust, reference 1991.74.2, <http://collections.wordsworth.org.uk/wtweb/home.asp?page=FA+item+details&mwsquery=%28{Identity+number}%3D{1991.74.2}%29>, accessed 7 Oct. 2014. Date given on both websites is 1833 but Diana Brooks, *Thomas Allom 1804-1872* (RIBA, London, 1998), p. 48 dates his oil paintings after 1841.

³² John 'Warwick' Smith, *Views of the Lakes* (W. Clarke, London, 1795), plate 13.

³³ Horne, *Lakes*, plate 28; William Green, *The Tourist's New Guide* (Lough & Co, Kendal, 1819), plate 22; John and Frederick Harwood, *Views of the Lakes* (J. & F. Harwood, London, 1842), plate 10.

³⁴ <http://www.bbc.co.uk/arts/yourpaintings/paintings/buttermere-lake-with-part-of-cromackwater-cumberland-a-sh117672> accessed 8 Oct. 2014.

³⁵ Rose, *Westmoreland, Cumberland etc*, Mill Beck and Buttermere Chapel, engraved by J. Starling, and Buttermere Lake and Village, engraved by D. Buckle. Britnell incorrectly attributes the view of Mill Beck to Allom.

³⁶ He was not the first to do so, however; Horne had also made use of Gilpin.

³⁷ Rose, *Westmoreland, Cumberland etc*, pp. 67-68; Robinson, *Guide*, p. 167.

³⁸ William Gilpin, *Observations on several parts of England, particularly the mountains and lakes of Cumberland and Westmoreland: relative chiefly to picturesque beauty* (Cadell and Davies, London, 1808 edition), vol. 1. p. 102.



Buttermere, vol.1 pp.67-68 engraved by R. Sands, 1833.

sweeping at one end round a woody promontory. *This sweep is rather forced; and from some points makes too acute an angle. It is one of those lines which would have been better effect from a boat. A lower point would soften it's [sic] abruptness. In other parts also the lines of this lake are rather too square.* The scenery however about is grand, and beautiful.³⁹

Allom would appear to have the first commercial artist to adopt such a 'levelled' perspective, portraying the lake from the shore near to the Fish Inn.⁴⁰ This is remarkably accurate in its representation, elevating the height of the mountains and successfully merging the offending promontory into what appears to be a seamless lakeside panorama as Gilpin intended.

Conclusion

These case studies of prints of the Derwent Fells area reveal a marked contrast between the quality, originality and accuracy of Allom's images and Rose's derivative accompanying commentaries. Allom's images retain their value as depictions of early Lakeland and are

frequently reproduced. Rose's text, by contrast, remains largely unread and rarely cited by scholars of early Lakeland.

Rose, admittedly, must have faced problems. He was based in London. He does not seem to have had any personal acquaintance with the Lakes. He presumably had no influence over the selection of scenes while Allom's choice of original perspectives further compounded his problems in composing accurate descriptions of the views presented to him. Consequently he was obliged to collate his text from published guides, collections of poems and sagas, some of which were unrelated to the scenes depicted. In doing this he, like others it should be said, showed no qualms about plagiarising the work of others, invariably without acknowledgement.

But it is clear that Rose's contribution was always viewed as secondary to that of Allom. His name appears *before* Rose's on the title page and it was his contribution on which advertisements and reviews of the book focused. More accurately the collection should be referred to as Thomas Allom's *Westmoreland, Cumberland, Durham and Northumberland* since, as the title of the book implies, the main attraction of the book was not the text but the illustrations.

³⁹ Gilpin, *Observations*, p. 232.

⁴⁰ A similar viewpoint was adopted George Tattersall in 1836, and later in Keeley Halswelle, *The English Lakes* (T. Nelson & Sons, London, 1859), frontispiece.

A walk in Embleton and Wythop in the 1950s

by Walter Head

This article covers the eastern half of Embleton, the whole of Wythop and part of old Setmurthy, by Bassenthwaite Lake. The western part of Embleton will be covered in the next article.

Starting at St CUTHBERTS CHURCH, Embleton and travelling East the first property was ROSE BANK the home of Miss Bowman then again on the right was MOORLANDS occupied by Mr & Mrs Lewthwaite, next on the left was LOW ABBEY FARM farmed by the Todd family, adjacent to this was LOW ABBEY FARM COTTAGE 1 which was rented out for holidays and also LOW ABBEY FARM COTTAGE 2 occupied by Mr Johnston. The next property on the left was HIGH ABBEY occupied by Geordie Barnes. The next property on the right of the junction at the top of the hill was EMBLETON AND WYTHOP SCHOOL which closed in 1978. Turning right at this junction into Wythop the first property on the right up a track off the road was BURTHWAITE occupied by the Hodgson family and next on the left was ESKIN FARM farmed by the Waugh family, then on the right was OLD SCALES FARM farmed by Dick Graham after this on the right was WYTHOP HALL FARM farmed by Arthur Graham. This was the site of the old silica works. Continuing along this road to the head of the valley was LOWTHWAITE SIDE let out as a holiday home. Returning back to Eskin Farm, down over the bridge and turning right the road led to KELSWICK FARM farmed by Jack & Jenny Hall. On a track past the farm was the ruins of the old WYTHOP CHAPEL, replaced by St Margaret's Church.

Retracing our steps back to the school and turning down the hill the first property on the right was the uninhabited GLOBE COTTAGE and attached to this was THE GLOBE occupied by Willy Walker who was followed by Joe Garner. The Globe was originally a pub but at this time only sold lemonade. Then on the left was No 1 LAKE VIEW COTTAGE home of Ralph Garner and also No 2 LAKE VIEW COTTAGE occupied by Mrs Marsden. Back on the right was FELL SIDE occupied by Dick & Mary Benson then on the right was OAKWOOD home of Nan Benson, further down on the

right was No 2 BRIDGE COTTAGE occupied by Joe Dixon and at No 1 BRIDGE COTTAGE lived Tom Denham who was followed by Jock & Linda Wise. Over the bridge and a short way up a road to the right and on the right was THE CROSSINGS occupied by the Gibson family who ran a small shop.

Back at the junction and taking the road towards Embleton on the left was WYTHOP MILL COTTAGE occupied by Mrs Gillespie, this was originally the site of Wythop School, next to this was WYTHOP MILL where Jimmy Sealby, who was the joiner for Wythop estate, lived. Returning up the road and turning left towards Bassenthwaite the first property on the left was WAD CRAG occupied by Mr & Mrs Browell, next on the right was WYTHOP SUNDAY SCHOOL built in 1887 and St MARGARETS CHURCH built in 1865. The next property on the left was THE RIGGS FARM farmed by Jimmy & Harry Clark, at No1 RIGGS COTTAGE Ken & Mary Hodgson lived and Ernie & Doris Leonard lived at No 2 RIGGS COTTAGE. Again on the left was SALE FELL HOUSE home of the Gibsons and at ROUTENBECK COTTAGE lived Capt & Mrs O'Donnell. Next on the right was THE VICARAGE occupied by Rev Humphreys. Then on the left was ROUTENBECK HOUSE home of Mrs Cameron and also ORCHARD HOUSE occupied by Mrs Counce and then on the right was SALE FELL COTTAGE where Miss Armstrong resided. The next properties were up a track on the right, No 1 FORESTRY COTTAGE occupied by Harry Bowe and No 2 FORESTRY COTTAGE occupied by Charlie McDuff. Back on the road at the bottom of the hill on the right of the junction was THE PHEASANT INN with proprietor Bobby Borwick. This was the location of Embleton cricket club.

Turning left along the A594 and on the right just before the railway crossing was Bassenthwaite Lake Station, on the Cockermonth, Keswick & Penrith branch, transferred from the LM&SR to British Railways in 1948. Sammy Whelan was the station master, the station housed a small post office and Mrs Whelan taught at Embleton/Wythop school. Behind the station were two cottages No 1 STATION COTTAGE was occupied by the Wilkinson family who were followed by Chris Little

and at No 2 STATION COTTAGE lived the Grimbley family.

Continuing over Dubwath Beck into Setmurthy and forking right towards Ouse Bridge, on the left there was a pair of semi detached houses, FERN BANK and LAVENDER BANK, whose occupiers are not known. Next to this was LAKESIDE, the home of June Brown (this became a guest house in 1954) and then was BARF HOUSE, occupier unknown. Finally came THE ELMS, occupied by Mr & Mrs Graham.

Returning to the A594, turning sharp right, and on the right just after the junction a small building contained a sweet shop run by Mr Walker which also sold artwork. Then on the right came a row of six cottages. In the end cottage at No 6 DUBWATH COTTAGE lived Miss Mason. Bob Graham was at No 5 DUBWATH COTTAGE and Mr & Mrs Rutherford lived at No 4 DUBWATH COTTAGE. No 3 DUBWATH COTTAGE was occupied by Mr & Mrs Clark. No 2 DUBWATH COTTAGE was home to Mr & Mrs McShane, and No 1 DUBWATH COTTAGE was occupied by Mrs Ewbank. Continuing to the next junction, on the right was BRATHEY HILL FARM farmed by the Richardson family. Past the junction, next came HIGHAM LODGE where Mrs Ellwood lived and then BULLY HOUSE occupied by John & Leslie Cowan, all on the right.

Next on the right, entering Embleton, was CLOSE FARM farmed by the Gibson family, then still up the hill behind Close Farm was No 1 CLOSE FARM COTTAGE home of the Charters family, then No 2 CLOSE FARM COTTAGE occupied by the Jeffersons and at No 3 CLOSE FARM COTTAGE lived Tom Walker. Before the quarry, a road on the left led under the railway to HIGH EAST HOUSE FARM farmed by Mrs Fenwick and also LOW EAST HOUSE FARM farmed by the Craghill family. Continuing west on the A594, next came the quarry sidings on the left. The quarry ceased operations in 1950. THE QUARRY OFFICE and associated buildings were behind How Close cottages on the left. No 1 HOW CLOSE COTTAGE was where Mr Tyson lived, and Mrs Bell lived at No 2 HOW CLOSE COTTAGE.

The next property on the right was THE CHAPEL built in 1863 The next properties on the right was a row of four cottages. At No 4 HOW END COTTAGE lived the

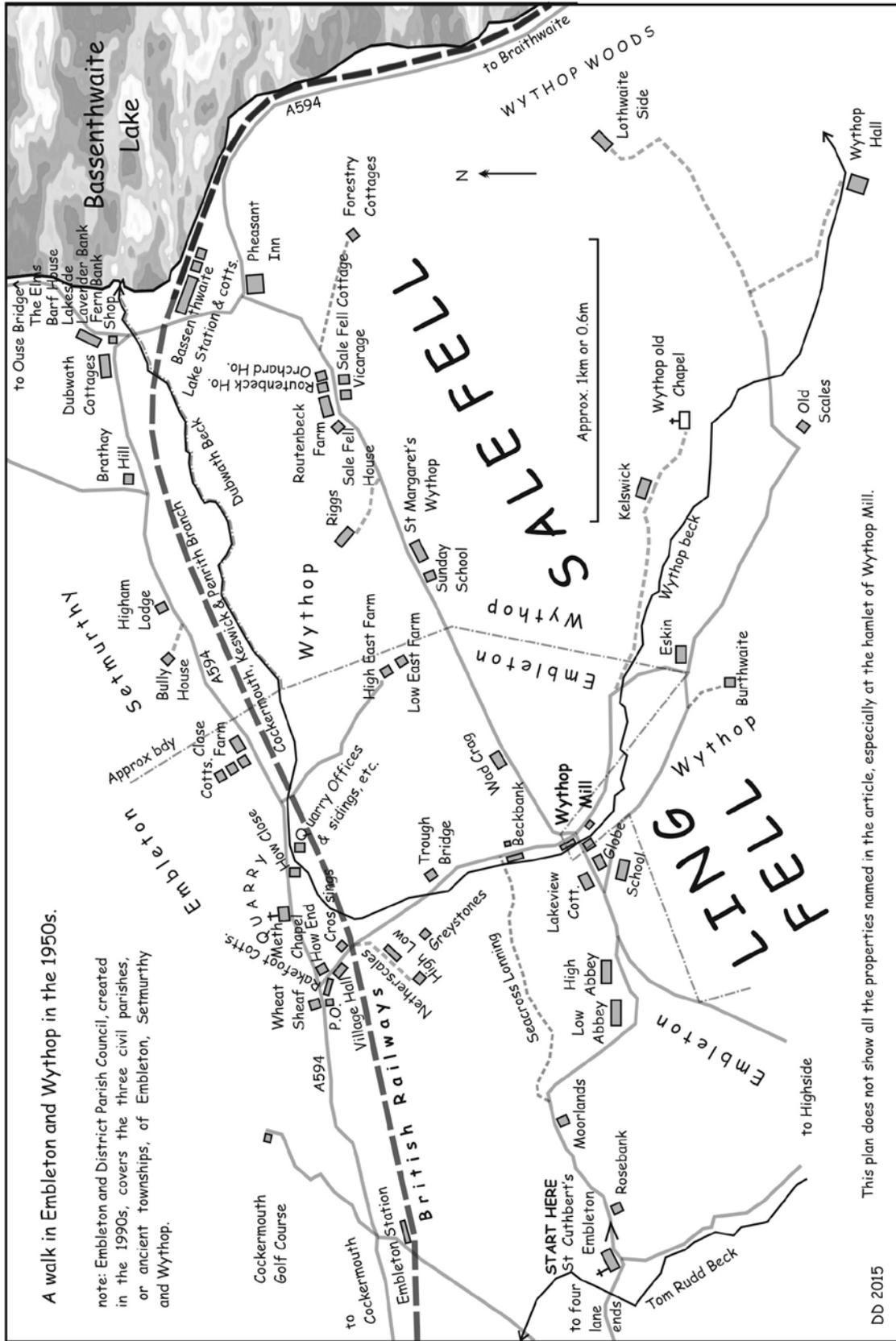
Todhunter family. The Dennam family lived at No 3 HOW END COTTAGE and at No 2 HOW END COTTAGE lived the Huddlestones. The occupier of No 1 HOW END COTTAGE is not known. Next on the left was HOW END where the quarry manager Mr Gilliver lived. Continuing just past the junction, on the right THE WHEATSHEAF INN was in the hands of Bill Simpson who was followed by Mr Hodgson. Returning towards the junction, on the right the POST OFFICE and SHOP was unoccupied at this time. On the south west corner of the junction was a row of four cottages. No 1 RAKEFOOT COTTAGE was occupied by Mr & Mrs Redfern, No 2 RAKEFOOT COTTAGE was the home of Charlie & Lillian Neal, Mr Boyd lived at No 3 RAKEFOOT COTTAGE and No 4 RAKEFOOT COTTAGE was the home of George & Mary Crook.

Taking the road towards Wythop Mill, downhill and south to the railway, on the right was THE VILLAGE HALL and the field opposite was used for sports days, next on the left was THE CROSSINGS where the railway crossing gates keeper Tom & Mrs Sanderson lived, the large white crossing gates were operated by hand prior to the station closure in 1958.

Crossing the railway, now the A66, on the right was LOW NETHERSCALES occupied by the Scott family and also HIGH NETHERSCALES farmed by Mr Tyson then the Walker family. Then a lane on the right led to No 1 GRAYSTONES COTTAGE home of Isaac & Mary Jane Sealby and at No 2 GRAYSTONES COTTAGE lived Mr & Mrs Bragg. Next on the left was TROUGH BRIDGE occupied by Mrs Leathers and also TROUGH BRIDGE COTTAGE home of Mr & Mrs McClaren.

On the right beside the river ford was BECKBANK COTTAGE occupied by the Garner family and then on the left was HEATHER VIEW the home of Parker Garner. The last property to be noted on this walk, on the right, was BECKBANK FARM farmed by Ike Gardner. From here we take the ancient Seacross Lonning to the west, rejoining the road near Moorlands and returning to St Cuthbert's Church.

My thanks to Dorothy Graves and Howard Todd for their help with item.



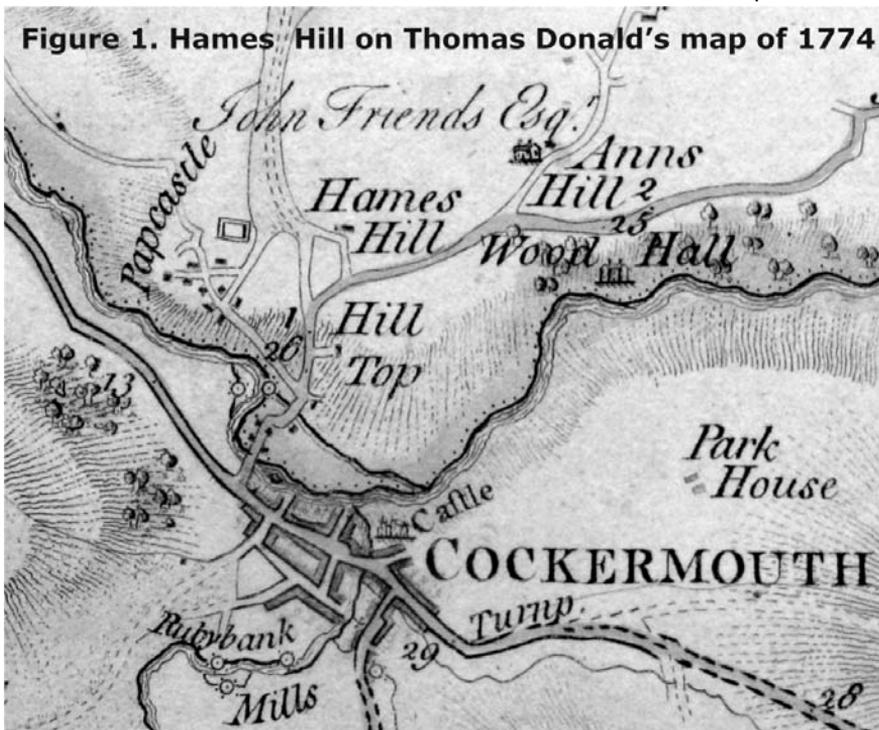
This plan does not show all the properties named in the article, especially at the hamlet of Wythop Mill.

The Hamlet of Hames

by Roger Asquith

The next time you drive up Goat Brow, heading out of Cockermouth towards Maryport or Carlisle, take a look across to your right just opposite the Papcastle/Belle Vue turning and spare a thought for the long forgotten inhabitants of Hames, otherwise known as Hameshill. (Not to be confused with the present inhabitants of Hames Hall! Now a care home, this building lies outside Hameshill, it was built as Derwent Lodge in 1846 and confusingly renamed Hames Hall in the 1870s.¹) The story of Hameshill predates 'Hames Hall' by six hundred years or more and shows what can be discovered by investigating those enigmatic lumps and bumps in the corner of a field. The signs in question were noted while surveying just north of Cockermouth, along the line of the Roman/medieval road from Papcastle to Bridekirk and Carlisle, as part of the Roman heritage *Discovering Derwentio* project.

While the earliest OS map (c 1860) shows neither house nor farm, Donald's



map of 1774 (fig.1) assigns the name 'Hames Hill' to a house in the area where building stones and hints of wall lines were observed. The 1840 Tithe Map, bearing the title 'Hamlet of Hameshill' (fig.2), shows no habitation with Hameshill as an 'independent' entity surrounded by the Townships of Papcastle and Bridekirk. Comparison of the 1774 and 1840 maps shows the Roman/medieval road still in use at the earlier date with the turnpike road built by 1840 (i.e. c 1825).

Early History of Hames

On the origins of 'Hames' as a place/field name, *The Place-Names of Cumberland* states: 'this can hardly be other than the northern plural of the Old English ham'.² While -ham is a common suffix meaning settlement or homestead as in Brigham, it can also mean enclosure, as in Dearham, i.e. deer enclosure. The place name Hames, however, seems to be unique in Britain; if the derivation was simply from homesteads or enclosures it ought to be common, though some additional descriptive element would surely be needed. It seems more likely, therefore, that the place name derives from the

personal name Hames which was, supposedly, Norman, introduced into England after 1066.

An IPM (Inquisition Post Mortem) on the death of Adam del Hames in 1315 states: 'Adam held Le Hames in Papecastre: a messuage and 100 acres of land, held of the king in chief as of the barony of Alredal by service of 2s yearly'.³ (He also had holdings in Setmurthy and Lorton.) This indicates that

¹ *Papcastle History*, Apperley, Eric, 2009.

² *The Place-Names of Cumberland*, Part 2.' Armstrong, A.M., 1971.

³ *Cal. Inq.* p.m. V, no. 560.

Hames was a freehold estate, independent of neighbouring manors and suggests that the del Hames family was, to some degree, nobility rather than tenant of a manorial lord. (An IPM was a local enquiry into the lands held by deceased people of status, i.e. 'tenants in chief' who held land directly from the king.) The term 'messuage' (i.e. 'that area of land taken up by a house and its associated buildings and land') and the 'del Hames' family name would point to there being a residence of status on the estate before 1315. There are indications of a rather earlier date than 1315 for this occupation at Hameshill. Lambert de Multon made an (undated) award of iron ore from his mine to the monks of Holme Cultram, with Reginald del Hames included in the list of witnesses.⁴ The de Multon family arms appear above Cockermouth Castle gate house. As Lambert had died by 1247, Reginald del Hames was 'in business' before 1247 and, presumably, the Hameshill estate and residence also predate this time.

It is relevant to consider the '100 acres of land' attached to 'Le Hames'. Most commonly in Cumberland one customary acre was equivalent to 1.62 statute acres.⁵ The schedule to the tithe map of 1840 (fig. 2) gives Hames

Hamlet as 163 statute acres (almost exactly 100 x 1.62) suggesting that Hames, as shown in Fig.2, corresponds to the del Hames holding of medieval times.

The Registry of the Priory of St. Bees records the gift of property in Whitehaven to the Priory by John del Hames in 1331.⁶ Another John del Hames was a 'man-at arms' defending Carlisle Castle against Scottish raids in 1383/4.⁷ In 1385 'John del Haymes and Stephen Barwis hold freely their land of Haymes with common of pasture by service of 2s per annum for all services and fealty'.⁸

The family connection between del Hames and Barwis is not known but by 1398 Hames was held by Stephen Barwis alone.⁹ There is no evidence to prove that del Hames family members were themselves still living at Hames in the late

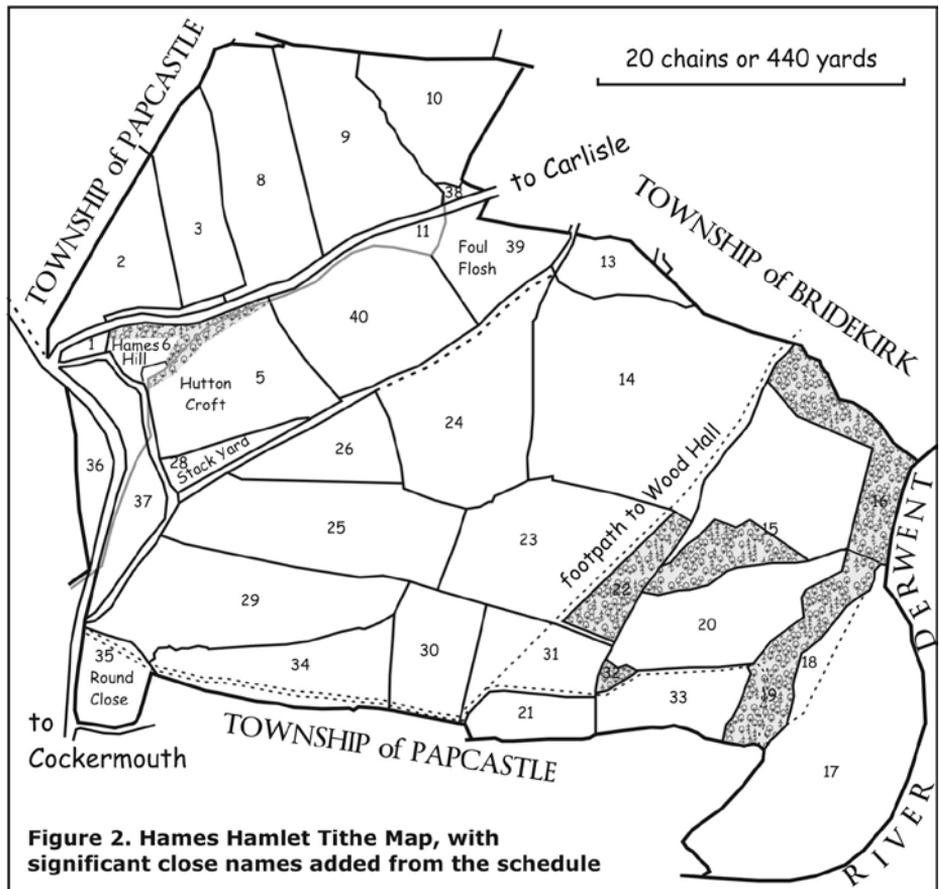


Figure 2. Hames Hamlet Tithe Map, with significant close names added from the schedule

⁴ D/AY/1/2 (CRO Carlisle).

⁵ 'The Customary Acre: An Indeterminate Measure', Robert S. Dille, *The Agricultural History Review*, 1975, Vol. 13.2

⁶ *The Register of the Priory of St. Bees*, ed. James Wilson, Surtees Society, 1915

⁷ 'A List of the Garrison at Carlisle Castle, 1383', William Cook, *TCWAAS*, Series III, Vol. VII.

⁸ D/LEC/314/16 (CRO Whitehaven).

⁹ *Cal. Inq. p.m.* XVII, no.1247 (p 470).

14 C, nor is there evidence that a Barwis took up residence. The relevant branch of the Barwis family lived at Islekirk (in the parish of Westward), owned by the Abbey of Holme Cultram, before the Dissolution, and acquired the freehold in 1544.¹⁰ Richard Barwis inherited the land at Hameshill i.e. 'two messuages with sixty acres of land, twenty acres of meadow, twenty acres of pasture' (100 customary acres total), as well as other manors and property, on his father's death in 1616. He was a notable figure in the county of Cumberland, being MP for Carlisle for many years and played a prominent part on the Parliamentary side in the Civil War.¹¹ After Richard Barwis died (without issue) in 1648, his widow Frances held Hames, Islekirk and other property until her death in 1670. Richard had made provision to ensure continuing Barwis family possession by conditional sale in 1647.¹² No information has yet been found regarding Barwis interest in Hameshill after 1670.

The Hutton and Brumfield families – neighbours at Hameshill

Hameshill in 1647 comprised one house and land (i.e. a 'messuage and tenement') in the occupation of Thomas Brumfield, and a second house and land occupied by Robert Hutton.¹³ Each paid 26s 8d yearly rent. At 50 customary (80 statute) acres each these represent large holdings for the period, able to support extended families but also requiring a significant work force. The Huttons were at Hameshill in 1626, and probably well before, the family being recorded in the Bridekirk Parish Registers from the start of the records in 1585.¹⁴ The name 'John Brumfield of Hayms' appears in the Papcastle Manor Court records for 1526, and Brumfields also figure in the Bridekirk Registers from the outset.

¹⁰ 'Barwis of Cumberland', Parts 1 & 2, Rev. F.B.Swift, *TCWAAS*, New Series Vols. L & LI, 1950 & 1951.

¹¹ Barwis, Richard (1602 – 1649) of Ile Kirk Grange, Westward.

www.historyofparliamentonline.org

¹² Swift, 'Barwis of Cumberland'.

¹³ D/AY/4/2 (CRO Carlisle).

¹⁴ D/Law/3/3/6 (CRO, Carlisle); *The Registers of Bridekirk 1584 - 1812*, Haswell, Col. J.F., 1927.

The Brumfield house appears to have been replaced by what became known as Hames Hill House, in field 6 on the tithe map (fig. 2). The field name corresponding to no. 5 on the map is 'Hutton Croft' (the word 'croft' indicating land with a house), placing the second Hameshill 'messuage' here, alongside the 'Stack Yard', number 28 on the Tithe Map. Pinpointing the del Hames house of the 13th/14th centuries is clearly more of a problem. It may have been on one of the two sites noted above, or perhaps in 'Round Close', field 35 in fig. 2. The shape of the enclosure, on the edge of the estate, suggests an early date, and a nearby well ('disused' on later maps) would be consistent with an early house here. Two houses now standing in this SW corner of Hameshill (Hames Hall Gatehouse and Little Hames) are relatively modern.

The Brumfields, the plague and the Senhouses.

Given the size of their land holding it may be expected that the Brumfields would have been moderately prosperous, with a house/ farm of some status. Several Brumfield wills, with inventories, exist for the parish of Bridekirk, dating between 1574 and 1631. Only the will of Thomas Brumfield Senior 'of Hameshill', indicates the dwelling place.¹⁵ In the main his will is typical of a Cumberland farmer of the time – value of goods and chattels (not land or property) being £31 12s 2d. 'One bed with bed clothes *in the bower*', value 10s, indicates the traditional simple farmhouse with the 'master bedroom' on the ground floor next to the 'firehouse'. His two other bedsteads (value 5s) would have been in the loft above. The limited livestock (one stott i.e. a bullock, one heifer and a few sheep to the value of 22s) suggests the main farming activity is already in the hands of Thomas Brumfield Jr., aged 31 at this point. 'One ark in the barn' is the only reference to farm buildings. The first item in the will may be an indication of wealth/property, 'I give unto my son Thomas Broomefield all my right and free houses in Cockermonth'. No clarification of what this refers to, or the value, has been found – it may just be a catch-all phrase to

¹⁵ Will/inventory of Thomas Brumfield, Snr, 1631, CRO Carlisle.

cover property in the general area, including Hameshill. The will/ inventory of John Brumfield, died 1574, gives a better indication of farming activity in this area in the period.¹⁶ Quite possibly relating to Hameshill, it could be the inventory of the 'John Brumfield of Hayms' named in the 1526 Papcastle Manor Court records mentioned above. John's will and inventory indicate that his four oxen were used for draught purposes, including ploughing. Neighbours with small land holdings unable to support an ox team of their own, paid for their services – several outstanding payments 'for plowing' were listed in the will. Crops grown included barley, oats, hemp and flax. He had sheep, cattle and a horse for personal transport.

Cumberland's last 'visitation' of the plague occurred at Hameshill in 1647, although minor in terms of total number of deaths compared with 1597/8 and 1623 episodes, it devastated two families.¹⁷ The Bridekirk Parish Register shows that 13 Brumfields, including eleven children, were buried during May and early June, six being the children of James (Jacobus) and five the children of Thomas. It is only certain that Thomas and his family lived at Hameshill; James and his family may have done. Two of Thomas's family survived the plague, his wife Jane and daughter Elizabeth, aged 18 or so. The latter was married to Henry Dalton II (son of Henry Dalton I, gentleman, of Brigham and 'The Fitz'- next to the present Cockermonth Show field) and away from home. As the only surviving child of Thomas Brumfield she would inherit his Hameshill holding, her mother being allowed to live there during her lifetime. Henry Dalton II died sometime before 1655, the year in which Elizabeth married Patricius Senhouse, a younger son of the Netherhall family.¹⁸ Elizabeth's son Henry Dalton III, in return for much needed cash, made his will in favour of his mother, rather than his sister Jane, should he die before producing an heir. Such was the case, and both the

Hameshill and The Fitz properties came into Senhouse possession. Elizabeth and Patricius built a new house befitting local gentry at Hameshill, around 1665 – the one shown on Thomas Donald's map of 1774.¹⁹ The Bridekirk Registers record the baptisms and deaths of the Senhouses of Hameshill up to the death of Humphrey, grandson of Elizabeth, in 1768. Writing in 1878, William Browne recalled from his youth the derelict house before it was demolished. The stone was reused in the 1839 rebuilding of The Fitz with the 1665 Senhouse arms & date stone being incorporated into the new building. The style of the Senhouses' Hameshill house was, reputedly, similar to Wordsworth House in Cockermonth.

The Hutton Residence and the Congregational Church

The nonconformist Congregational Church, established during the Commonwealth period, was heavily persecuted following the restoration of the monarchy (Charles II) in 1660. George Larkham, the first pastor of the Independents, the incumbent from 1651 of All Saints Church, Cockermonth, was 'ejected by the violence of Sir George Fletcher' in 1660. The Hutton house at Hameshill became an important venue for clandestine meetings, services, baptisms, etc.²⁰ Robert Hutton, son of Thomas, died in 1661. Thereafter Robert's widow, Margaret, a staunch supporter, risked severe retribution by allowing her house to be so used. The Congregational Church records make frequent reference to this, e.g. in 1668 'Many other meetings the church had this yeare at the House of sister Hutton at Hemshill, and at the Hall at Tallentyre, but under great threatenings'. In 1670: 'A pretty part of the church met at the house of our sister Hutton at Hemes-Hill. We met in the night for feare of the hunters abroad'. The size of the gatherings (20 stated on one occasion) and durations of 6 hours or

¹⁶ Will/Inventory of John Brumfield of Bridekirk, 1574, CRO Carlisle.

¹⁷ 'Visitations of the Plague in Cumberland and Westmorland', Henry Barnes, *TCWAAS*, Old Series Vol. XI, 1891.

¹⁸ *Cumberland families and Heraldry*, Hudleston, C.Roy, 1978.

¹⁹ Proceedings, *TCWAAS* New Series Vol. LXIII, 1963, pp 299-301. 'Bridekirk and its Registers', Wm. Browne Esq., *TCWAAS* Old Series, Vol. IV, 1878.

²⁰ *The History of the Congregational Church, Cockermonth*, W. Lewis, 1870. *The Cockermonth Congregational Church Book (1651-c.1765)*, Ed. R.B.Wordsworth, CWAAS, 2012.

more, suggest the Hutton residence was by this time more than a basic farm house. Charles II's Declaration of Indulgence of 1672 suspended the laws against dissenters, permitting use of registered locations for worship. Margaret Hutton's Hameshill house was the first in the Cockermouth area to be officially licensed. Charles was forced by Parliament to withdraw his declaration in the following year and the former persecution resumed. References to meetings at Hameshill ceased in 1676. Margaret Hutton died in 1678. (Margaret's maiden name having been Dalton, it seems likely she would have been related through marriage to Elizabeth Senhouse, previously Dalton, nee Brumfield).

The Hearth Tax records for Dovenby (ca. 1670) list Richard Hutton, gentleman, as having a property with two hearths.²¹ (Hameshill was a detached part of the Township of Dovenby for local government purposes until 1887, when it was incorporated into the Civil Parish of Bridekirk). Two more references show that the Hutton house at Hameshill survived in Richard's ownership until the late 17 C. Thomas Denton records that 'Hames-hill lyes a little east (of Papcastle) where Mr Senhouse & Mr Hutton have two good freehold estates, each of them being worth £40 a year at least, and good seates'.²² An issue over the repair of the Cockermouth - Bridekirk road at Fowle Flosch appeared in the records of the Quarter Sessions of the Cumberland Court – in the Easter Petitions 1693 it was stated that the road 'belonging to Mr Richard Hutton and Mrs Senhouse of the Hameshill is now repaired'.²³ Fowle Flosch was at the northern end of the medieval (Carlisle) road through Hameshill (fig. 2, field 39). Richard Hutton (baptised 1614) was the son of Thomas, and presumably inherited the Hameshill property either from his elder brother Robert, or Robert's wife Margaret. No further record of Richard, or other Huttons

of Hameshill, has been found. Neither does it appear, from the Bridekirk Registers, that another family became established. Other than the Senhouse family only seven Hameshill baptism entries, with six different family names, occur between 1688 and 1788 – possibly servants/employees of the Senhouse family.

The evidence would suggest that the Hutton land at Hameshill was in the hands of others by the start of the 18C and the house uninhabited. The 19th century references show that 'Hutton Croft' as a farmstead was, even at that time, completely forgotten, with its 'memorable events' wrongly attributed to the Senhouse's Hames Hill House.²⁴ By the 21st century this house too was forgotten and the events presumed to have occurred at Hames Hall!²⁵

Conclusion

Hameshill, or Hames, between Papcastle and Bridekirk manors, had a long history as an independent estate of del Hames, then Barwis ownership. The location of an early 13/14th century house, that of the del Hames family, is unknown. In the late medieval/early modern period Hameshill comprised two farmsteads occupied by the Brumfield and Hutton families. Each was associated with locally significant historic events: reputedly the last visitation of the plague in Cumberland (as a result of which the Senhouse family acquired the Brumfield half of Hameshill) and the use of the Hutton's house for nonconformist church purposes during a period of persecution and repression. The Senhouses' Hames Hill House, built 1665, was demolished around 1839. Today Hameshill is almost completely forgotten. Historic references thereto are commonly and wrongly attributed to Hames Hall (built 1846 and given its present name post 1871).

²¹ Hearth Tax Returns for Cumberland, CRO Carlisle.

²² Thomas Denton, *A Perambulation of Cumberland 1687-1688*, Eds. Winchester, Angus J.L. & Wane, Mary, Surtees Society & C&WAAS, 2003.

²³ Q/11/1/25/1, Cumberland Quarter Sessions, 1693. CRO Carlisle.

²⁴ *The History of the Congregational Church, Cockermouth*, W. Lewis, 1870.

²⁵ *The Cockermouth Congregational Church Book (1651-c.1765)*, Ed. R.B. Wordsworth, C&WAAS, 2012.

What became of John Elliott Huxtable? Some mysteries solved.

by Derek Denman

In *Journal 43*, February 2009, Michael Winstanley and I told the story of Isabella Nixon, a farmer's daughter who was born at Boon Beck farm in Lorton in 1831. From being a pupil at Lorton School, Isabella rose to create and run a pioneering ladies college in Kensington and thereby earned a place in the *Victoria County History of Middlesex*. But we could not find the man she married in 1864, John Elliott Huxtable, in any records after 1867. At that time he was temporarily imprisoned as a debtor in the City Prison, now Holloway, due to the failure of his trading partnership. By the 1871 census Isabella was a widow, and her young son John Elliott Huxtable jnr was in the care of relatives in Keswick, but her ladies' college was thriving. Where was the bankrupt father? We also wondered where the money had come from for the ladies' college and to educate her son. You can read that first article online if you have misplaced your copy of *Journal 43*.

Fortunately we were not the only ones interested in the Nixon family. Isabella was one of a family of eleven, some of whom had descendants in England and abroad. In 2010 we were contacted by Mr Blair Nixon from Canada. Blair is a descendant of Kendal Nixon, Isabella's nephew, and had more information about

the Nixon family, but at that time could not give the answer to what happened to Isabella's unfortunate husband. But now the answer is found, and this article provides that answer, plus rather more about the Nixon and Huxtable families and the source of their prosperity, due to Blair's research.

The fate of John Elliott Huxtable snr is briefly mentioned in the biography his son in Law Notes as a prize winner in 1887, then aged 23. It was important to know who a rising young man's father was, the mother was less of a concern. He was the 'son of the late John Elliott Huxtable, of Lagos, West Africa', which suggests that the father left the country soon after his bankruptcy in 1867 and died there before 1871. And so a mystery is solved, though

Law Notes.

89

J. E. HUXTABLE, ESQ.,

SCOTT SCHOLAR AND WINNER OF THE BRODERIP GOLD MEDAL FOR 1887.

NOT without ample justification do we describe Mr. Huxtable as "the most learned solicitor in 1887." Of the four First Prizemen—Clement's Inn and Daniel Reardon Prizemen—for 1887, Mr. Huxtable has been by the Law Society adjudged the best, evidenced by their having awarded to him the Scott Scholarship. This scholarship is worth fifty pounds, and is awarded to the best all-round man of each year. In addition, the Law Society has awarded to him the Broderip Gold Medal, which is given to the man who in each year shows himself most conversant with the principles and practice of conveyancing. Mr. Huxtable has, therefore, carried off both—all—the general special prizes: the other prizes being awarded to the best men from particular districts, and not therefore open for Mr. Huxtable's competition, he being a London man.

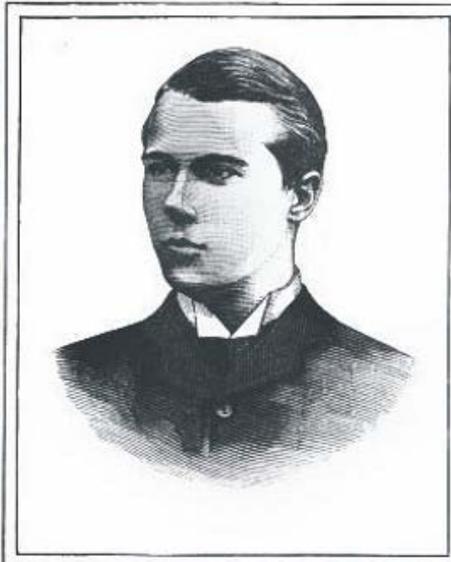
This most learned lawyer is the son of the late John Elliott Huxtable, of Lagos, West Africa, and at present resides at Bucklands, Holland Park Gardens, and is not yet twenty-three, being born in March, 1865. He was educated at the Merchant Taylors' School, Charterhouse-square, which, however, he was compelled to leave in consequence of illness. He finished his education in the brighter and purer air of Malvern Link. In June, 1882, he matriculated at the London University; and in January, 1887, he

took a first Division at the Intermediate London LL.B.

He was Clement's Inn Prizeman and Daniel Reardon Prizeman at the November Examination, 1887. Mr. Huxtable was articled to Mr. R. J. Villiers, of the firm of Messrs. Ullithorne, Currey & Villiers, of 1, Field Court, Gray's Inn.

In appearance, Mr. Huxtable is an ideal lawyer—clean shaven, neat and precise in dress; keen in argument, ready of tongue, withal a genial opponent. A standing refutation to the ignorant cry that

High Prizemen are theoretical and useless, he is extremely practical and hard headed, and has during the whole of his articles thrown himself heart and soul into the business of the office. With his practical knowledge, backed by a sound acquaintance with principles, he was unconquerable. He has confessed to us that to the attainment of a Clement's Inn Prize he had determined to devote his best energies; so well has he devoted those energies that he has now the satisfaction of finding himself the best Clement's Inn Prizeman for 1887, and the best conveyancer.



We would add that, apart from the honor of the distinction attained, Mr. Huxtable's prizes have a pecuniary value. The combined values of the Clement's Inn and Daniel Reardon Prizes is about thirty-five guineas, to be expended in legal works. The Scott Scholarship is about fifty pounds in cash, and the Broderip Gold Medal is of the value of about ten pounds: in all about ninety-five pounds worth of prizes. The portrait is from a photograph by Mr. Barraud, 263, Oxford Street, W.

lacking the details of his demise.

Another mystery now needs answering, and thanks to Blair it can be done. Where did the Nixon's money come from? For a man like John Elliott Huxtable jnr could not be made without considerable funds. Soon after his birth his mother was creating a London ladies' college from scratch, requiring considerable capital as it grew, while his father's business partnership was going bankrupt. The Huxtable family was not the source of funds, and John Elliott Huxtable snr was just an ambitious young man from Devon who had come to London to seek his fortune in trade, and failed to do so. His son's success was due to his Lorton born mother, who was clearly a remarkable woman.

For the money, as well as the talent, we must look to the Nixon family and to another Cumberland family, the Kay family of Wigton. When Isabella was born in Lorton in 1831 her father, John Nixon, was a tenant farmer at Boon Beck. That is, he rented the farm (including the Lorton yew tree) for a period of years from the owner, Martha Stubbs. A tenant farmer used his small capital and his labour, often including his children, to make a living and hopefully increase his capital. That capital would normally be passed to his eldest son, John Nixon jnr, who would, and did, carry on the family business – moving from farm to farm as a tenant. The younger sons, if not employed on the farm, might become farm labourers locally or might exploit their good Cumberland education elsewhere in the country or overseas. Isabella's older brother, Joseph Nixon sought his fortune in London as a hosiery warehouseman. He married, and appeared to do well.

As a farmer's younger daughter, Isabella would expect a good basic education at Lorton School, but would normally go into farm service at 14. With good luck, and maybe a small marriage settlement, she might marry a farmer or a farm labourer. If unmarried then a life and working on the family's tenanted farms was common. Three of the Nixon sisters, however, preferred to work in bustling Keswick, and in 1851 Anne, Isabella and Hannah were together running a guest house, with Isabella, aged 19, as a confectioner. In later life Anne married Robert Wilson, the pencil manufacturer,

and younger Hannah married butcher David Pape, and created the numerous Pape family of Keswick. In 1853, in her early twenties, Isabella trained in London as a teacher, after which she worked as a national school teacher. She could have accumulated the £8 training fee herself, and then could have had support from brother Joseph, with whom she lodged as a teacher in London. But a teacher did not earn enough to own and open a college in her own right.

Something had clearly changed by 1864, when Isabella married in Islington and newspaper notices described the groom and both fathers as gentlemen. For the Huxtables this was clearly an overstatement. In the previous article we were unaware of any change in the circumstances of Isabella's father, John Nixon, who was now at the Howe, near Keswick, but maybe did not own it. But we now know that John Nixon snr had come into money in 1858 and had bought the Howe, while John Nixon jnr continued as a tenant farmer – at Armaside, Lorton, in 1867. Not only had John Nixon snr come into money in 1858, but he had some expectations of substantially more in the future under certain unlikely circumstances.

When we wrote the previous article we started with John Nixon's marriage to Elizabeth Smith at Dean in 1811. Without Blair Nixon's research we did not know that he had been married in 1807 to Sarah Kay in their birthplace of Wigton, and we would not have considered it important. Sarah had two children, Robert in Wigton and William in Deanscales, before she died in 1810. Robert Nixon (approx 1808-1853) was probably the nephew of William Kay (approx 1776-1838), whose father was a yeoman farmer of The Mains. Robert had the good fortune to be named as the residual legatee in the will of William Kay, shared equally with a Mary Barnes. That is, when William Kay died, once all his bequests had been settled and if he had no descendants, then Robert Nixon or his heirs would receive half of the residue of the estate. For a yeoman farmers' son that should not amount to much. But a Chancery Court document discovered by Blair shows that William Kay became rather more prosperous.

The original article relied almost entirely on online sources for its content, and in keeping with that spirit a little internet research has found that the Hertfordshire genealogists are also interested in William Kay, as follows. Kay left Wigton with £100 from his father, but he chose to go to Manchester and into manufacture rather than trading in the cotton products in London. In 1804 he was listed in a trade directory as a cotton manufacturer with a mill in Watling Street, Manchester. By 1823 he had built a silk mill in Tring, and in 1825 purchased the estate and mansion at Tring Park, with the lordship of the manor of Tring. However, he seems to have spent at least his later years in London, and was living at York Terrace, Regents Park, when he died in 1838 of a head injury after being knocked down by a horse and cart near to his house. His memorial is in Tring Church.

He left a 26-page detailed and convoluted will, written by a lawyer's clerk in a looping copper-plate hand, and quite worthy of anything to be found in the legal novels of Dickens. He settled on his wife Helen a yearly sum of £1,600 for life - providing she did not re-marry. His older son, Richard, was left £500 a year for life, but the entire estate, including the mill, was bequeathed in Trust for his younger son, William. At the time of his father's death William junior was still a minor, and accordingly, for the purpose of the inheritance, was made a ward of the Court of Chancery.¹

While a minor William Kay jnr was allowed an income of £1300 a year by the Court of Chancery.

In that convoluted will Robert Nixon, Isabella's half-brother, held a half interest in the residuary estate, but received nothing in 1838 when William Kay died. But in 1853 Robert Nixon died in Aylesbury, intestate, and his father, John Nixon, became his heir. John was still a tenant farmer, probably at Bank Farm in Whinfall, where wife Betty died in 1857. When Robert died in 1853, his father, as his heir, appointed son Joseph to



administer Robert's estate. Joseph Nixon was a man in business in London, and able to follow the proceedings of the Court of Chancery. Still no money was coming to John Nixon from the estate of William Kay snr at the time of Robert's death, and Kay's son, William Kay jnr, was a healthy young man, and expected to live and have children.

In 1858 Joseph Nixon sold the future reversionary interest of John Nixon to William Kay jnr, which presumably meant that William Kay jnr's life tenancy would be passed to his next generation, if they existed. At the same time Joseph Nixon sold to unknown buyers six tenths of the contingent reversionary interest, retaining four tenths of the contingent reversionary interest for his father. This contingent reversionary interest presumably refers to the rights remaining if William Kay's line failed. These sales resulted in a significant but unknown sum of money coming to John Nixon in 1858. After fees and expenses of course, but it was enough to buy the Howe by 1861, and to fund John Nixon's leisure in retirement. John Nixon still retained that four tenths of the contingent reversionary interest, but that would only benefit him if the Kay line failed.

Helen Kay, the widow, died in 1860. William Kay jnr's child was stillborn in 1864. William Kay jnr died in 1865, killed in a hunting accident. Therefore the unlikely circumstances occurred, worthy of Dickens' *Bleak House*, through which John Nixon would benefit from his four tenths of the late Robert Nixon's contingent reversionary interest, amounting to

¹ Wendy Austin, *More Tring personalities*, 2003

approximately £25,000 received by Joseph Nixon in June 1866.

And here the story has to take an unfortunate turn as the culture of the metropolis and the temptation of large sums of money apparently worked on Joseph Nixon. Perhaps this was inevitable, as with the son Luke in Wordsworth's *Michael* whose moral compass worked only in the sublime proximity of his native mountains, and within the supportive rustic Westmorland society. After the death of William Kay jnr, and with the value of the four tenths of the contingent reversionary interest apparent to him, or at least made apparent to him by his fishy-sounding firm of solicitors, Parker, Lee and Haddock, Joseph Nixon journeyed to Keswick to meet with his father and country siblings. There Joseph presented a paper for his father's signature by which he, Joseph, could receive the money and would distribute it equally among the siblings, as was John Nixon's wish in his will. This distribution could be made soon, and would save £1000 in costs. The document was signed in March 1865, but in May 1865 John Nixon snr was summoned urgently to Joseph's House in London, with son John and daughter Sarah. There to be presented by Charles Milner Haddock with a further deed, unread, which Haddock was said to have guaranteed would distribute the funds to be received as John Nixon had required, and save costs. Isabella, now married with a baby and living in London, was present at neither of those meetings.

No funds were received by Joseph's country siblings, and Joseph became uncommunicative. By 1867 John Nixon jnr had reluctantly engaged the better-sounding firm of John and William Galsworthy, of Old Jewry Chambers, to file a Bill of Complaint in Chancery against his brother Joseph, Joseph's solicitors and, as a matter of form, his father. It is this document, filed on 30 May 1867, and its amendments ordered in February 1868 – removing the complaint against the solicitors – which provides the detail of this case from the plaintiff's position.

The included sequence of letters in 1867, between J&W Galsworthy and Joseph Nixon and his solicitors, throws some light on what he did with the £25,000 which he received in June 1866,

and which should have been distributed among the siblings. The complaint alleged that Joseph had used the money for his own purposes: - 'a large part ... as his capital as a partner in the firm of Scott and Nixon carrying on business at Nithsdale Mills, Dumfries, Scotland, and in London the said Defendant has employed other parts in the purchase of divers shares ... unknown ... and in the purchase of small estates in Derbyshire and Cumberland'.

On 15 May 1867 Joseph Nixon wrote from Nithsdale Mills confirming the intended arrangement of the distribution but that 'having placed the principal part of the money in business likely at that time to be very profitable but now not likely to be so which renders me unable to carry out my wishes with regard to the settlements and I consider it the best course to revoke the deed of gift and give to father the remains of the money from Howard & Kay fund'. The deed of gift was that which John Nixon snr had signed and which by implication gave Joseph Nixon the whole amount from the Kay estate, apparently in trust for the children of John Nixon. This presumably gave Joseph the power to use the money before it was distributed. John Nixon jnr's solicitors naturally required Joseph to surrender not only the remaining money but the property and securities which had been purchased with the greater part of the money. Since this was not forthcoming the Bill of Complaint was filed on 30 May 1867. This had the intention of securing the proceeds of the Kay settlement and the assets which Joseph Nixon had acquired with the money.

We know no more other than that the complaint was redrafted after an order of February 1868. However, it is clear from Joseph Nixon's letter that he had defrauded his siblings out of the money which their father wished to go to them, at least temporarily. Also that Joseph could no longer provide the majority of those funds as money. These facts were acknowledged and the Nixon siblings would in due course have received part of their expected money, though probably rather less than the £3000 each that they were due in 1866. John Nixon jnr died in January 1870 and his father in January 1871, perhaps before all was settled.

To return to Isabella Huxtable, as she became after her marriage in August 1864, and the question of the funding of her ladies' college and son's education. In March 1865 she gave birth to her son, while they were living in a fashionable house in Arundel Square, Barnsbury. Isabella would no longer be a National School teacher, and would not attend the family meeting in Keswick in that month. She was closest to Joseph, having been in London for twelve years and having lived with his family while an unmarried teacher. The fact that she did not attend the second family meeting in May 1865 in London suggests that she was already content with what Joseph had told her about the deed of gift. In 1866, when Isabella started her school at 32 Arundel Square, the address of her own home, presumably leasing extra space if necessary, she would have expected to soon be in possession of some £3,000 as her share. Whether Joseph gave her any of the £25,000 he received in June 1866 we do not know.

Isabella is not mentioned in the narrative of the Bill of Complaint until 14th May 1867, when 'your sister' met with J & M Galsworthy at their offices and showed a letter she had received from Joseph. After that Joseph wrote the letter which admitted his fault and his embarrassed position in Dumfries. At that same time the partnership of Isabella's husband, John Elliott Huxtable, was failing and led to his imprisonment and the bankruptcy in July. Isabella would have needed her share of the Kay money.

Whatever the precise arrangements and timing, Isabella must have received capital to fund both her son's education and the continued development of the school. The particular difficulties she faced in 1867



must indicate a great strength of character and determination. While Joseph must have had difficult future relations with the Nixon family, Isabella maintained her family relationships as demonstrated by her young son being a scholar in Keswick in the care of sister Anne in 1871. More than that we do not know.

The last mystery to be resolved here is the location of Isabella's memorial, which we knew was commissioned by her son from Eric Gill, in green Borrowdale slate. Blair has photographed it in Crosthwaite church yard – and here it is.

Main Sources

Michael Winstanley and Derek Denman, 'The life of Isabella Huxtable, (1831-1909):- from Lorton farmer's daughter to London college proprietor', *Journal* No.43, L&DFLHS February 2009. <http://www.derwentfells.com/pdfs/journal/Journal43.pdf>

The National Archives, records of the Court of Chancery, C16/443

William Kay of Tring Park (1823-1838),

<http://www.hertfordshire-genealogy.co.uk/data/answers/answers-2010/ans10-036-kay.htm>

Blair Nixon, family history research material.

Blair Nixon writes

I am the GG grandson of Kendall Nixon and have been researching my family history for many years now. A few years ago I happened upon Journal 43 on the internet

which had an article about my GGG aunt Isabella Huxtable (nee Nixon) and her family. I had already established, through research, that the Nixon family names mentioned in this article were ancestors of mine so imagine my surprise and excitement in coming across this article! I was fortunate enough to make contact with Derek Denman, the co-author of that story, and we have corresponded several times since. It is through this contact that we have traded information and Derek has been gracious enough to write a follow-up to the original article in *Journal* 43.

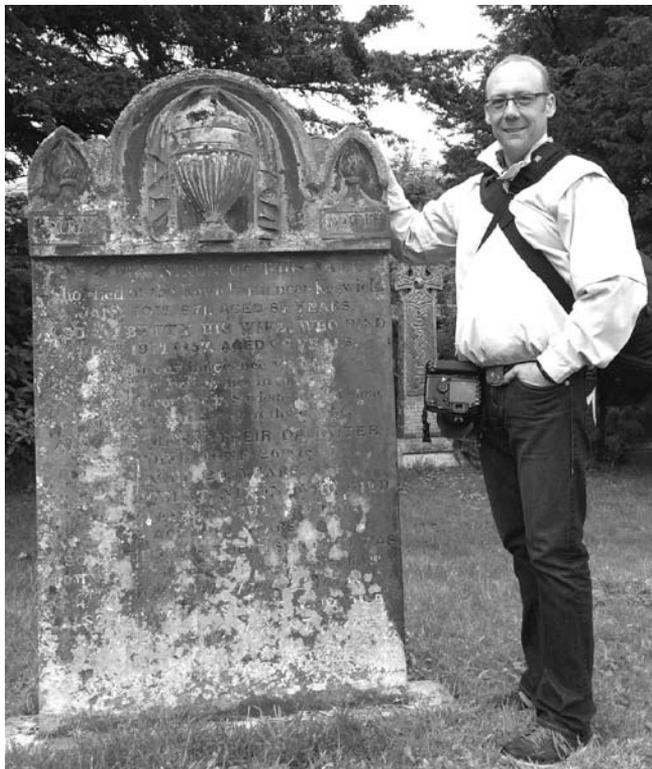
Kendall Nixon, the first born son of John and Sarah (nee Kendall) Nixon, the nephew of Isabella Huxtable (nee Nixon) and the nephew of Joseph Nixon left

England in February of 1883 aboard the S.S. Parisian bound for Halifax, Nova Scotia, Canada. Kendall left England with his young sons John Kendall Nixon (age 9) and Thomas Thornthwaite Nixon (age 7).

Upon arrival in Halifax, they boarded the Canadian National Railway destined for Brandon, Manitoba and then travelled by ox cart to Shoal Lake, Manitoba (approximately 100km away) to join his brother, John Kendall Nixon. He left Manitoba very soon after to take up a homestead near Wapella, Saskatchewan where they built a log house and started farming.

Kendall's wife, Jane, left England in June of 1883 aboard the S.S. Polynesian bound for Canada to join her husband and two sons in Shoal Lake, Manitoba. Travelling with Jane was her daughter Sarah Elizabeth Nixon (age 11), son Kendall Lorton Nixon (age 3), daughter Mary (Polly) Nixon (age 2), son Robert Nicholson Nixon (infant), Kendall's sister Bessie Nixon (age 30) and Kendall's niece Caroline Todhunter (age 18). Upon their arrival, the family returned to the homestead in Saskatchewan to find that the house had burnt down so they dug a temporary home in the side of a hill until a new house was built.

Life was difficult and times were hard for young pioneers making a life and raising a family in an unknown and largely unsettled land. Following in his Cumbrian family's footsteps, Kendall was involved in farming and later ventured into the grain buying business in Saskatchewan and Manitoba. It appears that he did well and prospered up until his death in 1925. Obviously the work ethic and



Blair Nixon visiting the family memorial at St Cuthbert's, Lorton.

entrepreneurship was part of the genetics handed down from his family roots in Cumberland. Four daughters and seven sons were born to Kendall and Jane; all of whom remained and raised families in western Canada.

The Journal

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L&DFLHS – Programme for 2015

Date	Event
8 th January	Wasdale Climbing Book: early climbing in the Lake District. Michael Cocker
12 th March	Dry stone walls and landscape history. Prof Angus Winchester
15 th April	A Brief History of Embleton and Wythop. Walter Head & Derek Denman. At Embleton Community Hall. 7.30pm. Visitors £1.
14 th May	Counting Sheep - A Celebration of the Pastoral Heritage of Britain. Philip Walling
20 th May	Society visit to Acorn Bank – contact Tim Stanley-Clamp (see flier)
11 th June	AGM - The Sun is High & Oxford Far Away - The changing relationship between the Oxford college & their Renwick tenantry 1600 – 1660. Richard Brockington
9 th July	The Lake Poets and the French Revolution. Bill Speck
10 th September	A Fox in the Fells – the Quakers in Cumbria. Janice Wilson
12 th November	Discovering Derventio - Recent Archaeological finds at Papcastle. Mark Graham

Most talks are held at the Yew Tree Hall in Lorton at 7.30pm. Visitors £2.50 with refreshments.