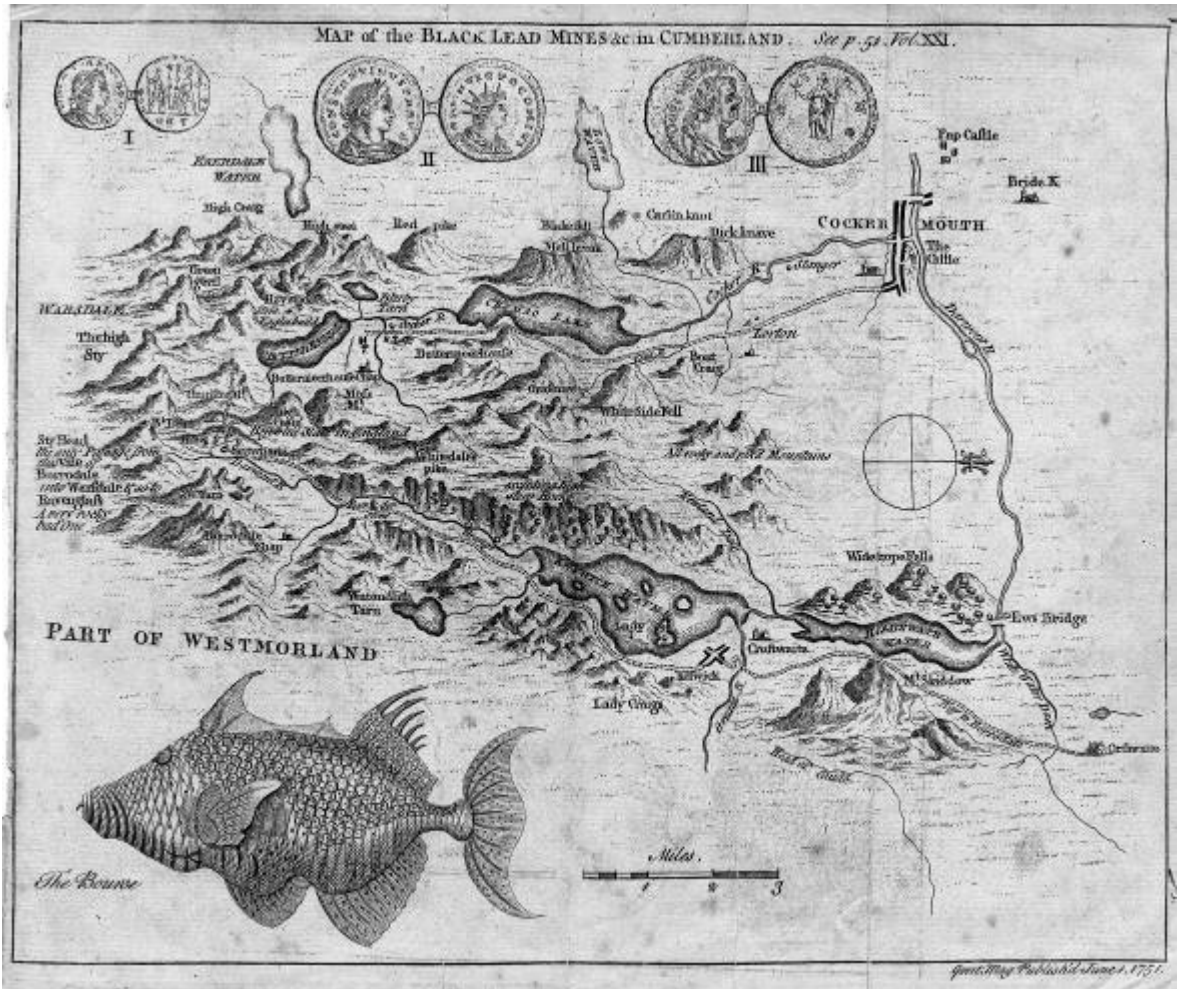


The Journal

Lorton & Derwent Fells Local History Society

Brackenthwaite Buttermere Embleton Loweswater Mockerkin Pardshaw Wythop

www.derwentfells.com



A map by George Smith, of Wigton, made to accompany a report of his intrepid journey in 1749 from Keswick to the Blacklead Mines of Seathwaite. This is the first known 'tour' map of the English Lakes, and is centred on the manor of Derwentfells.

From the Gentleman's Magazine Vol 21, 1st June 1751 p.51

The Journal

Once again I have been pleased to receive some fine material from members for our 44th edition, with a record 24 pages, and I know that there are more treats in store for the next issue. Roz Southey's sad tale of Oak Bank gives a rare, detailed view of a distress sale of a farmer's goods, when the rent could not be paid to the owner, William Marshall, heir of John. Rapacious landowner, incompetent farmer, or non-viable farm? No doubt there were differing opinions at the time. It gives another perspective on the Marshall family, whose relationship with Scale Hill has spurred me to record the early history of that property, which has historical importance in the development of tourism in the Lakes.

It is good to see our two project groups, on house history and the historic environment, both active and reporting in this issue. Both groups can squeeze in extra members for future work; please choose according to whether you like your history indoors or out, and contact the authors.

Derek Denman, Editor

A little more about Isabella Huxtable

The previous issue contained an article about the history of Isabella Huxtable, born Isabella Nixon of Boon Beck Farm, High Lorton, who went on to establish an important school for young ladies in London. But we did not know how Isabella met John Huxtable, from Devon, or how he died. Through the magic of Google Books, extra evidence has come to light to show that after qualifying in Grays Inn Road, rather than going directly to the local Woburn School, Isabella spent two years at the Bampton Road Baptist School in Tiverton, Devon. She is listed as a teacher in 1854 and 1855 in the Reports of the Committee of the Commission on Education. Google Books and other on-line sources grow all the time.

The death of the bankrupt John Huxtable is still a mystery. A newspaper report of a John Huxtable of Swimbridge, Devon, being killed when his shotgun exploded in late 1870, caused excitement, both then and now. But his widow and one year old son called John were found in Swimbridge in the 1871 census. Clearly 'John Huxtable' was not a lucky name. - DD

The new Committee

At the AGM, we elected on to the Committee Christopher Thomas, who takes over from Derek Denman as our Treasurer. We also elected Anne Asquith, who has been acting as Membership Secretary for some time. We welcome them both, and thank them for undertaking these roles. Thanks are also due to Derek for his careful stewardship of the society's finances over the past three years. It is only by individuals taking on such responsibilities that the society can continue to function effectively.

For a society such as ours, the AGM marks the end of the previous year and the start of a new one. We don't mark the event with champagne, but perhaps we should! As the annual report indicated, the society can claim to be an active and vigorous, and that assertion is further justified by this bumper issue of the *Journal*. We look forward to another successful year, with hopefully an even greater number of members participating in one or more of our activities.

John Hudson

L&DFLHS 2009-10

President *Dr Angus Winchester*
Financial Examiner *Les Polley*

Officers and Committee 2009-10

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 John Hart *Archive*
 John Scrivens

Contents of Journal No. 44

A visit to High Mill, Lorton	3
Can you assist the National Trust?	4
Joseph Westray and Oak Bank	5
Scale Hill and Early Tourism	9
Landscape History Group Report	18
The Society's Programme	24

A visit to High Mill, Lorton

On 27th May 2009

by the House History Group

courtesy of Stephen and Anne Revell

Members present:

Michael and Hetty Baron, Sally Birch, Christine England, Gwyn and Janet Evans, John Hart, John and Judy Hudson, Peter and Michelle Kerr, Tim Sowton and Eileen Palmer, Jim and Jean Williams

High Mill had been in the House History Group's sights for some time, ever since Derek Denman first met Stephen Revell at an LDFLHS meeting and discovered what he had been up to!

Stephen and Anne had not been looking to restore a mill but when the property they found in Lorton turned out to be a miller's house with a derelict mill adjacent to it, Stephen could not resist the challenge. Similarly a majority of the HHG members could not resist the invitation to see this hitherto virtually unknown gem which had been hiding in our midst.

Records speak of a corn-mill at Over Lorton in 1158 but by 1478 it was a fulling mill in a ruinous state. The 1649 Parliamentary Survey refers to miller John Bell who had inherited the mill from his father Richard Bell, a customary tenant of the Dean and Chapter of Carlisle. By their time the mill had reverted to its original use as a corn-mill. It continued in and out of use until the mill and its associated drying kiln were rebuilt for the last time in 1801 by a William Wallace aka Wallass of Maryport. The mill then passed into several different hands and although it was still going strong in 1862, by 1883 it had ceased operating altogether, almost certainly due to a major fire in the drying kiln which partially destroyed the building. Since 1883 the mill was unused for any purpose and the building and the mill machinery slipped into ruin and decay. Enter the Revell family in 1996 who initially restored the miller's house – thought to date back to at least 1743.

When Stephen and Anne took over the property, one waterwheel lay in pieces in the defunct mill-race and there was no trace whatsoever of a smaller, second wheel which was known to have existed. Fortunately for Stephen, virtually all the parts of the main wheel were still there, so he was able to reconstruct the enormous waterwheel with very little new fabrication other than the massive wooden "buckets" which have been fashioned out of elm. Sadly the wheel will never be turned by the force of water unless a new race can be diverted from the Whitbeck. One item was of particular interest to some of us who had participated in the National Trust Archaeology Survey carried out in close association with the Society. This



The restored wheel at High Mill

was a section of the cast iron floor of the drying kiln which was immediately recognised as members had found just such a section (albeit in ceramic) lying at the site of a mill now long disappeared, forming part of their study area in the Survey. This forged a pleasing link with another aspect of our history society's endeavours.

Having completed our tour of the outside, Stephen led us indoors where we were able to see the inner workings of the mill and the ingenious way the current living space has been planned to accommodate them. Echoes of the mill's working past can be picked up in the imaginatively placed objects which once formed vital parts of the operation. A hoist for sacks of flour hangs on chains from the ceiling in an upper corridor, redolent of a child's swing. Sections of the original millstones have been incorporated into part of the floor in one of the bedrooms, making me think of two enormous fossils, hinting at the building's ancient past. No element has been rejected and in the main living area of the mill the massive wooden cogs and beams take their rightful place in the room and command attention as a talking point to beat all talking points. The scent of so much wood permeates the air and the sight of it imparts a feeling of age and cosiness to a delightful and original home.

Stephen took the trouble to provide each visitor with a set of papers, some gleaned from Ron George's Book on the Lorton Valley, some taken from a description by Jeremy Godwin and some from the Historical Research Service at the Cumbria Archive Department. These will be concrete reminders of our visit which was rounded off by some delicious refreshments offered by Anne in the latest addition to the building – a comfortable conservatory which would no doubt have astounded and wowed all the previous incumbents at the mill, particularly I suspect, their wives!

Finally, I would like to express our gratitude and admiration for the invaluable contribution made by this sympathetic restoration to a building which is without any doubt one of the principal features of Lorton's heritage.

Sally Birch



The next project? Restoring the monkey puzzle tree at High Mill? Seen in 1960 – Ed.

Can you help protect the historic environment?

If so then the National Trust Archaeologist would like to hear from you.

Following on from the recent campaign of archaeological survey work in Buttermere and Loweswater, undertaken jointly by the National Trust and members of the Lorton and Derwent Fells Local History Society, the National Trust is keen to undertake practical work to help protect and conserve archaeological sites. If you would be interested in helping Trust staff to clear seedlings and gorse from archaeological sites, or if you would like to assist with footpath repairs to reduce the impact of erosion on historic features, please get in touch.

Similarly if you enjoy walking in the area and would be prepared to visit archaeological sites to assess their condition we would like to hear from you. Initially this work will require nothing but walking and enjoying the countryside. However, in time we hope to offer training for volunteers to input their own monitoring records into a database that will help predict where practical conservation work will be needed in the future.

If you are keen to find out more about either opportunity please call Jamie Lund (National Trust Archaeologist) on 01539 463825.



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Joseph Westray and Oak Bank Farm, Loweswater

by Roz Southey

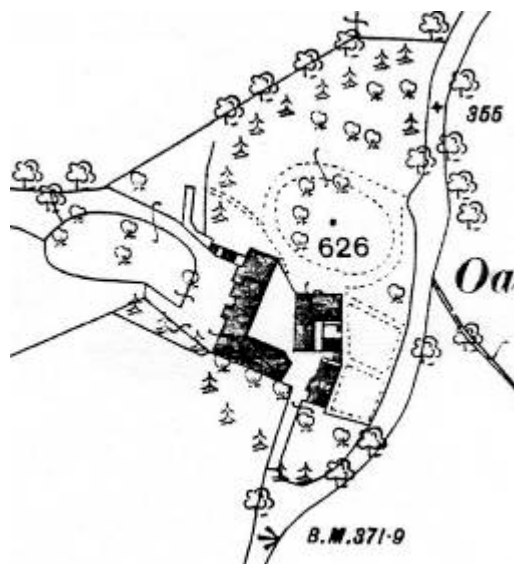
On 29 October 1862, a farm sale took place at Oak Bank in Loweswater – a sale enforced on the farmer, Joseph Westray, by his landlord, the Lord of the Manor, William Marshall. Westray's property had been seized in lieu of unpaid rent. Many of the documents relating to the sale still survive in the Cumbria Record Office in Whitehaven and provide a surprisingly complete picture of Westray's equipment and possessions on the farm, giving an insight into farming life of the time.

Westray was not a native of Loweswater. He was born in Embleton in around 1816, the son of Jonathan and Jane Westray; his parents were farmers and he became an agricultural labourer on their property. His father died at an early date, however, and his mother seems to have become a publican at Thirlspot; this was probably a short-lived venture and by 1851 she was again farming, with Joseph's help, at Armboth in Crosthwaite parish.

On 13 June 1841, at Crosthwaite church, Joseph married Margaret Wilkinson from Bolton. Margaret came from good farming stock – her mother was the daughter of a yeoman living in Dalston and her brother, John, was also a farmer. The couple had four children, Betsy, Jane, Joseph and John, born over the next ten years, during which time they lived with Joseph's mother. The income from the farm was supplemented with money from lodgers – the curate of Wythburn, and his wife and son, lived with them.

By 1861, however, Jane had probably died, and Joseph and his family had moved to Loweswater; they may have been tenants at Oak Bank as early as 1853. By the time of the 1861 census, the elder daughter, Betsy was nineteen and her younger sister, Jane, seventeen, but unusually the census notes no profession for them; they probably were helping with farm and house work. The two boys were fourteen and ten years old respectively, and called scholars on the census; the elder boy's attendance at school to such an advanced age suggests that he was clever.

Oak Bank farm seems at this time to have consisted of around 60 acres,



Oak Bank Farm on the 1863 OS map

which lay on the valley floor, running up to the lands of Pottergill farm at the foot of Low Fell, and bounded by Latterhead lands on one side and Rigg Bank on the other. Oak Bank House [Cold Keld], also owned by William Marshall, sat in the middle of the farm lands with a large garden and one or two fields of its own.

No contemporary description of the farm survives – the closest in time dates from over 70 years later, in 1934, by which time the farm had taken in the lands that had once belonged to Pottergill and to Rigg Bank, and reached up onto the fell and as far along the valley as Foultsyke. This extended the farm to over 300 acres. In 1934 the land was described as 'well-watered Pasture with a few Acres of Copse land'; the sale documents of 1862 indicate that at that time the farm was used for a mixture of arable and grazing. Westray had no sheep, but concentrated on cattle; other livestock included the inevitable horses to draw agricultural machinery, geese, hens and a few pigs. He grew a wide variety of crops, including turnips (for winter feed), potatoes, hay, barley (both white and black), and oats; the turnips were still in the ground at the time of the sale but all the other crops were in the barns. Although the documents do not mention it, there was also a small orchard at the rear of the house.

The farm buildings – the farmhouse and outbuildings – mostly date back to around the late 17th or early 18th centuries and have changed little over the years. The

first OS map of 1863 shows an L-shaped complex of buildings built around a triangular yard, with the gable wall of Cold Keld as the third side, an arrangement which still survives today. A few outbuildings also are shown on the far side of a yard at the rear of the property; these have been replaced in recent years by newer buildings.

The 1934 documents refer to a number of buildings which are clearly part of the L-shaped complex and would have existed in Westray's time. The farmhouse itself forms the northern end of the line of buildings; at the rear of the house, set at a slight angle, was a washhouse with two coppers, sink and fireplace. Attached to the farmhouse, forming the remainder of the L-shaped complex, were a threshing barn and no less than four cow byres, two with room for 8 cows, another with room for 3. A number of calf-boxes and a root store were incorporated into large barns with storage and lofts over. A stable could accommodate three horses. Two stone-built pig pounds were almost certainly the small buildings on the far side of the rear yard. A potato house and implement store completed the 1934 list; it is not clear where these were situated.

The house, according to the 1934 documents, had a 'sitting room' and 'living room' downstairs (presumably indicating the difference between a formal room used when guests came and a room used for everyday living). The kitchen at the back of the house was open to the rafters in 1934, had a stone floor and was fitted with a range. A dairy off the kitchen had a stone floor and broad slate slabs. The bedrooms were reached by a stone staircase; one of the bedrooms had a fireplace, and two had sloping ceilings. Westray and his family seem to have furnished this house to some degree of comfort. They owned a number of feather beds, a looking glass, chests of drawers, a bookcase, two pictures, a clock and a mahogany table. They had several other tables and no less than ten chairs of varying types and values, including one easy chair. They cooked in a Dutch oven and had a variety of pots and pans as well as the usual necessities such as wash stands and fire irons.

But the farm was clearly not profitable – or Westray was not making a

good job of running it. It may have been too small – the later incorporation of fields from two other properties may indicate an acknowledgement of this on the part of the owner, Marshall. By autumn 1862, Westray was evidently far behind with his rent and in no position to start repaying it. In mid-October the bailiffs moved in and Westray's possessions were seized. On 22 October, he signed a document agreeing to the sale – the gravity of the situation may be gauged by the fact that he waived his right to the usual formalities of the sale.

I the undersigned Joseph Westray hereby consent to your Baliff remaining in possession of my Stock Crops goods and Chattels seized by him for rent due and in arrear to you until the 29th day of October Instant the day fixed for the sale of the same and I also consent to your proceeding with such Sale without the usual formalities attending a Sale under a Distress for Rent.

Joseph Westray

The bill for the sale would have been distributed widely and summarises the main lots for sale; it offers 'husbandry Implements, & Dairy Utensils' including: -

Three Milch Cows, Three Young Bullocks, Three Young Heifers, One Chestnut Horse, One Bay Mare, Pig and Sow, Four Geese, a number of Hens, Chickens and other Poultry, about Half an Acre of Wheat in Barn, about Five Acres of Oats, 36 Stooks of Barley, and a quantity of Meadow and Lea hay in the Barn; about One Acre of Turnips, and One do. of Potatoes; Two Ladders, Two Saddles and all the Husbandry Implements, Dairy Utensils, &c: also a quantity of Old Wood. And also all the Household Furniture, comprising a good Clock and Case, Chairs, Mahogany and other Tables, Easy Chair, Drawers, Oak Chest, Beds, Bedsteads, Bedding, Wash-stand, Dressing-table, Looking Glasses, Fenders, Fire Irons, Kitchen Utensils, and other Articles of Household Use.

Goods sold at the auction

Agricultural equipment

Glass
Chains
Scythes
Sickles
Flail &c
Axe &c
Crowbar
3 spades &c
Spade and coalsake
Fork and rake
2 gripes &c
Drags
Hoes
Hoes &c
Fork
Fork and cleps &c
Hay fork and slasher
Mulch fork &c
Beam (scale)
2 sets of weights
Scales
Rakes
Pig net
Pig tubs
Threaptrees
Horse flat
Threaptree
Sheepstool
Cheese press
Saw
Flattening iron
Scuttle &c
2 collars
2 cart stays
2 cart saddles
3 pair harness[s]
Harnes[s] &c
2 Head collars
Bands and chains
2 lots of saddles
Headstrap &c
2 sets of cart ropes
Brydle
Scythes
5 Sacks
Measure &c
Stepladder &c
Butter Bowl

Calf tubs
Churn
2 tins
Milk tin
5 bowls
Scales
3 lots of bottles
Stack of bottles
2 lots of pots
Sundries
Candlesticks
Dutch oven
3 Fenders
Spittoons
Fender
Mats
Kettle
Pan
Ropes
Sled
Stool
Clod crusher
2 harrows
Stitch Harrow
Plough
Wheelbarrow
Cart
2 lots of shelvings
Cheese press
3 lots of wood
Boxwood
Box
Casks
Ladder
Old iron
Cart
Machine

Animals

5 lots of cattle
Red calf
Red cow
Red and white cow
Black cow
Chestnut horse
4 geese

Brown mare
2 pigs
8 hens

Crops

Turnips to be taken off
10 stitches potatoes
Winterage
Bedding
120 stooks of Hay
'Remainder'
120 stooks Hay
2 lots of barley
Black barley
White barley
Wheat barley
30 Stooks Oats
60 stooks Lea Hay
Cornmeal
'Remainder'

Goods in house

Table
2 lots of feather beds
Drawers
Chest
Mahogany table
Basin jug &c
2 pictures
Washstand
Dressing table
Easy chair
Looking glass
Table
5 chairs worth 1s each
3 chairs worth 2s. 8d each
2 chairs worth 1s. 6d each
Book case



Oak Bank and barns in the 1980s

A more detailed account of the property is given in a small notebook in which the auctioneer listed every lot in the sale, its purchaser and the price raised. Inevitably, many of the names of purchasers are those of Westray's neighbours, such as the Bells of Latterhead and the Tysons of Gillerthwaite. The list allows a complete list of the contents of the farm to be drawn up. (see page 7) The total raised at the sale was £114 17s 7d; as there is no record of the rent owed by Westray, it is not possible to say whether this paid off the debt.

After the sale, Westray and his family would have been almost penniless, although they must have taken away with them their clothes and other personal items, apparently including the books from the book case. Joseph and his wife Margaret seem to have briefly moved back to Crosthwaite parish, for in April 1863, Margaret's father (Francis Wilkinson) made a will that referred to 'my daughter Margaret Westray of Applethwaite'. Later, they moved to Cockermouth; the 1871 census shows that they were living near the castle, and that Joseph was now working as a gardener. Their children had all apparently moved away, but they had

living with them a granddaughter, Sarah, aged five. Although they moved house at least once, they were still in Cockermouth ten years later, and Joseph, now 65 years old, was apparently still working as a gardener. Their teenage granddaughter was described as a domestic servant but it is not clear whether she was working for another family, or helping her elderly

grandparents. Joseph died in 1890, at the age of 74.

It is not known who moved into Oak Bank after the Westrays were forced out. By 1867, however, the tenant was William Swinburn, whose descendants were to farm there well into the next century – in 1934, the farmer was William's son, Athol, who stated that he had lived in the property for 50 years. The incorporation of lands belonging to Pottergill and Rigg Bank may have made it more profitable to run; it's noticeable, however, that even the unquestionably competent Swinburns at times had difficulty in paying the rent, and that the land was depreciating in value – in the early 1930s the rent payable on the property was decreased by £20. Joseph Westray's failure may have been owing to circumstances beyond his control.

References

The documents referring to the 1862 sale survive in the Cumbria Record Office in Whitehaven, at D/WM/11/266/12. The description of the farm in 1934 comes from documents drawn up when the property was sold by the Marshalls; these are in Whitehaven at DWM 11/300/4. I would like to thank Barbara Catlow for the information on Margaret Westray's family.

Scale Hill in Brackenthwaite, and early tourism in the English Lakes.

by Derek Denman

Many will know of the more recent history of the Scale Hill Hotel, as the preferred resting point in the Western Lakes for the discerning tourist, but few appreciate the historical importance of Scale Hill in the eighteenth century, at the very birth of touring in the English Lakes. When the Lakes were 'discovered' in around 1750, as an English version of the Arcadian Grand-Tour scenery in the hills around Rome, then Derwentwater and its environs provided the main focus. By 1770, Buttermere, Crummock, Loweswater and the Vale of Lorton has been included, and Scale Hill developed, together with the Inn at Buttermere, as the recommended stop for the gentry tourists to the west of Keswick. The success of Scale Hill was assured by Thomas West, who wrote the definitive guide to the Lakes, first published in 1778, which after his death, through many editions, became the standard compendious work for the next fifty years. West advised: -

From the Bridge at the foot of the lake [Crummock], ascend the road to BRACKENTHWAITE. At the hedge ale-house, SCALE-HILL, take a guide to the top of the rock, above Mr BERTIE'S woods, and have a view of CRUMMOCK WATER entirely new. The river COCKER is seen winding through a beautiful, and rich cultivated vale, spreading far to the north, variegated with woods, groves, and hanging grounds, in every pleasing variety.¹

This article sets out to cover firstly the history and ownership of Scale Hill to 1800, including Mr Bertie, and to examine why it was that this poor roadside farmstead developed to be so important for the carriage-trade of tourism. In 1800 the flax-spinner John Marshall (1765-

1845) visited Scale Hill with John Wordsworth, but it took until 1824 for John Marshall to buy Scale Hill, and thereby to secure its future reputation. The story of how that came to be is the second part, providing overall an interesting tale of gentry families, property acquisition and loss. From 1800, there exists a great deal of information about Scale Hill from the tourist's viewpoint, but space and time preclude a discussion in this article.

The owners of Scale Hill up to 1800

It is difficult to establish the age of the farmstead at Scale Hill, and a full study of the manorial records has not been done for this article. But it is clear that, as the scales name suggests, there were once huts here that were used by the people of Brackenthwaite in managing their stock on the summer pasture, now reduced to Brackenthwaite Hows. As in many other cases, for example at Scales in Lorton, as population increased these huts became a farmstead, with a small amount of enclosed arable and meadow land. Wills and inventories show that the Robinson family were living at Scale Hill in the late 1600s, though the farmstead may be much older.²

There was a court case involving Scale Hill, which provides the key to its ownership history, and explains the involvement of Mr Bertie, to whom West attaches the woods.³ In 1727 Richard Baynes of Cockermouth took to the High Court of Parliament the case of Ann Langton, born Ann Fisher, against Peregrine Bertie and Elizabeth his wife, who had obtained the estate of Elizabeth's late husband, John Fisher. John and Anne were both grandchildren of Mr Robert Fisher of Hollings, who had inherited High Hollins from his father, John Fisher. In 1623 John Fisher had purchased half of Hollins from the Stubbs family and been admitted as customary tenant, thus creating or formalising the division of Hollins.⁴ Robert Fisher had other estates in Brackenthwaite, including Scale Hill, and when he died in the later 1600s he left his estate, unusually, not

¹ West, Thomas. *A guide to the Lakes, dedicated to the lovers of landscape studies, and to all who have visited, or intend to visit the Lakes in Cumberland, Westmorland and Lancashire.* London, 1778 p.144-5

² LRO WRW C Peter Robinson of Scale-hill 1693; LRO WRW C Isabell Robinson of Skailhill 1701

³ Josiah Brown. *Reports of cases upon appeals and writs of error in the High Court of parliament; from the year 1701, to the year 1779.* Volume 3. London 1780 pp. 353-8

⁴ Baliol College Archives, Estates J.5.13-15

to the eldest son Robert, Ann's father of Kelsick in Wythop, but to his second son John. This John Fisher (1643-1700) had left Cumberland as a young man and had settled in Low Layton [Leyton], Essex, where he became a successful merchant. He had left an estate of some £50,000 when he died in 1700, including the property in Brackenthwaite and elsewhere in Cumberland. This John Fisher, the son of Robert of High Hollins, had made provision in his will for the children of his elder brother, including Ann, and she duly received an initial £1,000 and expected to receive an interest in the Cumberland property, in due course, after the death of her elder brother. This property included 'all my estate, with the sheep, and their heirs, at Brackenthwaite, Longthwaite, Fletcher's and Scale-Hill, with Low Holmes and the Lake Crummock [fishing rights].'

John Fisher's will was unsigned, unsealed, and complex, with even the sheep seeming to have heirs, but also contradictory. John's son, John Fisher of Low Layton (1681/2-1719), took out letters of administration in 1706 and 'possessed himself of his father's personal estate, to the amount of £40,000 and upwards.' He married Elizabeth, the daughter of John Hungerford Esq. of Doctor's Common, Devon, and died in 1719 after a long illness, during which a number of wills and codicils were written to ensure that, on his death, Elizabeth would inherit all his property and family jewellery, leaving his father's pledges to the Cumberland Fishers unfulfilled.⁵ In 1722, the wealthy widow Elizabeth (1685/6-1731) married Peregrine Bertie Esq. of Low Layton (1688-1743), a branch of the family of the Dukes of Anchester, taking all the property with her. Ann Langton's suit, against Elizabeth and her new husband, failed in 1727; so that in the time-honoured game of accumulation by marrying heiresses and rich widows, John Langton lost all except half the fishing in Crummock, and Peregrine Bertie of Low Layton won, retaining Scale Hill.

Peregrine Bertie of Low Layton died in 1743, leaving his property to his son and heir by Elizabeth, a son he had imaginatively named after his father,

Peregrine (meaning traveller or pilgrim). This last Peregrine Bertie of Low Layton (1723-1786) was the owner of the woods at Scale Hill, Mr Bertie's woods, through which Father Thomas West was guided in 1778, or a little earlier. Peregrine Bertie may well have established the woods on land enfranchised by the Lord of the Manor, Lord Egremont. Later documents date the planting of this wood, about 35 acres of larch and oak, or the half of the current area which is closest to Deepa Bridge, to 1786 and 1791. The woods that West saw were harvested, and if coppiced, would have been planted by 1770.

This last Peregrine Bertie had three sons and four daughters by his first wife, Catherine (1734/5-1770), but only three daughters survived him and he had no surviving male heir, no younger Peregrine. He died in 1786, leaving his daughters as co-heirs to the main Lincolnshire estate in turn, provided that the husbands take the name Bertie and have issue.⁶ After his death the two eldest daughters married two Hoar brothers. Captain Thomas Hoar duly became Captain Thomas Bertie and had an impressive wartime naval career, becoming Admiral Sir Thomas Bertie, but failing in his duty to create a young Peregrine. The second daughter, Elizabeth, married Ralph Hoar but also failed to have issue.⁷ Curiously, two Peregrine Fishers were born at Cornhow in 1800 and 1805.

Scale Hill and the other Brackenthwaite properties did not go with the main Bertie estate, but instead were settled on the youngest of the three daughters, Mary Bertie. In 1782, during her father's lifetime, she had married Samuel Lichigaray (1751-1812), a merchant of Phillybrook House in Low Layton, and they had five daughters, but no sons. Samuel Lichigaray was the nephew of Matthew Lichigary, a very wealthy naturalised merchant, of Low Layton and of Tom's Coffee House in London. In 1774 Samuel had received a third share of Matthew Lichigaray's estate, after some £20,000 plus an annuity had been disbursed to friends and other relatives.⁸ He inherited

⁶ TNA/PROB 11/1149 Will of Peregrine Berlie [sic] of Layton, Essex. d.1786

⁷ Parry, Charles. *A Memoir of Peregrine Bertie, Eleventh Lord Willoughby de Eresby,...* 1838 † - Page xv

⁸ TNA/Prob 11/1025 Matthew Lichigaray d.1774

⁵ TNA/PROB 11/572,573&577. Wills and Sentence of John Fisher of Layton, Essex. d.1719

Phillybrook House at Low Layton as his residence and continued the business, going into partnership with his nephew, John Dunsford, in the name of Lichigaray and Nephew. On the death of Peregrine Bertie in 1786, Samuel Lichigaray became the owner of Scale Hill, the Great Lanthwaite Wood, High Hollins, Lanthwaite Green/Peel Place, Lanthwaite Gate plus lands and cattlegates in Rannerdale, and he was still the owner of Scale Hill in 1800.

Early Development of the Inn at Scale Hill and eighteenth century visitors.

In 1778 West described Scale-Hill as a hedge [road-side] ale-house, not an inn, and it is unlikely that its role as a hostelry goes far back. Inns were often associated with churches, and both the Kirkstile in Loweswater and the Packhorse in Low Lorton had the role of the kirkstall, or the place that would provide accommodation and stabling, for visitors attending weddings and other events. Scale Hill would not have had such a role, and its use as an ale house may well have originated with the increasing traffic on horse or foot between Whitehaven and Keswick, from the seventeenth century, as discussed in a previous article on the Lorton and Whinlatter turnpike.⁹ Ale is evident from the inventory of Isabell Robinson of 1701, who left a 'brewing vessel & wooden vessel.' By 1762 'the House of Charles Hudson, at Scail-hill, in Brackenthwaite' had become more important, as the site of an auction of two hundred oak trees, advertised in the London papers.¹⁰

It is important to note that from the start of tourism in the Lakes, Scale Hill was owned by gentry, who had the means and the ability to develop the property as necessary, and presumably also a wish to provide hospitality suited to the carriage trade who would tour the English Lakes in the late eighteenth century.¹¹ No information is to hand about the



Scale Hill on the Donald and Hodkinson map of Cumberland, 1774

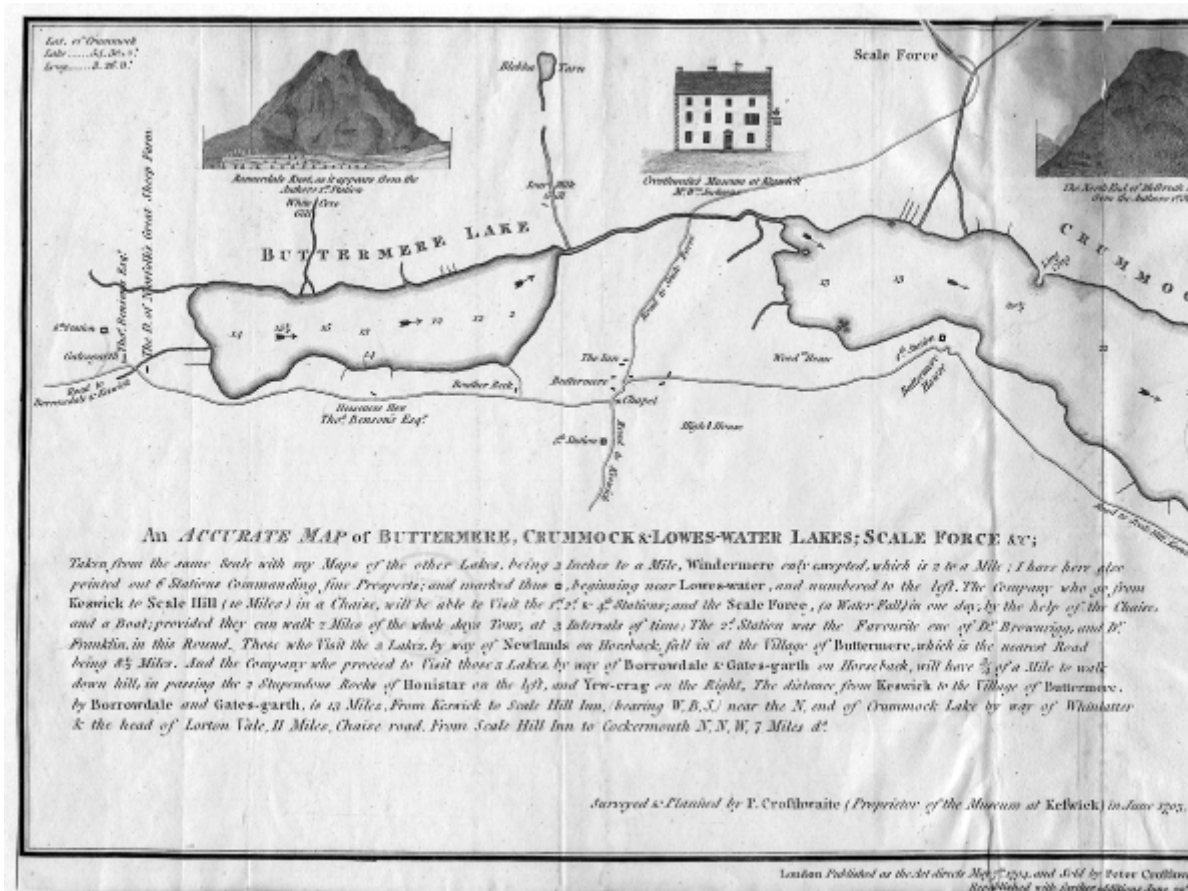
development of the inn buildings under the Berties, but it seems likely that, following West's recommendation, the ale house would have quickly been developed into an inn, in the same way that inns, such as the Rising Sun and the Traveller's Rest, were created on the new Whinlatter turnpike after 1770. The key to the development of tourism generally, and of Scale Hill in particular, was the improvements of roads. Arthur Young, the agriculturalist, and Thomas Gray, the poet, did not make it to Buttermere, Crummock and Loweswater in 1769, but the completion of the Whinlatter Turnpike around that time made it much easier to travel from Keswick to Scale Hill on horseback or in a carriage, though a carriage could not reach Buttermere. Scale Hill was shown on the new and detailed 1774 map of Cumberland, surveyed in 1771-2 by Thomas Donald. In 1773 William Gilpin toured past Scale Hill without noting it – but Gilpin was making extensive notes on picturesque beauty and was not concerned to give directions to the traveller on local facilities. He proceeded quickly to Keswick on the new turnpike as darkness fell.

Thomas West's purpose was to guide tourists, and the turnpike made it practical for him, in 1778, to recommend the horseback excursion from Keswick to Buttermere via Newlands, then alongside Crummock, past Scale Hill, through Hopebeck and Swinside to the turnpike and back to Keswick. Short diversions were included at Buttermere village, and at Scale Hill to see Loweswater. Scale Force, not to be missed, could be approached from either.

⁹ The Journal No.42 August 2008

¹⁰ General Evening Post (London England) Thursday December 17 1761; Issue 4397, Classified Ads.

¹¹ I have no information on the development of the buildings in the C18th, but would expect that there would have been substantial development in the last quarter of the century.



However, this tour was feasible only on horseback in the eighteenth century, the obstacle to carriages being the Newlands Pass generally but more particularly the impossible barrier of Buttermere Hause at Rannerdale.

One of the early tourists using West's guide was the young William Wilberforce, who was at Scale Hill twice in 1779, touring from Keswick and Cockermouth. Wilberforce was taking his last long vacation from Cambridge, and might represent a large number of undergraduates or recent graduates who made the cultural tour of the Lakes, perhaps instead of or in addition to a European tour. Wilberforce was twenty and not yet in parliament or dedicated to abolition. Like many tourists, Wilberforce kept a journal, which was unpublished until 1983.

On September 9th 1779 Wilberforce and Thomas Gisborne took West's tour from Keswick on horseback with the Keswick guide, Tom Hutton. Wilberforce recorded the 'Ale House' at Buttermere and they took a boat across

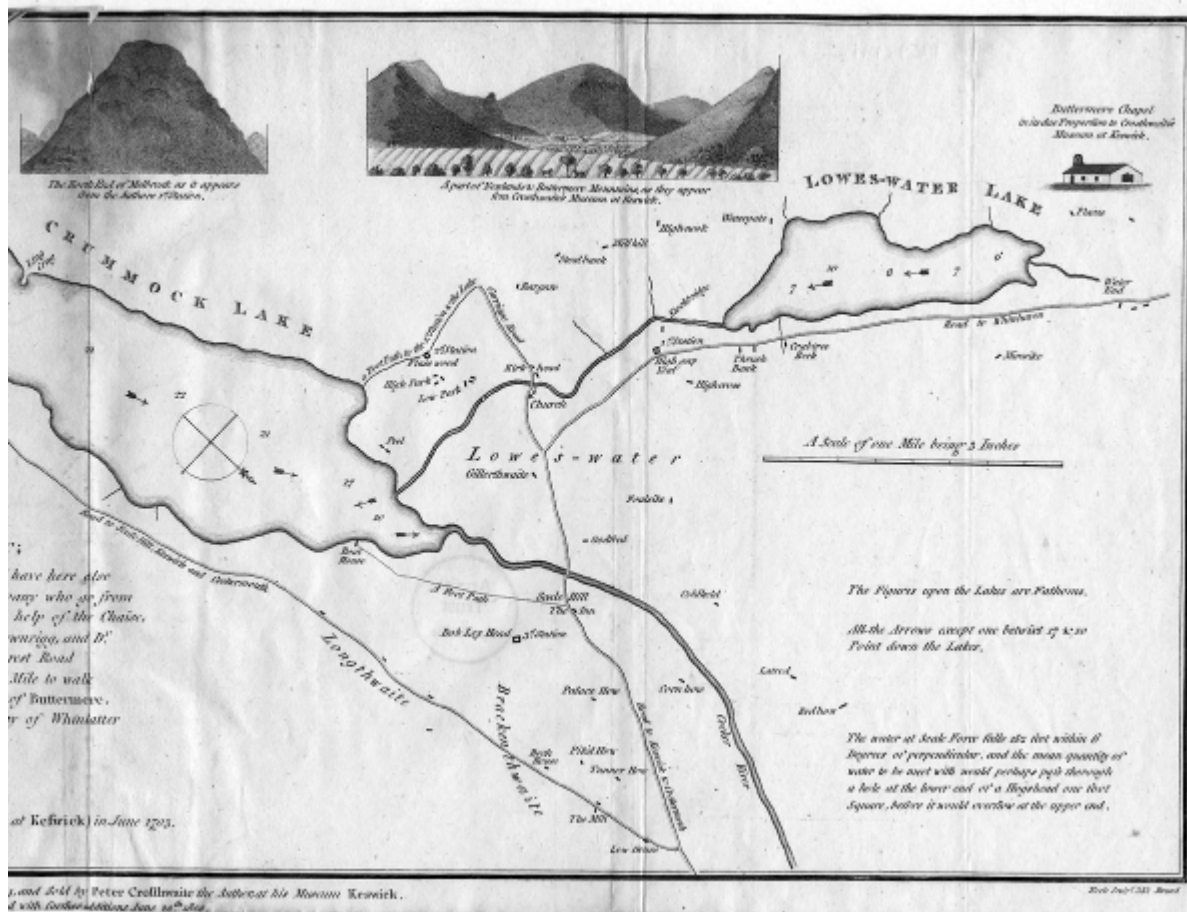
the head of Crummock to visit Scale Force, but encountering bad weather they, 'Went to Scale Hill, got some Eggs & Bacon & rode home' via the Whinlatter turnpike.¹² He returned on 18th September with William Cookson, a college friend who had a mercer's business in Penrith. They were staying in Cockermouth, perhaps with Cookson's brother-in-law, John Wordsworth, who had become a widower the year before:-

*Cookson & I in the afternoon took a Ride as far as the end of Crummock Water & walk'd up (according to West's directions) above Mr Bertie's Woods. ... While we were out were 2 Violent Storms of Rain & Hail but we luckily took Shelter in Scale Inn.*¹³

Wilberforce was therefore the first to record Scale Hill as an inn, somewhere a

¹² Wilberforce, William. *Journey to the Lake District from Cambridge*. Ed Wrangham. Stocksfield. Oriel Press 1983 p.58

¹³ Wilberforce p.70



traveller could stay, and to use and describe some of its services, though Wilberforce did not stay there overnight. Nor did Stebbing Shaw, whose tour was published in 1788, and who came from the direction of Ennerdale and Loweswater. 'Crossing the River Cocker, we came to Scale Hill, a public house conveniently situated for a company who visit these Lakes'.¹⁴

Once the Whinlatter turnpike had been constructed it was practical for parties to travel by carriage from Keswick via Scale Hill to Buttermere Hause, but there the carriage must turn around and return to Keswick. The road around Buttermere Hause at Rannerdale was not constructed until around 1800. Before that, Scale Hill was therefore uniquely suited to serve this carriage trade, providing a base

from which to explore, with a guide, the Lakes of Crummock, Loweswater and Buttermere, and even Ennerdale via Mosedale on horseback. The key to this role was the provision of boats for transport on Crummock, leading also to a business in catering for fishing parties. From Scale Hill tourists could go through Lanthwaite Wood to the boat-house and embark for the passage to Ling Crag and then by foot to Scale Force. These options, and the importance of Scale Hill's situation at the height of fashionable picturesque tourism, are best shown on Peter Crosthwaite's map of Buttermere, Crummock and Loweswater of 1794 [reproduced above: 1800 edition].¹⁵

The advantages of accessibility and position held by Scale Hill lasted just into the nineteenth century, and allowed Scale Hill to establish and develop its business through boating and fishing. By 1792 artists were

¹⁴ Shaw, Stebbing. *A tour, in 1787, from London, to the Western Highlands of Scotland. Including excursions to the lakes of Westmorland and Cumberland ...* London, 1788. p.100

¹⁵ Crosthwaite Peter. *A series of accurate maps of the principal lakes of Cumberland, Westmoreland, & Lancashire.* Buttermere Crummock and Loweswater first published 1794

publishing prints of paintings made on Brackenthwaite Hows, their text advising 'There is no carriage road to Buttermer, and the horse-road is far from being a safe one; the most eligible conveyance is, therefore, by a boat, which may be procured from the ale-house, at Scale Hill, to the upper end of the lake.'¹⁶ 'T.Rambler' noted the fishing in the Gentleman's Magazine in 1795. 'Taking the road over Whinlatter, you enter the beautiful vale of Lorter, justly celebrated for its extent and fine scenery; winding up the valley to the left, you proceed to Scale-hill, a comfortable inn, ten miles from Keswick, and close to the beautiful lakes of Cromack and Buttermere; both of which abound with the finest charr.'¹⁷ His description of Scale Hill as a comfortable inn suggests that he stayed there, but that is not certain. A carriage road to Buttermere was still unavailable in 1797, as William Gell noted in his journal, while staying at the Inn at Buttermere. 'From Lorton to Buttermere is about seven miles, the road tolerable to Buttermere hawse, a rock jutting out a little way into Crummock'.¹⁸

In the 1790's the fashionable tour of the English lakes was at its height, based on Keswick, on West's guide for the picturesque tourist and on Gilpin's instructions to the amateur picturesque artist. An appropriate representative of this set might be The Hon Sarah Murray, who spent a week at the Fish using her own bedding. Her tour was published in 1799, with its rather bossy instructions to the tourists from the 'first lady of quality to cross Honister': -

Drive on the Cocker-mouth road to Scale Hill; and if you have not seen Buttermere nor Scale Force on horseback, procure a boat to carry you up Crommack Water, to the landing-place near Scale Force. When you have seen that fall, cross the lake to Buttermere, and afterwards return in the boat to Scale Hill, where you left your carriage. From Scale Hill, see also

*a small lake near Crommack Water, called Lowes Water; it is very pretty. The view of Lorton Vale, from Scale Hill is very beautiful, particularly if the sun be shining upon it.*¹⁹

The last record of Scale Hill before 1800 was made by one of a pair of young poets, taking a pedestrian tour in 1799, shortly before they moved to the English Lakes. Coleridge and Wordsworth had stayed at the Inn at Ouse Bridge on 10th November, and on 11th walked through Embleton, Lorton, Brackenthwaite, Buttermere and via Floutern Tarn to Ennerdale. Coleridge wrote in his notebook: -

*We pass the Inn at Scale Hill, leaving it to our right & and to our right is Lowes Water which we see – tis a sweet Country that we see before us, Somersetshire Hills & many a neat scattered House with Trees round of the Estates Men. – The white houses are very beautiful - & look at the river & its two arched Bridges –.*²⁰

It is clear that the Inn at Scale Hill had become a landmark.

John Marshall, the Wordsworths, and Scale Hill ownership, 1800-1824

Up to this point it has been established that Scale Hill was described as an inn from 1779, and that it played an important role in the development of tourism in what we now call the western lakes. However, there seems to be no definite record of a particular tourist or traveller who stayed there up to 1799, though many certainly must have done. The first named people who I can confidently place in beds at Scale Hill, in 1800, seem to be John Marshall, the wealthy Leeds flax spinner who later purchased the Inn, and touring companion John Wordsworth, the sea-faring brother of the poet, lost in 1805. In 1795 Marshall had married Jane Pollard, the best friend of Dorothy Wordsworth, and had toured the English Lakes on honeymoon, but now he returned alone to tour the English Lakes and

¹⁶ Holland, Peter & Rosenberg, Charles. *Select Views of the Lakes in Cumberland, Westmoreland & Lancashire*. Published by P. Holland, 1792

¹⁷ The Gentleman's magazine. July 1795

¹⁸ Gell, William. *A tour in the lakes 1797*. Ed Rollinson Otley. Smith Settle 1968 p.42

¹⁹ Murray, Sarah. *A companion, and useful guide to the beauties of Scotland, to the lakes of Westmoreland, Cumberland, and Lancashire; ...* London, 1799 p.20

²⁰ Coleridge, Samuel Taylor. *The notebooks of Samuel Taylor Coleridge*. Text ed. by Kathleen Coburn. London. Routledge, 1957 Vol. 1. p.539

Scotland on horseback. He arrived, according to Dorothy's letter to Jane, at Dove Cottage, early on 9th September, a day he spent locally with the Wordsworths. On 10th he went on to Keswick with John and William Wordsworth, for more touring and supper with Coleridge.²¹ On 11th, Marshall and the Wordsworth brothers set off from Keswick through Borrowdale and Honister to Buttermere and Crummock. At Borrowdale William became indisposed and returned home, but John Marshall, according to his notebook, and John Wordsworth spent the night of 11th September 1800 at Scale Hill.²²

John Marshall recorded his thoughts about the Scale Hill area in his unpublished notebook, 'The head of Cromack Water is bare & uninteresting – there is a beautiful view from the foot of the lake – the same from the head of Loweswater, An estate on sale, £300 rent, at the foot of Cromack some of it beautifully wooded, will sell for abt 30 years purchase [ie £9000]'.²³ This was Samuel Lichigaray's estate, including Scale Hill Inn, which he had acquired by marrying Mary Bertie. Unfortunately, it seems that Samuel Lichigaray did not have the business acumen of his uncle Matthew, as so often with those who inherited rather than earned their wealth. The partnership of Lichigaray and Nephew ran into trouble. Their reputation was ruined through a well reported court case in 1800, caused by the Nephew, John Dunsford, giving a false reference for a foreign trader.²⁴ The judgement was for £710 only, presumably plus costs, but whether by loss of reputation, or losses in trading, the partnership was made bankrupt on 14th July 1804.²⁵ The assignees sold Lichigaray's property on 29th August by auction at Garraway's Coffee House in Cornhill, including the Brackenthwaite estates. Scale Hill was described as 'That well-known INN and FARM, called SCALE-HILL, Justly admired and resorted to on account of its beautiful situation, --- WITH A CONVENIENT INN, Barns, Stabling, Cow-

Houses, Outbuildings, Six Grasses, and NINETEEN ACRES. It had been let to Henry Hewitson for £52 per annum, with five years to run; he also rented the 35 acres of Great Langthwaite Wood.²⁶ The successful bidder, Thomas Gaitskell, offered £7,124 for the Brackenthwaite estates and became the next owner of Scale Hill, though not for long.²⁷ Samuel Lichigaray died in Hastings in 1812,²⁸ and back in Low Layton in 1823, Mary Lichigaray and her family reverted to the name of Bertie, to inherit the family's Lincolnshire estate.²⁹

On 1st October 1805 Scale Hill changed ownership again, though Henry Hewitson continued as the innkeeper throughout. Joshua Lucock, grandson and heir of Joshua Lucock of Cockermonth, had acquired Lorton Hall from the Peile-Barnes family in 1800, and had set himself up as the flamboyant and apparently rather eccentric squire of Lorton, but his means were not very extensive. In 1805 his maternal uncle, Joseph Bragg of Moseley Vale, died naming Joshua Lucock his residuary legatee.³⁰ The amount is unquantified, but it included the land on which Grassendale Park, of the Liverpool Park Estates, was later built, and which he sold on for £13,000 in 1808. However, Joshua Lucock had to decide between receiving the money and property from his uncle, or keeping his name. In May 1805 he duly became Joshua Lucock Bragg, and then set about the accumulation of a considerable estate in Lorton, Loweswater and Brackenthwaite, creating the Lorton Hall Estate. In 1805 he purchased the Brackenthwaite estate, including Scale Hill, from Thomas Gaitskell for £7200. In 1807 he purchased the manor of Loweswater, Thackthwaite and Brackenthwaite together with Holme Wood, Loweswater Lake and Riggbank, from the Wilfrid Lawson's estate

²⁶ CROW/DWM/11/245

²⁷ CROC/DNT/31

²⁸ Moss, William *The history and antiquities of the town and port of Hastings* 1824 p.119

²⁹ *The Times*, Saturday, Apr 05, 1823; pg. 3; Issue 11838; col E. *The London Gazette* No. 17909. 29th Mar 1823. p.3-4

³⁰ Boulton, Joseph. The historical topography of Aisburgh and Garston. *Transactions of the historical society of Lancashire and Cheshire*. New Series, Vol. VIII Session 1867-8. pp. 147-90. p.179. TNA IR/26/304 Joseph Bragg of Moseley Vale, d.1805.

²¹ DW to Jane Marshall. Sept 10th 1800

²² Leeds metropolitan University, Brotherton Library, MS200/63

²³ MS200/63

²⁴ *The Times*, Tuesday, Dec 23, 1800; pg. 3; Issue 4984; col B

²⁵ Smith William and Co. *A list of bankrupts, dividends, certificates &c.* 1806

for £10,500.³¹ Separately he purchased Potter Gill in Loweswater, other property in Brackenthwaite, and several farms in Lorton.

In 1809 Joshua Lucock Bragg of Lorton Hall died, leaving his wife Rebecca and six children, the four eldest of whom were or became lunatics, including the heir, Raisbeck (1795-1850). It is fairly safe to assume some genetic problem here, noting that both Joshua and Rebecca (born Rebecca Lucock Wilkinson) were cousins and grandchildren of Joshua Lucock. It is common to consider a limited genetic pool as a feature of remote rustic communities, but inbreeding within the gentry, attempting to retain limited property and money within a small group of families, is a likely contributing factor of this story. The estate was left in the hands of three trustees, excluding wife Rebecca, whose job it was to use the estates as a source of funds to meet the bequests in the will, and to keep the family in Lorton Hall. Much of the estate was in Chancery, until the last two Braggs died at Lorton Hall in the care of attendants in 1875.³²

The dead hands of the Bragg trustees held Scale Hill until 1824, when John Marshall eventually purchased the property that he had admired in 1800. During the French wars, Marshall had become very wealthy through flax spinning in Leeds, and under the influence of wife Jane, had leased the mansion at Watermillock in 1810, then built Hallsteads on Ullswater as his country home, completed in 1815. He began to establish the Marshall estates and dynasty in the Lakes, choosing Buttermere, Crummock and Loweswater for himself, and seats at other lakes in turn for his sons. In 1814 he purchased from the Bragg trustees the Lordship of Loweswater and Thackthwaite, with the lake, Holme Wood and Riggbank. In 1815 he purchased the freehold estate of Gatesgarth and Birkness, attempting to own and control as much of the three lakes, their fishing and shores as possible.³³ In 1824 he purchased the Brackenthwaite estate from the Bragg Trustees, separating the enlarged

Lanthwaite Wood from Scale Hill and keeping his woodland in hand, as elsewhere. In 1823 he had purchased Nether Close, just across the Cocker, also the site of the lead mines, to which he held the rights as lord of the manor. He combined the farming of this land with the tenancy of Scale Hill, allowing the buildings at Nether Close to become used for the management of fishing, forestry and game. By 1825 he had spent at least £34,000 on property in this area.

John Marshall's purpose in acquiring the Brackenthwaite estates would have been different from the previous owners. His business at that time generated a very large income, and his purchases in the English Lakes were for recreation and to establish a distinctive social position. His interest was in natural scenery, and particularly in the creation and management of plantations in lake scenery. He shared this interest with Wordsworth and in 1807, when Wordsworth's guide was in genesis, Marshall had toured North Britain and advised Wordsworth on the appropriate situation for the larch, to optimise the balance between value and aesthetics in Lakeland plantations.³⁴ In 1816, after purchasing Loweswater and Gatesgarth, but before owning Scale Hill, Marshall brought some friends there, as Sarah Hutchinson noted: -

*William [Wordsworth] and I spent three days, the week before last, with Mr Marshall at Scale Hill, Lowess Water, Buttermere, & Crumock, viewing his estates and manor there, and planning his proposed plantations and Improvements. He is going to plant very largely by the side of the two last lakes – and, as he will only plant native wood, and in no wise sacrifice beauty to convenience, we expect that his labours will not only be profitable but ornamental.*³⁵

Marshall's plans were partly thwarted by the statesmen of Loweswater, or more precisely the owners of stints of Buttermere Scale, whose representatives Marshall met at newly-purchased Scale Hill on 17th August

³¹ CROC/D/NT31

³² TNA/IR/26/315 Joshua Lucock Bragg. d. 1809

³³ CROW/DWM/11/302 Epitome of title to the Buttermere, Crummock and Loweswater Estate, 1934

³⁴ Wordsworth Trust Library, WLMS A Marshall John -1. Letter JM to WW 1st Sep 1807

³⁵ Hutchinson, Sara. *The letters of Sara Hutchinson from 1800 to 1835* Ed Kathleen Coburn. SH to Mr Monkhouse 1st Nov 1816 p.93

1824.³⁶ He proposed to enfranchise the tenants and reduce the commons to a stunted pasture, in return for Buttermere Scale and contiguous land along Crummock lakeshore. This unusual proposal would have left Marshall with much of the west bank of Crummock enclosed, to be planted with the intended trees, in exchange for freeholds, while the rest of the common would have remained undivided by fences. It must have been unattractive to the Loweswater tenantry, and the other Buttermere Scale stint owners, because no enfranchisement or enclosure was agreed in his lifetime and the west bank of Crummock remained bare as a direct result.

To be the tenant of Scale Hill with John Marshall as landowner must have been a mixed blessing. Marshall used the Inn frequently as his base in the western lakes when visiting his estates, alone or with guests, and so money would have been available to develop and refurbish the property to the high standards he would expect. But at the same time he was a keen supervisor of detail, who would expect high standards of service from his tenant at Scale Hill. The result, however, was of benefit to the travelling public and for the reputation of the Inn for high standards. There is a great deal of recorded evidence of that reputation, but the following piscatorial quotation forms an appropriate summary:-

CRUMMOCK-WATER

Is about one mile from Buttermere; it is three miles long, and, on the average, half a mile broad. It is bounded on all sides, save the north, by lofty mountains; and about a mile beyond the foot of the lake, at Scale Hill, is a most excellent Inn, where the traveller of any grade will find good living, cleanliness, and civility, with the most reasonable charges. The angler or artist will find this house delightful headquarters, from whence he may visit the neighbouring lakes of Buttermere, Crummock-water, and Lowes-water : the fishing in all these lakes is capital, more especially for pike.

Notwithstanding the tyrant pike are so abundant, these waters are well

supplied with trout from their numerous small tributary streams. The views from a lofty wooded hill close to the Inn are of the most sublime description; and that in particular from a seat called after John Marshall, Esq. (the proprietor of this fine estate), is one of the most magnificently beautiful in this romantic region. Scale-force is a fine waterfall, about a mile from Crummock-water, and is well worth visiting. ...

Ennerdale-water, Wast-water, Elter-water, and Devock, may be visited en route from Scale Hill; and of these lakes, all containing trout, the last-mentioned will be found to produce the largest, the reddest, and best-flavoured trout in Cumberland.³⁷

Conclusion

The opportunity for Scale Hill came from its position and the development of roads up to 1800, which placed it at the limits of carriage-trade tourism. Its eighteenth century gentry owners had the capital and entrepreneurial ability to take that opportunity and to establish and develop the Inn's business. Scale Hill could specialise in meeting the needs of the persons of quality who took the lakes tour, without also having to cater also for the working traveller.

The risk to Scale Hill would have come after 1809, when the improved accessibility of Buttermere combined with a presumed need for Scale Hill to provide maximum rent to support the Lucock Bragg family in Lorton Hall. Until the purchase by John Marshall in 1824, Scale Hill might have been eclipsed by Buttermere, but the Fish did not develop, perhaps trapped by its rustic and romantic associations, and the Victoria did not appear until the 1830s.

The story of the ownership of Scale Hill contrasts with the tradition of the Lakeland statesman, the small owner-occupier. At Scale Hill we have a tale of gentry families using marriage, the law and jumping through the hoops of inheritance conditions to maintain family property and social position, while their tenants run the business. Yet the business maintained a fine reputation throughout.

³⁷ Hofland, TC *The British angler's manual: or the art of angling in England, Scotland, Wales & Ireland*. London Bohn, 1848 pp.306-7

Report of the activities of the Historic Landscape Group, Spring 2009.

This year we performed our level 1 survey on National Trust land on the western shore of Derwentwater, which is bisected by the public road running from near Gutherscale southwards towards Grange. Under the excellent guidance of Jamie Lund we found that the area was full of archaeology. Interpretation of the sites was sometimes difficult, but previous editions of OS maps provided useful clues. In addition, the history of the mining activities in the area has been researched and recorded (references 1-3 below), and these publications assisted considerably in the task of understanding the surviving remains.

Hawes End House, situated between the lake and the road in the north of the area, must have had a past as a comfortable and substantial Victorian or Edwardian residence. Near the lake the 1925 OS map indicated a pair of boathouses on the shore of Kitchen Bay. Of one there was no sign but near a cast iron post anchored in the ground was a small platform that was seen as the possible site of the second. In the woods a little way from the lake there was confirmation of the remains of the earlier formal garden with hints of landscape enhancement which was presumably for dramatic effect. In the woods to the east of the house was an 85 metre length of well-constructed garden footpath. This path seemed to access a building platform which was interpreted as a possible summer house or tennis pavilion. Both footpath and building were marked on the 1925 OS map. Elsewhere the footpath passed close to a distinct platform that may have contained a seat or other garden fixture. However the most intriguing feature seen from the footpath, just at the perimeter of the supposed 1925 map, was a flat, rectangular piece of open ground. Could this have been a tennis court? To the south of Hawes End lies formal garden and also marked on the Hawes End Cottage and just to the north-west beside

its access road was located a crudely built rectangular concrete platform. It was presumed to have formed the foundation of a shed.

Further to the south is Old Brandelhow Barn. This has been previously recorded and dated to the late 18th century or even earlier. However, immediately to the south of it and on the same alignment was the stone outline of a substantial building. This could be seen on the 1862 OS map but not on the later 1925 map. The walls were clearly defined. This was believed to be the original Old Brandelhow Farm. To the east was an enclosure which was identified as the farmyard. Just to the north of the barn there was found evidence of another building platform with sufficient standing masonry to suggest it was the site of another rectangular building. There is no record of it on the maps. In addition, a distinct trackway was discovered in the trees to the south and close to the present field boundary. This track is depicted on the 1st edition OS map. More detailed investigations led to the conclusion that the field wall had been rebuilt to cut off the original track, while the current tourist footpath had been the original access to Brandelhow Farm and Barn

To the south of Otterbiel Bay was a field with some faint evidence of ridge and furrow ploughing. Approaching the field, a small hole or depression in the ground was found to coincide with the site of a flagpole which was marked on the 1862 OS map. It was surmised that if not the site of the flagpole, the depression was certainly associated with it in some way. A larger area of ridge and furrow cultivation was found in the field to the south east of Old Brandelhow Barn. With a spacing of roughly



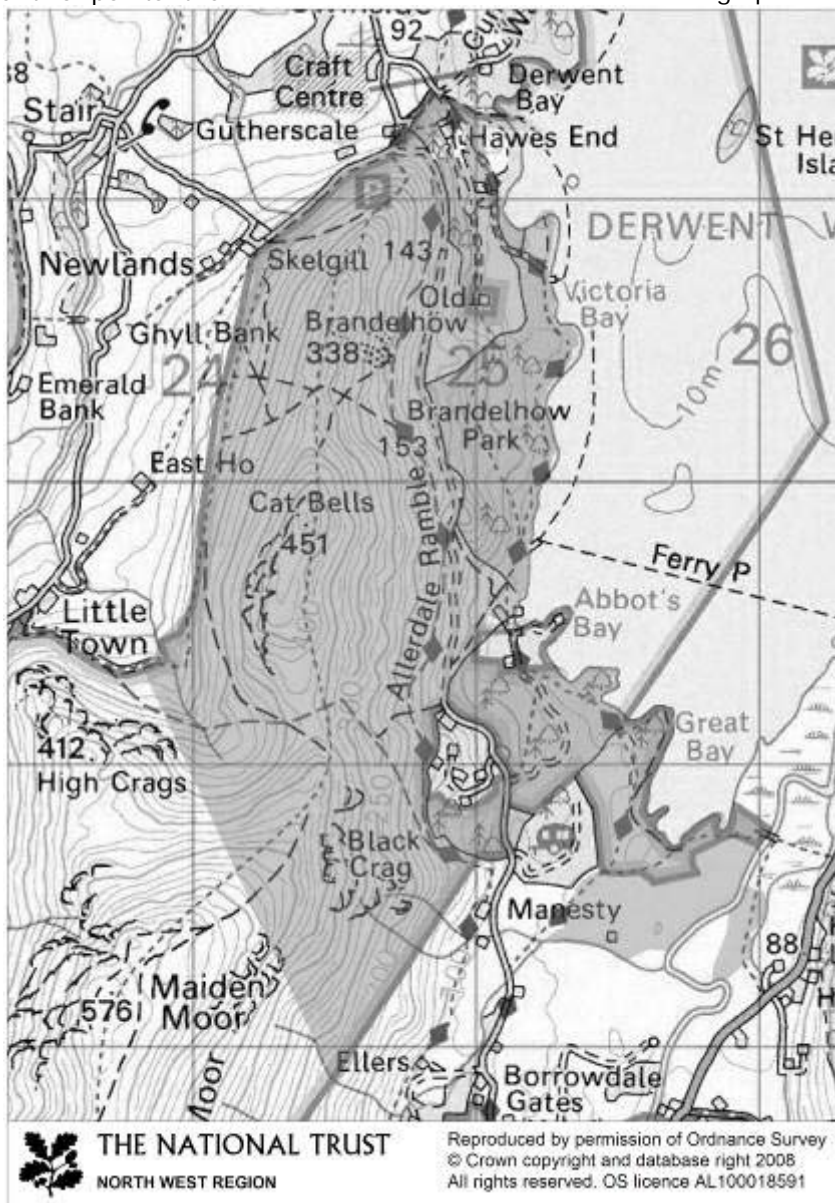
**Remains of a building adjacent to
Brandelhow Barn**

3 metres, this was probably post-medieval and could date from the period of the Napoleonic wars or immediately during or after World War 2.

The greater part of the archaeology of the entire area was associated with former mining activity, with many sites connected with ore extraction and processing. The survey provided a fascinating insight into the challenges and methods of copper and lead mining over the period c.1560-1891. A vein of copper ore runs south west from the edge of Derwentwater at Great Bay to Copperplate Mine at Ellers. Approximately half way between these two points the copper vein is intersected by a lead vein running northwards before veering north-west and forking in two across Skelgill Bank. The ores were exploited at various periods from the sixteenth to the late nineteenth centuries, with the later workings often partially or completely obliterating the evidence of earlier activity.

The copper ore vein was exposed on the rocky edge of the lake at Great Bay, and there was evidence of it being hand cut, doubtless in the early days of the Elizabethan miners. Just a few yards inland on the low rocky ridge is a water-filled hand cut vertical shaft surrounded by considerable spoil. A cutting to one side may have been the drainage channel for the raised buckets ('kibbles') of water. Along this rocky ridge are the signs of hand working, including a water filled sump.

Three cross cut channels indicate exploratory digging to test the width and/or direction of the vein. Copperplate mine itself proved to be a complex early copper mine dating from the late sixteenth century and includes trial workings, a large open cut, a hand worked coffin level and numerous spoil heaps. The near vertical walls of the openworks are dotted with round stemple holes and square rock cut beam slots for winching and winding rigs. Beyond this is a wonderful hand cut level that appears to continue into the hillside for some significant distance. The remains of a poorly preserved three-celled rectangular building also exist on-site. Stone can be seen standing up to a





Emerging from the Copperplate Mine

height of 0.7m in places. In the first cell there is what appears to be a fireplace in the western wall of the southern end. It would appear that when the mine was in operation some of the miners lived on-site.

Where copper vein intersects the north-south lead vein is the site of surface hand working and also of three mine buildings shown on the 1862 OS map. A shaft here was back-filled in the 1960s, restoring the site to agricultural use. Alongside Ellers beck the survey noted a series of five troughs approximately 2m by 4m.

Preliminary processing of the rough ore local to a mine by means of crushing, sorting and by washing in settling pits (simple 'buddles') allowed the valuable material to be exported leaving the worthless debris behind. The troughs are likely to be the remnants of the ore segregation activities, though why five would be needed is unclear when a couple are more usual, unless perhaps copper and lead ores were being raised together.

Further north along the lead vein are two major

groups of mine workings. Those situated between the road and the lakeshore were known as Brandelhow Mine, while those on the vein above the road were called Old Brandley Mine. Brandelhow Mine was, at various periods in the nineteenth century, a very considerable operation, employing both water and steam power. In Manesty Park woodland, by the road, is a small pond, now managed by the N.T. as a wildlife habitat. The 1862 OS map denotes this as a 'reservoir'. The survey found this had been created, or the level raised, by an earthwork banking on the south side and a dam wall to the N.E It would appear that this reservoir was created initially by surface mining work and later developed during the nineteenth century as a water resource for the Brandelhow mine operation. The 1862 map also indicates a system of 'mill races', one feeding this reservoir, and two delivering water to the mine site. The earthwork supply leat was traced a distance of some 300m over the wooded fellside towards Manesty Band, crossing a couple of spring-fed becks. On Manesty Band itself a length of stone wall was found across a (now dry) watercourse. The purpose of this was almost certainly to direct additional water into the catchment area.

The outflow from the reservoir followed a culvert under the present road, emerging in the woodland to the north, alongside a trial lead level. The tumbled remains of a substantial 50 m long 'wall' were found at this point, it is believed the



Pond, currently nature reserve, but formerly the reservoir for Brandelhow Mine

stone structure supported a launder (wooden trough) providing the extra height needed to feed the upper leat. The upper and lower leats (each approx. 600 m in length) were traced through the woodland and across the open fellside to the mine site.

The water supplies to the operations at Brandelhow relate to the period after 1819, at which time the mine was leased by John Tebay of Whitehaven. His first action was to drive an adit (the 'Salt Level' - named after the saline spring it intersected) which is still to be seen amongst the gorse alongside the white residence – once the mine manager's house. Subsequently a shaft was sunk close by on the lake foreshore. The position of a 34ft water wheel installed to pump water out (supplied from the lower leat) is shown on the 1862 map. Post 1847, after lying abandoned for 11 years, the old shaft depth was increased by the Keswick Mining Co. Soon, the waterwheel proved inadequate to pump out the deeper mine, so a 26 HP steam engine was installed to undertake the pumping duty while water power drove the saw mill and ore crushing equipment.

In the early 1850s, as the mine developed a new shaft, (the 'engine shaft') was sunk a little to the north, initially being pumped out by a 30 ft wheel. (Thus the upper leat was in use.). The steam engine soon had to be transferred to cope with the ingress. The 1862 map indicates a chimney, presumably attached to the boiler house, and also a tramway in use for transferring ore to the washing and dressing plant, and for the spoil to be tipped at the lake side. Some 60 – 70 men were employed at this period, roughly 1/3 above ground, so a sizeable bothy would have been needed as living quarters. The water pumping challenge increased as the mine was deepened and extended. The engine shaft went down well below lake level, and springs cut by the workings added substantially to the problem with the result that the steam engine struggled to cope. The shareholders, who had invested heavily with little reward, were divided on whether to cut the £800 per year pumping and hauling costs by further investment in water power, but the mine was abandoned in 1864 and allowed to fill with water.

The next production phase started in 1883, with Henry Vercoe as mining engineer to the Brandley Mining Co.. Old buildings were pulled down to make way for a new engine house (50hp steam engine). A smithy, forges, a carpenter's shop, ore crushing machinery powered by a 30 ft waterwheel, and a saw mill with a 12 ft wheel, were installed. A new reservoir was constructed just above the mine manager's house, and above this a new barrack block (for the 60+ work force) was erected. A new spur road was constructed from the north and the two stone quarries below the road were opened up to provide construction material. Successful operation followed, with production of 260 tons of ore per year. However, when H. Vercoe moved on, the operation faltered. The new mine leaseholders acquired a second-hand Cornish beam engine to take over the pumping duties from the now inadequate 50HP engine. The engine house was constructed by December 1888, accommodating the monster steam engine (60 inches diameter cylinder fed by two 30ft boilers, 9 ft stroke, 350 HP – they were termed 'portable!'). A major structural wall would provide the pivot point for the 10 ft long, 30 ton beam. Pump operation was by a substantial timber pump rod passing vertically down the shaft, which was by this time around 450 ft deep. It is hard to conceive that such a machine was installed on the shores of Derwentwater and even harder to conceive that no photograph exists, especially as it would be so prominent. While the new steam engine was equal to the task, the amount of lead being found was not sufficient to sustain the high costs of the operation and the mine finally closed in 1891. At the time of closure the two steam engines (one pumping, one hauling) were supported by three water wheels driving the recently modernised processing plant and ancillary machinery.

Given the level and scale of the 19th century industrial activity that took place on the Brandelhow Mine site over a period of 70 years in three main phases with regular redevelopment, it is unsurprising that interpretation of the evidence on the ground is challenging. The First Series OS map provides insight into the earlier phases. By the time of the Second Series in 1900 later developments had overlaid the original buildings and the whole enterprise had been



Looking down on part of Brandelhow Mine

dismantled and equipment removed. Our survey recorded many of the outlying features – the rectangular reservoir, the barrack block, the explosives store, additional leats, etc. – while recognising that the engine houses, smithies, processing mill require more in-depth investigation to do them justice. Much is still visible on the site, the Engine Shaft and above that, towards the road, Salt Sump Shaft, Coate's Shaft, Wood Level (pre 19th C) and Whitwell's Level. The huge spoil heaps on the lakeside testify to the scale of the mining operations which took place here, mainly in the 19th century, comprehensively reshaping the local landscape.

The remains associated with Old Brandley Mine are more spread out. It was possible to trace the course of the vein right across the mountain, finding that it was marked either by small trial mines or by sites where extensive ore extraction had taken place. All the commercial extraction had occurred on the eastern side of Catbells, where there are six sites showing evidence of large scale activity. The highest and most extensive site is at the crest of the ridge, where there is a shallow shaft on the eastern side of the footpath along the ridge, and below this is an impressive openwork which shows evidence of hand tooling and is likely to be associated with the pre-blackpowder mining of the Company of Mines Royal

which worked these fells from the 1560s. There are areas of fine processed mineral waste on the edges of these openworks suggesting that some sort of hand sorting and dressing of the ore took place on-site. Below are two further openworks, the first of which shows clear evidence of hand tooling and is also likely to be associated with the Mines Royal, while the second has been widened by blasting in the nineteenth century, presumably to prepare

the area before the shaft was sunk to reach the lower slopes and workings. Associated with this highest site is a gently sloping earthwork, aligned north-south, which could be a trackway but is more likely to be a means of collecting and storing water for use in the mine. The second site lower down the mountain is a possible entrance to a mine level which is now filled in either as a result of deliberate action or by natural slippage, but there is definite evidence of a small ore dressing floor. The third is a level which remains open and once again has an ore dressing floor associated with it. The entrance of the fourth level has collapsed



Adit, Old Brandley Mine

or has been filled in, but there is a large area of spoil, and the character of some of the finger dumps that make up the spoil heap indicate the use of a tipping tramway on site at some period. Evidence of a possible washing buddle exists close to the front edge of the dressing area and is visible as a rectangular depression that appears to have collected water escaping from the mouth of the adit. The fifth site appears to be the entrance to a level that is now blocked. The small spoil heap shows no evidence of ore waste, and it may be that this level was driven in to drain the stopes and mine workings



accessed from the higher levels. The sixth site is a spoil heap below the lake road, and is made from mineral-free small particles of a blue-grey colour suggesting that this material is the result of driving forward a level onto the mineral vein. The entrance to the adit was probably filled in when the road was built. The field to the north east contained a considerable ruined stone built structure, the purpose of which is unknown but it is more likely to have been associated with Old Brandley mine than to have had an agricultural use. The field bore three distinct areas of ridge and furrow ploughing. Again the average distance between the ridges was around 3 metres. By the road stand four oak trees, and below is an inscribed stone tablet recording the opening of Brandelhow to the public and the planting of the trees on 16th October 1902

On the lead vein on the other (north west) side of Catbells there are a considerable number of shallow shaft workings and trial trenches in the line of the vein heading towards Skelgill, but in no case is there evidence of commercial exploitation of the ore.

Between Brandelhow and Old Brandley mines there are some trial workings, and, hidden in gorse, is a well preserved hand cut mineral trench roughly 8m in length and 1m wide. The mineral vein has been removed to leave a neat hand worked trench in the stone. Below this is a deep sump or shaft, again cut into the rock by hand. Located just above the

Openwork near crest of Catbells ridge

lake road is a confusing set of remains consisting of shallow shafts, small trench workings and spoil heaps. These features are likely to be the result of early (pre-gunpowder) mineral prospecting and extraction. The trackway which runs above the road and parallel to it is almost certainly associated with the mining activity, and is supported by a revetment wall running for about 600m.

Dotted around the survey area are a number of other interesting features. High on the hillside below Black Crag at the top of a scree gully is a small lead mine. This was worked in the nineteenth century, and there are two clear drill marks in the rock face. Near the lake shore about 130 metres to the north of the mouth of Withe Sike Beck is a small trial mine and shallow shaft working with a spoil heap. Nearby is a stone jetty which may have been associated with these workings, but it could have been associated with early tourism, or it may have fulfilled both functions. Two stretches of ruined dry stone wall were found in Brandelhow Park. The more southerly one had been robbed at the western end, but the eastern end reaches the lake. The wall had been very substantial, and it appeared to have divided Brandelhow Park into two. Two charcoal burning platforms were found in Brandelhow Park and two more were found in Manesty Park. The small number of platforms was something of a surprise; it is possible that recent forestry work has



Lowest spoil heap of Old Brandley Mine

obliterated the evidence, or that the mining activities made alternative demands on the timber resources.

Finally, we viewed (but did not record) two interesting features on private land outside our survey area. Near Manesty cottages is a large mound of copper ore ready for export to the smelter, clearly abandoned when mining ceased. Nearby is the 'Salt Well', a building constructed to allow therapeutic bathing in the mineral spring water which issues there. Needless to say, there were no takers on the raw day we visited!

Report by:- Roger Asquith, Mike Bacon, and John Hudson.

Assisted by fellow surveyors Bernie Ewels, Anne Asquith, Jean Wilkinson, Judy Hudson, Judy and Rod Greeman, Sally and

John Birch, Rebecca Selfridge, Sandra Shaw, Jane Worthington, John Hart, Michael Baron, Jacqui Bower, Chris Bower.

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1. Tyler I, *Seathwaite Wad and The Mines of The Borrowdale Valley*, Blue Rock Publications 1995.
2. Adams J, *Mines of the Lake District Fells*, Dalesman, 1988.
3. Postlethwaite J, *Mines and Mining in the Lake District*, Michael Moon, 1980.

Note: In total, 97 sites were surveyed and recorded. A National Trust Sites and Monuments Report was produced for each site. Each report contains a full description and the grid reference. These reports are recorded on a CD lodged in the Society's archive. Also on CD in the archive is a set of 1:2500 maps of the survey area showing the location of each site.

Ordnance Survey map data is to be used for the purposes of illustration only and should not be used for any other purposes

The Journal

The next Journal will be published for 1st February 2010. Please send contributions to Derek Denman by 7th January.

Published by Lorton & Derwent Fells Local History Society, Beech Cottage, High Lorton, Cockermouth CA13 9UQ

L&DFLHS – Programme 2009

Date	Event
9 th Jul	Talk: by Ian Tyler. Honister slate mine, the history of Cumbria's largest underground slate working.
10 th Sep	Talk: by Peter Schofield. A land interpreted – recent discoveries on National Trust land in Buttermere and Loweswater
26 th Sep	L&DFLHS Exhibit at CLHF Convention - Penrith
12 th Nov	Talk: by Barry McKay. The Cumbrian chapmen – chapmen, pedlars and hawkers who served the villages of Cumbria, 17 th to 19 th centuries.
Unless noted otherwise, talks are held at the Yew Tree Hall in Lorton starting at 7.30pm. Visitors £2.50 including refreshments.	