

**THE MANSION HOUSE, EAMONT BRIDGE, CUMBRIA:  
A TERCENTENARY HISTORY OF ITS OWNERS,  
OCCUPIERS AND ASSOCIATIONS.**

*by*

Blake Tyson

*This article is dedicated to John Charlton, L.V.O., M.A., F.S.A., whose original survey of the Mansion House inspired this study. He also encouraged my earlier work on Cumbrian buildings when he was editor of the Transactions of the Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archaeological Society.*

Until the 1670s, the large houses of wealthy Cumbrian gentry displayed few features of Renaissance architecture and, even then, these were confined to modifications of older structures or to added wings. One of the earliest, dated houses to be almost entirely rebuilt in a robust, Anglo-baroque style, quite new to the region, was the Mansion House at Eamont Bridge. It has been altered little during three centuries and, though its architectural importance was recognized by several authorities<sup>1</sup>, only recently has archival material become available to allow historical study of this unusual house. The R.C.H.M. described it as follows:

MANSION HOUSE . . . on the E. side of the road 200 yards S.S.E. of Eamont Bridge, is of three storeys [plus attics]. The walls are of rubble with ashlar dressings and the roofs are slate-covered. It is a complete and little altered building of 1686. The W. front is symmetrically designed with architraves to all the windows and cornices over the windows of the two lower ranges. The angles of the front are rusticated and in the middle is a porch . . . with a balustraded parapet; the outer doorway has two plain shields and the initials and date. . . R<sup>B</sup>L 1686. The top of the porch forms a balcony formerly entered by a central doorway . . . ; it has a moulded architrave and scrolled brackets supporting a cornice and a scrolled and broken pediment. The other elevations have original windows, most of them of the mullion and transom type. Inside the building the staircase is original, with heavy moulded handrails and newels with turned pendants; the lower flight has twisted and the upper turned balusters. In the N.W. room is a wide original fireplace now blocked.

R.C.H.M., *Inventory of Historical Monuments in Westmorland*, 1936, 252a.

Except for omitting details of the slender king-post roof trusses and of a narrow spiral stair with wooden treads in the middle of the north gable (Fig. 2), this account offers a fair summary of the original manuscript report dated 20 October 1934. The Commission's investigator was John Charlton, now a Vice President of our Society. He found the house divided into (four)

tenements, each occupying a corner of the plan and extending the full height of the house. These persisted until 1976 when the property was sold to a Mr. Scimity<sup>2</sup> who turned it into a hotel. He bought and then demolished an old farm building<sup>3</sup> close behind the house to make car-parking space and added a single storey extension at the rear of the house to provide modern kitchen and hotel reception facilities. The imposing kitchen fireplace, 'c. 9 ft wide . . . with voussiors c. 1ft 6in long' in the north west ground floor room was re-opened and he restored the blocked doorway over the front entrance and dated the work 1977. In 1981 the Mansion House was bought by the Heating and Ventilating Contractors' Association to provide offices for their welfare and pension activities. To this end a new two-storey wing was built against the south gable in the style of typical Cumbrian houses with roughcast walls and windows surrounded by (mock) stone. Unfortunately this obliterated two mullion and transom windows at the south-east corner of the south gable but a set of matching windows was re-opened at the south-west corner. The old house was thoroughly repaired and renovated so that almost all the features, which had survived nearly three centuries of change, indifference or even neglect, were



Fig. 1

West front of the Mansion House, Eamont Bridge, showing the modern office wing built on the south end in 1981. The doorway on to the balcony was restored in 1977 and the windows of the two lower storeys bear evidence of former transoms inside. At the extreme left, two small windows lighting the old spiral staircase adjoin a passageway created in 1840 when a new wash house was built for the West Ward Union Workhouse

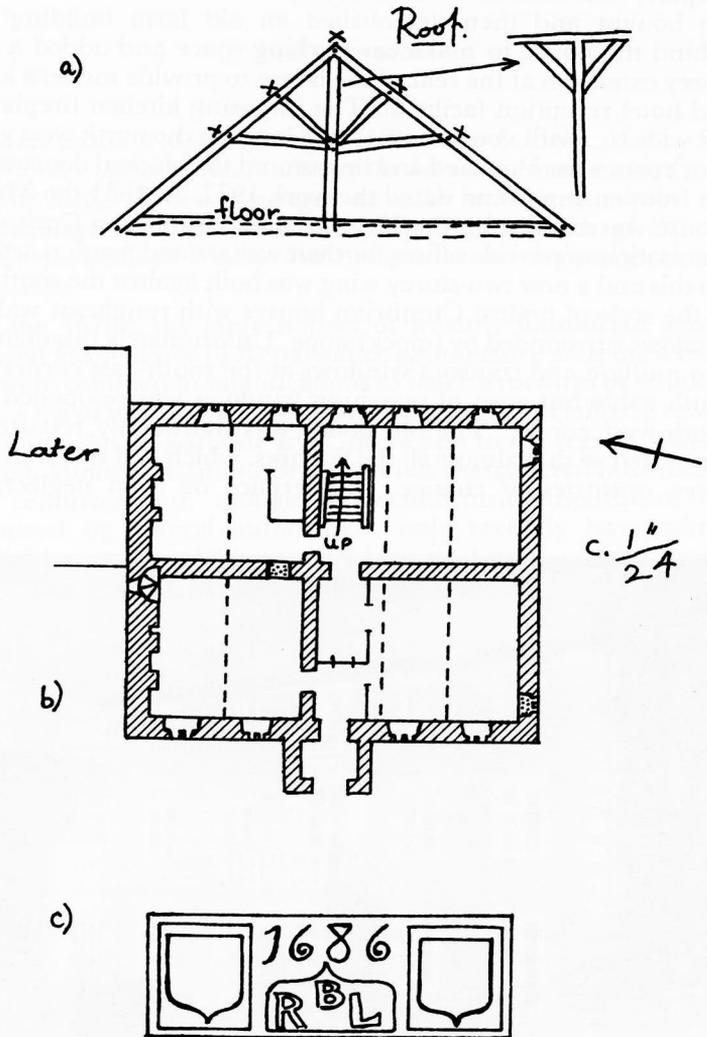


Fig. 2

The Mansion House, Eamont Bridge, (a) typical roof truss, (b) plan, (c) datestone over the front door. All redrawn from the original survey notes made by John Charlton in 1934 (by permission of the Royal Commission on Historical Monuments).

preserved and enhanced. The offices were opened on 26 March 1982 and must be considered an outstanding example of building conservation.

As the structure has survived so well and can be viewed by appointment with the General Manager, this article will concentrate on historical matters related to its owners and occupiers. Unfortunately the builder's name is not known and no early deeds, accounts or correspondence have been found. By chance, however, during research on Whitehaven harbour, an unsigned, undated estate valuation in early eighteenth century handwriting was discovered in a box of unsorted harbour papers in the Lonsdale manuscripts at Carlisle Castle.<sup>4</sup> The document reads as follows:

The true Value of ye Estate of ye late Mr. Rowland Borrow Scituate at Emont Bridge. It is a Freehold paying only 5s. Rent, pays no Tith Hay only a Modus 1s. 8d., no tith Lambs. Priviledge of Fishing in the River Lowder, a Pidgeon Coate well Stored. Wood Value £100. Formerly lett for £34 now £30. There are besides ye House 2 Orchards & one Garden. One Necessary Large Barne, out Houses &c. The Price £800, one Half to be paid upon Signing, & Security for the other to be payd at ye Death of Mrs. Borrow Widdow. The Building cost upwards of £700.

An estate at Eamont Bridge with a well-stocked pigeon cote, timber worth £100 and a house costing £700 would be compatible with the status of the Mansion House. Proof can be derived from entries in local parish registers and manorial records, for example, on 20 October 1703 the Yanwath & Eamont Bridge Manor Court<sup>5</sup> listed the customary tenants together with only two freeholders (*Liberi tenentes*), namely James Bird, armiger, and 'Rowlandus Burrow gen. mort Lucie Burrow'. The last name was interlined after 'mort' had been added to the original entry.

The Brougham parish registers recorded, on 26 November 1707, the burial of 'Mr. Rowland Borrow AM, Rector of Browhame and Clifton, Chaplain to the Right Honorable the Earle of Thanet, of St. John's College in Cambridge, died 23 November 1707 & was buried at Clifton' where a similar entry was made. Borrow's will, proved at Carlisle,<sup>6</sup> was made on 18 December 1702 when he was 'in bad health of body'. He wished to be 'buried in the Quire of Clifton Church under the great Through Stone which lyes on the North side of the Alter near unto my four Sons'.<sup>7</sup> He left to his 'wife Lucy Borrow the one . . . halfe of my Messuage & Tenement . . . at Emontbridge' during her widowhood and the other half to his five daughters, each of whom was also to receive money to make up £100 for her marriage portion. He acknowledged 'that there will be some difficulty in the yearly Division of this little Estate among so many children' and stipulated that if one daughter had a husband who would pay a further £100

to each of the other sisters without selling or mortgaging the estate, she was to inherit the property. Other family details will be examined shortly, but we must note the burial at Clifton of 'Mrs. Lucy Borrow of Penrith widdow' on 19 June 1727. The Manor Court verdicts on 5 May 1725 found 'Thomas Pattinson Esq purchaser of a messuage or tenement (being a freehold estate) of the yearly rent of five shillings from Mrs. Lucy Burrow, her children and grandchildren'. The results of this transaction will be traced later but, read in conjunction with the valuation, it is clear that the family let the house for less than five percent return and that for some years Mrs. Borrow lived in Penrith, probably with a daughter, before dying aged eighty or more. The valuation and its location in the Whitehaven papers suggests that James Lowther (1673-1755), second son of Sir John Lowther (2nd Bart., d.1706), might have been interested in the property as a prospective investment but did not follow it to completion.

Earlier manorial records prove that Rowland Borrow was a freeholder in 1686 and in 1677. They show him involved in various petty disputes, for example on 16 March 1682/3, when he recovered debts of £1. 15s. 8d. and 11s. from one Anthony Craik. On 19 May 1673 'The Jury present[ed] Master Borrow for his high more edge not maide at mid Aprill day, sub pane 1s.' but they then discovered that the hedge belonged to a Mary Martin. On 18 February 1674/5 the jurors found 'that the Highe way for Mary Martin . . . doth lye on the backside of Mr. Rowland Burrow his howse at Eamont Bridge for the Carryinge her Manure to her lands and alsoe for the bringinge in her Corne hay and Cattells . . . to her tenemt at Eamont Bridge'. A manor Rental of 1676 suggests how Borrow acquired that house. It states that a rent shortfall of 16s. 10d. 'rem[ain]s to be inquired out, whereof [*inter alia*] . . . Mr. Burrow formerly Mr. Brougham aforesd [owed] 5s. 0d.,' the same as the free rent in the eighteenth century valuation. This detail indicates that the Mansion House replaced an earlier structure, part of which may survive in the north gable wall particularly the old-fashioned spiral stair<sup>8</sup> which became the servants' access to the kitchen in the north-west corner and which was lit by two tiny windows similar to two others nearer the front wall. These windows are quite unlike the mullion and transom windows in the rest of the house, including the south gable. No doubt Rowland Borrow used the old part as service accommodation and had his best rooms newly designed at the south end to benefit from sunshine and to have views over his two parishes.

Although no seventeenth century deeds of the Mansion House have been located, some exciting evidence survives in a lease and release, dated 1 and 2 February 1796,<sup>9</sup> when a 4¼ acre field

called Crabtree Lands,<sup>10</sup> together with '1 rood of enclosed land now used as a garden occupied by Isaac Mallinson in Eamont Bridge' (see note 39) was sold by Thomas Pattenson of Melmerby to Thomas Wallace of Carleton Hall, Penrith for £320. The document recites earlier transactions concerning a customary house and land enfranchised by Sir John Lowther of Lowther<sup>11</sup> to Henry Brougham, formerly of Scales Hall in Cumberland,<sup>12</sup> on 24 March 1664/65 for a free rent of 5s. It then cites the sale by Henry Brougham to Revd. Rowland Borrow of Clifton, Westmorland on 13 August 1672 and the sale by numerous members of the Borrow family on 1 and 2 October 1724 to Thomas Pattenson of Breeks Hall, grandfather of the 1796 vendor. The vendor agreed to produce title deeds when required, so Crabtree Lands probably formed a part of a larger estate not sold at that time. As the 1724 sale and earlier details agree so well with the evidence previously discussed, one would expect that they also applied to the Mansion House. Before considering the eighteenth century information, however, we must examine Rowland Borrow's career and family.

The admissions registers of St. John's College, Cambridge, record that he was the son of Robert Borrow of 'Bedom' (Beetham) near Milnthorpe, Westmorland, and was admitted, sizar for Mr. Price, on 5 June 1657 aged 16, after being educated at Sedbergh School for only four months.<sup>13</sup> The Beetham registers, now almost illegible but copied in 1770 from their commencement in 1607, record the baptism of 'Rowlandus filius Robti Burrow' on 17 May 1640. To judge tentatively from other information in the register, Rowland seems to have been the youngest of twelve children baptized between 1624 and the burial on 6 June 1640 of 'Robertus Burrow de Storth' who might have been his father.<sup>14</sup> It is significant that one of the four witnesses of Rowland Borrow's will was Joshua Borrow, his nephew, rector of Hutton-in-the-Forest near Penrith from 1695 until 1728 when he took the living at Asby, where he was buried on 17 September 1739. Joshua was admitted to St. John's College on 23 June 1683 'aged 16', sizar for Dr. Coke,<sup>15</sup> and had been educated by Mr. Thomas Lodge (a very talented schoolmaster)<sup>16</sup> at Lancaster. He was baptised on 28 July 1664, the son of Timothy Borrow of Nether Kellet, Bolton-le-Sands near Lancaster who, in turn was baptised on 29 March 1629, the fourth of Robert Borrow's children.<sup>17</sup>

The first mention of Rowland Borrow after his university life appears in the Bishop of Carlisle's General Chapter records in 1666 when he was listed as *Ludmagister* (schoolmaster) at Penrith and also 'Curatus de Dacre', four miles south-west of the town.<sup>18</sup> He held both posts until Bishop Edward Rainbow, on 26 June

1668,<sup>19</sup> appointed him rector of Clifton to succeed John Winter who was buried there on 3 April. In 1669 a William Walker was the schoolmaster at Penrith<sup>20</sup> and Borrow, as 'Parson of Clifton', inducted Joshua Bunting to the living at St. Andrew's church in the town. Borrow's marriage to Lucy and the baptism of their 'eldest daughter Mary' have not been found, but the St. Andrew's registers record two sons; one, whose name is missing, in February 1666/7 'son of Mr. Rowland Burrow scoolemaster' and Robert in December 1668 and buried two months later. The Clifton registers then record the baptisms of Rowland (1671), Lucy (1673), Margaret (1676), Dorothy (1677), Ann (1679) and lastly James (1681) who died two months later. Only four daughters survived their father, Dorothy's death before 1707 causing him to redirect her share to her two children. The Crabtree Lands conveyance in 1796 gives the best details of their families. Mary married Benjamin Smith, had a son Leonard<sup>21</sup> and died before 1724; Lucy married John Linskill of Thornbrough, Catterick, Yorkshire on 9 June 1696 at Clifton; Margaret married Thomas Johnson after 1702 and died before 1724 leaving two daughters Margaret and Christobel; Dorothy married Francis Stainton and in 1724 one son named Richard survived.<sup>22</sup> The youngest daughter Ann married Revd Robert Patten, a Jacobite in the 1715 uprising, who turned King's Evidence and wrote the *History of the Late Rebellion* (1717). As he owned property in Eamont Bridge and is of particular interest, the Appendix offers further details of his career, family and property.

Rowland Borrow's ministry seems to have passed almost uneventfully. In 1689 the Clifton bishop's transcripts record 'An Answer to the Articles' and note 'our minister is resedent at Brougham;<sup>23</sup> he is a parson of sober and religious conversation and as far as wee know confirmable to the Doctrine and discipline of the Church of England. We have no school master but a woman, one Mary Winter, that teaches little children in the parsonage . . .'. She was buried on 12 January 1691/2. Borrow probably occupied the parsonage briefly before he bought the Mansion House property in 1672, for the 1669-1672 Hearth Tax Roll for Clifton Town records him paying for three hearths.<sup>24</sup> In 1777 the parsonage was described as 'a small building' with fine views towards the north.<sup>25</sup> Perhaps the chance to own a freehold property was as much an incentive to move to Eamont Bridge as was its location mid-way between Borrow's rural parish and facilities and social contacts he enjoyed when Penrith's schoolmaster. With a growing family Borrow was probably relieved, on 16 March 1680, to obtain a second stipend as rector of Brougham on a presentation by Richard, Earl of Thanet (1640-84) who inherited the title that year.<sup>26</sup> In addition, he became the Earl's Chaplain, a post originally created by the latter's grandmother, Lady Anne Clifford



Fig. 3

Above, the Mansion House, Eamont Bridge; below, Appleby Castle. The similarity of mouldings on their elevated doorways is very striking, but as the Mansion House stood so close to the main road, a projecting balcony rather than a flight of stone steps gave purpose to the opening.

(1590-1676), so that she could attend Church of England services at whichever of her five castles at Skipton, Appleby, Brougham, Brough and Pendragon she happened to stay.<sup>27</sup> Were Borrow's three sources of income sufficient to afford a house costing £700?<sup>28</sup> Did he receive a legacy, or some financial assistance from the Earl? Answers have not been found but there is some similarity between the Mansion House and the East Range of Appleby Castle, built about 1686-8. Were their elevated front doorways (Fig. 3) the work of the same mason for example?<sup>29</sup>

Rowland Borrow was also associated with building work at Clifton church where the porch was rebuilt in 1678-80 and, in 1682, the churchwardens 'spent in repairing the church £13. 7s. 0d.'. In 1848 there was still in the chancel a pew panel with R<sup>B</sup>L 1682 on it, a reminder of Rowland and Lucy Borrow's involvement. When Bishop William Nicolson visited Clifton in 1703, he found the church 'exceedingly well seated, well floored . . . and most of the Quire lately new roofed by the present incumbent . . . and the arch betwixt ye chancell and body of ye church has been lately taken down and . . . makes both much warmer . . .'.<sup>30</sup> The Bishop's diaries mention numerous visits to his residence at Rose Castle by Joshua Borrow and Robert Patten, Rowland's nephew and son-in-law, to discuss church matters sometimes over dinner. Likewise, on 31 July 1702, he entertained 'Mr. Burrow of Brougham (with his wife & curate & Mr. Child) [who] gave me an acct of his Transacting betwixt Sr J[ohn] L[owther] and the Tenants of Clifton; and that Sr John's expression . . . was this: "'Tis their pride to desire to be Freeholders and 'tis mine to keep ym Tenants'''.<sup>31</sup> As Rowland Borrow neared the end of his life, the Bishop noted, on 15 November 1707 'Mr. Paton acquainted me that his father Burrow was willing to resign Clifton to him. I will consider . . .'. Then, three days later: 'Mr. Paton again, with a Resignation ready drawn for Clifton; and so many Lyes on that occasion that I thought fit to deal roundly with him'. Finally, on 24th: 'after Evening Prayer, had the news of Mr. Burrow's death brought by Mr. Paton who is earnestly sollicitous for the Rectory of Clifton'. The Bishop's rejection of Patten's advances were justified eight years later and Rowland Borrow, having signed the 'Association' of loyalty to William III at Appleby on 1 August 1696,<sup>32</sup> would have been distressed to discover his son-in-law a Jacobite. Before passing to other matters, it is worth noting one incident which reflects the superior social status of the Mansion House. On 19 May 1699 'Brabazon the son of Mr. Alonso Vere & ye Rt Hon Lady Katherine his Wife, Daughter of ye Rt Hon Wm late Earl of Meath dec<sup>d</sup> of Ireland, was baptized . . . in the house of Mr. Rowland Borrow . . . at Emont Bridge . . .'.<sup>33</sup>

When Lucy Borrow and her family sold the Mansion House to Thomas Pattenson of Breeks in October 1724, the next phase of its history began. In 1777, Nicolson & Burn (i, 517) wrote: 'In . . . Ormside [two miles south-south-east of Appleby] is a single hall house called Breeks about half a mile south from the church. . . . Robert Barton sold it to John Pattenson attorney at law in Penrith, who had a son Thomas [bap. 30 April 1673], who had a son Lancelot, father of the present owner Thomas Pattenson of Melmerby esquire'. The same source (ii, 441-2) states that, since Richard II's reign, the manor of Melmerby belonged to the Threlkeld family until William Threlkeld's daughter Elizabeth married Thomas Pattenson on 29 October 1694 at Clifton. Their son Lancelot, baptized at Ormside on 4 February 1705/6, succeeded.<sup>34</sup> He was rector of Melmerby from 1739 and also of Ousby, the next parish, from 1735 until his death in October 1759. He married Margaret, fifth daughter of Charles Orfeur of High Close (Plumland near Cockermouth) at Askham on 28 March 1736. Their only son was Thomas Pattenson, who, on 8 December 1768, married Barbara (bap. 22 July 1744), youngest daughter of John Grainger of Bromfield. Barbara was buried on 9 December 1781 and her husband on 23 November 1811 'aged 64' (baptized at Melmerby 13 October 1747).

This family detail explains how, on 5 April 1776, Thomas Pattenson of Melmerby was in a position to sell to James Wallace of Carleton Hall, Penrith, 'All that capital *mansion house*, Barn, Byer, Stable, *Dovecoat*, Gardens . . . situate on the East side of the King's High Road leading from Penrith to Lowther Bridge'.<sup>35</sup> The property included closes named Low Croft, Cross Holme, Bowlands Hill, Low Close, Broad Acre and 'Bowlands otherwise Boonlands' as well as Busky Holme, a wooded area.<sup>36</sup> The estate was declared 'free from Dower or thirds of Barbara wife of Thomas Pattenson' and realised only £371. 15s. 6d. because it formed part of an exchange of land between Pattenson and James Wallace, his wife Elizabeth and her mother, Elizabeth Simpson of Carleton Hall.

Burke's *Peerage* (1866) states that James Wallace was baptized on 12 March 1729, was called to the bar in 1757 and was appointed Solicitor General in 1777 and Attorney General in 1780. He was M.P. for Horsham, Sussex from 1770 until his death in November 1783 and was buried at Exeter Cathedral. He married Elizabeth, only daughter and sole heir of Thomas Simpson of Carleton Hall, Penrith.<sup>37</sup> She died 18 April 1811, having had one son and one daughter, Elizabeth (bp. 2 April 1770, d. 12 May 1792). The son, Thomas Wallace of Asholme, Knarsdale and Featherstone Castle (South Tyne valley, Northumberland) was born in 1768, was M.P. for several places and a Privy Councillor (1801). On 16 February

1814, he married Lady Jane Hope daughter of John, 2nd Earl of Hopetoun and widow of Henry 1st Viscount Melville. They had no issue; she died 6 June 1829 and he followed on 23 February 1844, having been created Baron Wallace of Knaresdale on 2 February 1828. This information leads directly to the next significant transaction in the Carleton-Cowper papers.

On 8 July 1828 Thomas Lord Wallace, Jane Viscountess Melville and Rt. Hon. William Dundas of Lower Grosvenor Street, Middlesex (a party to the marriage settlement between the first two) sold the Carleton Hall estate for £49,800<sup>38</sup> to John Cowper of St. Paul's Churchyard, London and Joseph Cowper of Unthank, five miles north-west of Penrith. Of the numerous properties sold, one is described as 'that Capital Messuage now or formerly called the *Great House*', but no dovecote is mentioned. With it went land, called the Holme amounting to ninety-two acres between the rivers Lowther and Eamont in Barton parish as well as a garden beside the High Road opposite the Great House, measuring one rood and occupied by Hannah Mallinson.<sup>39</sup> An auction notice in the same bundle states that the sale was to be held at the New Crown Inn, Penrith at noon on Wednesday 28 September (i.e., 1825) and describes the land as 'Holme between the Waters 79a. 3r. 19p.; Great House Croft 10a. 3r. 24p.; House & Gardens behind ditto at Eamont Bridge 1a. 1r. 21p., a total of 92 acres 0 roods 24 perches', all occupied by William Ellwood (Fig. 4a).

Before examining the next stage in the building's history, it is convenient to outline the family affairs of the new owners so that later events can be placed into context. Joseph Cowper of Unthank (1749-1827) was steward to the Vanes of Hutton-in-the-Forest. His second son John (1780-1851) went to London, where he made a fortune, but like his elder brother Joseph (1778-1841), died without issue. They were succeeded by their brother Frederick Cowper (1794-1881) whose son Frederick (1822-1899) had an elder son Frederick Carleton Cowper (1858-1898) who married in 1886 Ella Elizabeth (d. 1941), only daughter and heir of William Middleton Moore of Grimeshill, Middleton-in-Lonsdale. Their only son Geoffrey Thomas Middleton Carleton Cowper (1889-1962) succeeded but sold the Carleton Hall estate in 1947.<sup>40</sup>

By 1828, the Mansion House had been let to tenants for over a century and it was about to suffer a drastic change of use. The Vestry Minute Book for Barton parish (High Barton township)<sup>41</sup> records a meeting held on 2 May 1832 to consider 'the expediency of establishing a workhouse under the sanction of an Act . . . [22 George III]<sup>42</sup> for the better relief and maintenance of the Poor'. Although those present were unanimously in favour of adopting



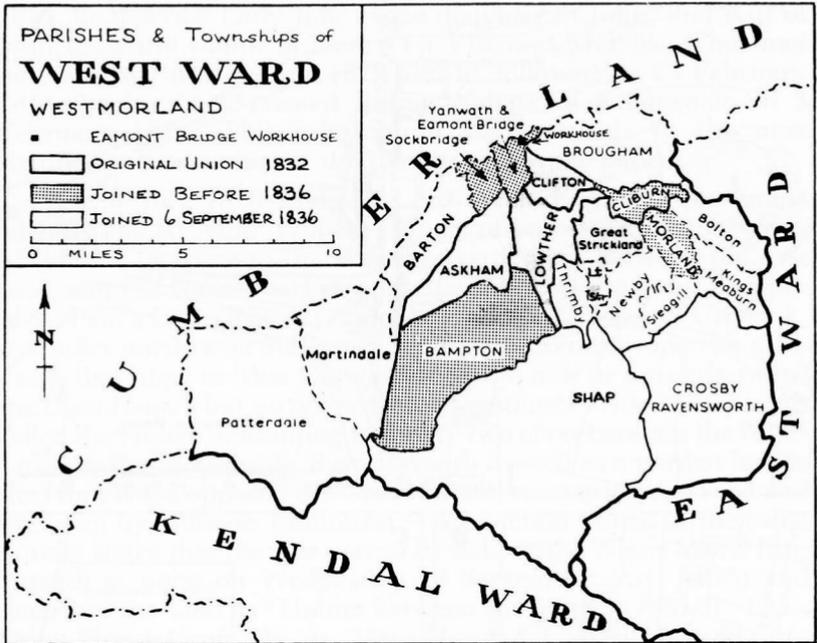


Fig. 5

the Act's provisions, there were 'too few to take upon themselves the responsibility of binding the whole township' and the six who signed the minutes adjourned the meeting until 7 May to secure a better attendance. That meeting agreed 'That the Township of High Barton shall . . . with the Parishes of Lowther, Askham, Clifton and the Townships of Little & Great Strickland and Martindale,<sup>43</sup> adopt in all respects the provisions . . . prescribed by the said Act . . . & that a convenient workhouse . . . having been hired at Eamont Bridge . . . shall be properly fitted up . . .'. They suggested three Guardians to the Justices and fourteen men signed the minutes. No similar source has been found for the other parishes, but poor relief business at Barton dropped dramatically. A few entries from the parish Poor Account Book offer useful information about the Mansion House:

	£.	s.	d.
13 Nov 1832			
	Work House	½ years rent	2 1 7
12 Dec 1832	Edward Scott,	Salery for Work House	2 1 7

29 May	1833	By pd half a year rent for the Workhouse, the Masters salary and part of the Principal & Interest of £60 Borrowed for the House	5	9	4½
9 Nov	1833	By pd Work House rent and Master Salary [½ year]	3	12	2¼
24 June	1835	Paid for discharging the Debt and Interest . . .	3	18	9
29 Nov	1836	Treasurer of the Union Audited 18 January 1837 by N. Machell	12	0	0

John Cowper's return for letting the Mansion House remains uncertain because the proportion of expences accountable to the other parishes is not known and Barton's payments for rent and master's salary varied. High Barton, did, however, invest £60 for bedding, furniture, utensils and other necessities and managed their finances prudently before giving their £12 cash-in-hand to the new West Ward Union, formed after the Poor Law Amendment Act of 1834 came into effect on 6 September 1836.

The new Union's minutes for its weekly meetings, held at the Workhouse, Eamont Bridge on Wednesdays at 10 am, survive from the first meeting on 7 September 1836.<sup>45</sup> There were twenty-two elected Guardians to represent the ten parishes of the West Ward<sup>46</sup> of the Barony of Westmorland because in Barton and Morland parishes each of the townships (6 and 8 respectively) retained separate responsibility for funding purposes. On 21 September, the Board referred to the efforts 'of the late Union and from the very cleanly & orderly state in which we find the Work House [recommended] . . . Robert Hewitt to be appointed Master and his wife Mary Hewitt Matron'<sup>47</sup> at salaries of £20 and £15 respectively, plus 'victuals from the common stock' worth £25 a year. In addition the accommodation was described in detail:

. . . On the Ground Floor—a large dining Room capable of holding 30 Paupers; another large Room adjoining, capable likewise of holding 30 Paupers, connected with the dining Room by an Arch and which might be used along with it if required; a good Kitchen with cooking apparatus sufficient at present to provide for 30 Paupers and which may be increased to any extent required; a very large Room for Provisions and Stores and a large coal Cellar. On the first Floor . . . a large Room at present used by the Guardians at their Meetings<sup>48</sup> . . . a Bed Room occupied by the Master; a Bed Room capable of containing 4 Beds; a small store Room separated from the last . . . by a thin partition. If all Stores were kept in the large Store Room on the Ground Floor this . . . Bed Room would contain 5 Beds . . . [another] containing 4 but capable of holding 5 beds . . .

The second-floor bedrooms, containing four, six, three, two and five beds, were considered capable of holding five, six, four, four and six respectively, and the appraisal continues:

A very large Garrett well ventilated, which, if made into Bed Rooms would contain 24 Beds. Should this extra Lodging accommodation not be required . . . [it] might be converted to a Work Room.

In the yard behind the House is a Room of good Size, which, as it is detached might be . . . [a] Sick Room in case of infectious Disorders . . . In this yard there is also a Wash House sufficiently large but greatly requiring Repair in its Roof, Floor, Doors &c. We recommend that the Owner of the Work House should be forthwith applied to to put this Building in good tenantable Repair—also to make Spouts sufficient to carry the water from the Roof of the large Building and to prevent it from beating in at the Windows in stormy weather as it has done lately, also to repair the Windows and make opening Casements in all the Windows at present without them, to secure free Ventilation; also to remove the Privy from the back yard and in Lieu thereof to build a privy in each Garden, one for Male, the other for female Paupers making a place for the Deposit of ashes near one of the Privies; also to build Pig Styes at the back of the north Garden instead of those now placed in front of it which we recommend should be removed.

We find two large Gardens planted with Potatoes, Onions and other Vegetables. We consider these Gardens very beneficial to the Work House & recommend that they should be tilled by the Paupers as they have been heretofore. We also advise the Continuance of the Practice of rearing Pigs for the use of the Work House from the refuse of the Vegetables and Kitchen Waste as Bacon is always a useful Article of Food in such Establishments. . .

The Guardians also minuted that, under the late Union, the largest number of paupers at one time was twenty-three and that the house should be sufficient for the new Union's needs without extension.

With a maximum of fifty-nine beds, this was the smallest of seventeen Cumbrian workhouses which survived from about forty-six operating before 1834. In 1868, Inspector Hedley, on his first visit to the institution, commented 'It is very difficult to find fault with establishments of this sort . . . It is an old fashioned place, very unlike a workhouse'.<sup>49</sup> One would expect an old mansion to give that impression and the Census returns for four decades (Table I) indicate that its capacity was adequate, though the Guardians could not have known that in advance. They therefore made changes in accommodation which will be discussed shortly.

Census	1841	1851	1861	1871	1881
Males (65 & over)	5	11	5	5	6
Females (65 & over)	2	3	2	1	1
Males (age 16—64)	4	4	5	0	7
Females (age 16—64)	5	15	12	9	2
Male children	4	7	16	9	4
Female children	3	8	9	3	3
	<b>23</b>	<b>48</b>	<b>49</b>	<b>27</b>	<b>23</b>

**Including:**

Married couples	0	2	1	0	0
Unmarried mothers with children	1 + 1	7 + 11	8 + 15	2 + 4	0

**Notes:** 1. The Master, Matron and Schoolmistress have been omitted.

2. The 1881 figures refer to the new workhouse at Shap.

**Table I.** Inmates at Eamont Bridge Workhouse, summarized from Census returns.

The totals in Table I merely show the tip of the pauper 'iceberg'. Quarterly accounts in the workhouse minutes indicate that, of West Ward's 7,968 population in 1838, nearly 7% were paupers. In an extreme parish like Crosby-Ravensworth, where 11.7% of the population were poor, there were twenty times as many paupers receiving out-door relief as there were parish inmates in the workhouse but the cost per head was less than for most other parishes whose inmates spent about twice as long in the institution at a unit cost of about 3¾d per day. For the purpose of this article, however, we must examine the effects of this depressing poverty on the workhouse structure. On 4 January 1837, for example, it was agreed that one James Bell should be paid £8. 2s. to erect a shed (he finding posts etc.) where paupers could break stones.

In 1851, Mannex's *Directory*<sup>50</sup> reported the house 'capable of containing seventy-three paupers' and the minute books give an indication of how this was achieved. On 28 March 1838 the Guardians accepted an offer by John Cowper's agent to lease the house at £3 per year for seven, fourteen or twenty-one years determinable by the tenant, with an additional rent of 7½% for any money laid out in improvements. Presumably, the first lease had been for seven years and the Guardians were seeking the security to justify changes<sup>51</sup> which were itemised on 3 July 1839. They decided that (Fig. 4c):

1. The workhouse was to be divided into two parts to separate the sexes.
2. The front room on the right (south) was to be the dining room for men and boys; the open archway between this and the back room was to be closed up and the doorway leading from the front passage to the principal staircase was to be barred by a locked door.
3. Men and boys were to approach their bedrooms by passing through the Master's day room (in the north-west corner) and up the spiral staircase, out of which a door was to be broken to lead to their bedrooms on the third floor. Another door was to separate the principal staircase from the mens' division on both second and third floors.<sup>52</sup>
4. The room behind the mens' day room was to become the day room for women and girls. It required an additional window. Females were to use the principal staircase to reach their bedrooms at the southern end of the second and third floors.

5. The attics were to be divided into separate rooms for boys and girls corresponding with the staircases, if required.
6. The wash house was to be rebuilt according to a plan (not found) at the north end of the old building and the rooms over it were to be occupied by women with bastard children. The yard behind was for their use and was to be separated from the yard behind the womens' day room by a wall with a locked doorway.
7. If necessary the rooms over the wash house were to be used as a hospital and the women with bastards were to be disposed in the attics or amongst the other females as convenient.
8. Men and boys were to use the front yard and the garden at the south end (in which a privy was to occupy the north-east corner). High doors wide enough to admit a cart were to be set between the south end of the house and the garden wall to isolate the womens' yard behind the building from the mens' garden.
9. The doors of the wash house and laundry were to enter from the west out of the womens' garden, instead of from the east out of the yard appropriated to the women with bastard children.
10. The womens' garden at the north end was to have a locked door blocking access from the mens' front yard; access to it from the womens' yard behind was to be by a passage between the new wash house and the principal building.
11. A privy for women and girls was to be erected in the south-east corner of the womens' back yard and a privy for the other women was to be at the rear of their own yard.

Part of the work was completed by 15 July 1840 when £5 additional rent was agreed and Richard Addison (Cowper's agent) wanted £18. 7s. 6d. more rent annually to cover further improvements for which the lowest estimate was £245. Presumably this was the cost of the new wash house which was later converted into three cottages, now two. The full rent of £29. 5s. a half year was first paid on 16 June 1841. Many minor repairs are recorded in the minutes but the building was not extended again. The Union's medical officer William Irving (a surgeon from Netherend, Penrith) inspected the premises on 25 January 1842, expressed great satisfaction about hygiene and judged that there was now accommodation for fifty-one in the house as well as twenty-two others, presumably over the wash house. The strict segregation of sexes and the isolation of unmarried mothers, over half of whom had two or three children and who accounted for a doubling of the workhouse population in 1851-61, were clearly motivated by a contemporary desire to protect moral standards. Few married couples would have welcomed such a regime (Table I).

In 1851 the guardians considered buying the workhouse from Mr Cowper for £1,500 but, 'owing to the decreased and decreasing state of pauperism', they decided to continue the lease for seven more years. The reluctance of both parties to invest more capital on improvements resulted amongst other things, in inadequate accommodation for coping with infectious diseases. Hence, in 1862, a child died during a measles outbreak and in October 1869 there

were eight cases of typhoid fever from which two died, followed the next April by a pregnant woman who caught the same disease when she entered the workhouse for her confinement. It was considered that such a small establishment could not benefit from economies of scale so, in January 1862, Inspector Hurst recommended that the two north Westmorland poor law unions should co-operate in building a large new workhouse in a more central location. Although East Ward rejected this proposal in 1863, Cowper was sufficiently self-interested to give his guardians notice to quit in 1864, but was persuaded to extend the lease for a few more years.

In their search for alternative premises, the guardians bought a site at Great Strickland in 1865 but, after much expence and finding there was no water supply, they sold it in October 1866. Suggestions to link with the Penrith Union were rejected as too expensive. Then, in December 1870, Frederick Cowper offered to sell the house for £800 plus £150 an acre for land behind it and an agreement was signed in September 1872.<sup>53</sup> The guardians engaged Messrs Cory & Ferguson, architects of Carlisle, to make plans for a re-organisation to meet the Local Government Board's regulations and, on 30 April 1873, agreed to ask the Board 'that their order to close the Workhouse should at least be suspended if not withdrawn'. In July, plans 'submitted to the Board of Guardians on June 25th 1873 for the re-arrangement of the Buildings on the Eamont Bridge site' were accepted and forwarded to the L.G.B. who relented and issued an order 'to purchase the Old Workhouse, Yards, Gardens & Land' on 4 February 1874 and approved the plans on 2 April.<sup>54</sup> However, a letter from a Mr. Jameson, dated 24 June 1874, was minuted on 8 July: 'I beg to inform the Board of Guardians that Mr. Cowper, not being able to obtain the concurrence of his [farm] Tenant Alex<sup>r</sup> McDougal,<sup>55</sup> is unable to sell the Workhouse and premises comprised in the Order of the Local Government Board of 4th Feby 1874'. The guardians then found they had no proper authority to pay the architect's expenses until an order from the L.G.B., dated 9 April 1875, allowed them to send a cheque for £107. 1s. 6d.

On 15 July 1874, Frederick Cowper wrote from 15 Harley Street London replying to the guardians' letter of 9 July, in which they had asked to be released from their tenancy. He would 'with pleasure at once accept possession of the premises . . .'. The guardians resolved that the keys be given to Mr Mounsey, Cowper's agent, on 29 July and that the Clerk write to Mr Cowper to 'thank him for taking the House off the Hands of the Guardians'. If this relieved them of one burden, they now faced several problems including lack of accommodation for the inmates. The East Ward

Union had agreed to take six females and children 'at 7s. 6d. a week each, funerals extra, at cost' and Penrith later took two men, two women and a bastard.<sup>56</sup> The guardians decided 'that the Furniture and Books [should] be removed at once to the house of Mr. Watt, the Crown Hotel, Eamont Bridge and that Mr. William Burton, late master of the workhouse [should] be instructed to make an Inventory and superintend the Removal . . .'. On 5 August, he was paid £6. 14s. for this work and on 2 September the guardians 'Rec'd from Thomas Hodgson £18. 10s. for Sale of Workhouse Goods & Chattels sold in Pub[lic] Auction'.

After only one meeting at the Crown Hotel, the guardians transferred to the Lowther Castle Inn at Hackthorpe to which they moved their table and two dozen chairs, the iron bedsteads and some other items for storage. Two more attempts to obtain a new workhouse site were unsuccessful until, late in 1874, they bought land at Shap from the Hudson family. The new workhouse, designed by William Perkins & Sons of Leeds and built by Thomas Thwaites & Son of Kendal at a cost of £5,500, was completed on 10 October 1877. It is now known as Brackenber Lodge at the southern end of Shap near the Greyhound Inn. It was intended to house sixty inmates but, at the 1881 census, only twenty-three were recorded of whom seven were children, eight were local adults and eight were outsiders from Manchester, Scotland, Aldershot etc. This contrasts with the paupers previously occupying the Mansion House who were almost all local.

Repaired, adapted and let out to new tenants, the Mansion House was listed last in the Eamont Bridge section of the 1881 census and was called 'No. 16; Old Workhouse'. It housed four working class families as follows:

James Dixon (39), agricultural labourer, his wife and two children	4
Hugh McNenemy (35), carter in provision warehouse, wife and children	4
Thomas Rose (64), farm labourer, his wife and three children	6
Cain Farrer (51), fireman at Waterworks, his wife and four children	5
	6
<b>Total</b>	<b>21</b>

In addition, Christopher Lamb (67), clerk in a seed warehouse, lived at no. 14 and in Bulmer's 1885 *Directory* was described as 'assistant overseer, The Old Mansion, Eamont Bridge'. Perhaps, therefore, he, George Watt (no. 13) and Thomas Chisholm (no. 15) lived in the three cottages created from the wash house built in 1840. Kelly's *Directory* of 1897 says it was 'now occupied by seven families' and the Inland Revenue plan of about 1912 shows how the house was divided (Fig. 4b) but their schedule of occupiers has not been found. Later directories refer to the multiple tenements but give few names, suggesting that the occupiers were mostly of lowly social status.<sup>57</sup>

When the 467 acre Carleton Hall estate was auctioned by Penrith Farmers' & Kidd's Ltd. at St. Andrew's Hall, Penrith on 24 September 1947, for Major G.T.M. Carleton Cowper, Lot 9 was 'The Old Mansion House and 3 Cottages'. The house was occupied by T.E. Noble, J. Winskill, Mrs. Telford and M. Sowerby and the cottages by D. Pattinson, J. Scott and R. Bell, all having two-bedroomed accommodation.<sup>58</sup> Mr. R.W. Leeming of Skirsgill Park, a mile west of Eamont Bridge, bought the whole but then, about 1952, sold to the sitting tenants. Mr. Noble sold his quarter to Mrs. C.M. White (who then lived in the northern half of the main house), in order to buy the cottages. Subsequent transactions have been described already.

This account, despite numerous omissions, provides the first detailed history of this intriguing Cumbrian house of considerable architectural merit. It could not have been attempted properly before the deposit and listing of the Carleton-Cowper archive and has revealed several distinct phases which may be summarized. From obscure beginnings the original property and house descended through the Brougham family until it was sold in 1672 to the Revd. Rowland Borrow whose own origins are not well documented. Fourteen years later, and after over twenty years marriage to Lucy (again obscure), he built the present little-altered structure for £700. How he could afford to do so and who he employed remain unknown, but the quality and durability of the work was outstanding. Perhaps the structure has survived so well because, since the early eighteenth century, the house has never been inhabited by owners who might have wished to keep up with architectural fashion. Instead, over a century of letting to tenants was followed in 1832 by over forty years as a workhouse of unusual character. A further century as multiple tenements produced only superficial alterations and it was left to modern commercial interests to restore the house and care for it in a manner it deserves. Rowland and Lucy Borrow might well have approved!

## Appendix

### **The Affairs of Robert Patten at Eamont Bridge**

As Rowland Borrow's son-in-law and as an interesting but almost forgotten inhabitant of Eamont Bridge, Robert Patten (alias Paton) deserves attention in this article. He is best known for his first-hand account of the *History of the Late Rebellion*, published in 1717,<sup>59</sup> in which he described himself simply (p.151) as 'Robert

Patten one of the Chaplains [to General Forster], Minister of Allandale Northumberland: He saved his Life by being an Evidence for the King'. For this act he earned lasting contempt as 'Creeping Bob' in Sir W. Besant's novel *Dorothy Forster*.

The earliest notice of him in Cumbria is in Bishop William Nicolson's *Diaries* in 1702: '20 Sept. Sunday. My first Ordination in ye Cathedral [at Carlisle]. Ordained three Deacons 1. Rob. Paton A.M. of Glasgow; one of good note there but too affectionate . . . to Episcopacy. Br. in Law to Mr. R. Whittingdale . . .'.<sup>60</sup> By 1704 he had become curate at St. Andrew's, Penrith but established a poor relationship with the vicar, Dr. Hugh Todd (d.1728). The bishop noted, on 2 October 1704: 'Munday. At Dinner, Mr. Burrow of Hutton . . . Afternoon, Mr. Patten complaining of Dr. Todd's hard service (48 sermons in 8 months) and short pay'. Again, On 31 August 1705: 'Afternoon, Mr. Paton with his long case on difference with Dr. Todd who, without any Allowance of mine, turns him off & takes a new curate'. On 27 September, with two archdeacons as witnesses, the bishop heard Todd's case and decided that 'Mr. Paton [should] officiate again as Curate till ye end of October and then, for his misbehaviour towards ye Dr, to be removed from Penrith'. Despite this judgement, the St. Andrew's registers recorded, on 22 November 1705, the baptism of Isabel daughter of Mr. Robert Paton, Curate and Anne his wife.<sup>61</sup>

By 1706 Patten had become perpetual curate at Allendale, doing 'service there once a month' at a salary of £8 a year plus rents making a total of less than £25 a year.<sup>62</sup> He continued his feud with Todd, the bishop noting, on 25 March 1706: 'Easter Monday . . . Mr. Paton goeing to sue Dr. T. for Defamation' and again, on 3 July 1707: 'Thursday, d[ined with] Mr. Paton who promises a large Acct in writing of Dr. T's lewd and loose Behaviour . . .'. A week later he returned 'with Informations (in writing) agt ye Dr' and, on 21 July 'Dr. Todd came & begged Blessing & Remission promising a future Obedience . . .'. On this evidence, Patten probably had a good case but, had he suffered in silence or pursued it differently, he might have been given the chance to succeed Rowland Borrow at Clifton in November 1707, rather than the bishop thinking 'fit to deal roundly with him'. The extent to which these events and Patten's lack of advancement affected his attitudes in 1715 can only be surmized, but his part in the Rebellion can be outlined from his own words.

Robert Patten appears to have joined the insurgents at Kelso on 22 October with other Northumbrians led by the Earl of Derwentwater under the command of General Forster. To obtain funds as they approached Penrith, 'Mr. Patten being acquainted

with the Country and having formerly been Curate of that Town, was ordered out with a Party of Horse to intercept the Bishop of Carlisle' but Forster countermanded the order 'and directed him to march . . . to Eamont Bridge . . . to beset a House where he was told he should find his Brother-in-Law Mr. Johnston, Collector of the Salt Tax whom he was ordered to take Prisoner'. He failed but took several of the Sheriff's men prisoner without bloodshed. Patten was almost captured but survived to read prayers at Kirkby Lonsdale and Lancaster churches. He acted as a courier at Preston until his horse was shot from under him and he then tended the wounded. His account dwells on the more important participants and events however. Bishop Nicolson, writing to William Wake (Archbishop of Canterbury) on 24 November 1716, made his opinion quite clear: 'We have one witness, with the very sight of whom . . . I am much offended. 'Tis the Revd. Mr. Patten; Paul's fellow-prisoner in bonds, but another sort of martyr. This fellow's character is no notorious in this county, that the King's cause must need's suffer by his being produced as an evidence'.<sup>63</sup> At least that evidence saved his neck.

He could hardly return to his curacy in Northumberland but became better off on a state pension. On 8 August 1722, a Royal Warrant ordered Walter Chetwynd Esq., Paymaster:<sup>64</sup>

. . . over and above the Annual pension of Fifty pounds which wee by Warrant under Our Royal Sign Manual bearing date the 16th day of July 1717 have directed . . . to be . . . paid by you unto Robert Patten . . . require that . . . you pay . . . the said Robert Patten . . . the further Annual pension of Thirty pounds from Midsummer last past 1722 during Our pleasure by Quarterly payments . . .

As if in repentance, gratitude or even desperation to achieve anonymity, Patten became a chaplain in the Royal Navy, serving on the *Hampton Court* and *Royal Oak* in 1718, the *Nassau* and *Dartmouth* in 1720 and the *Lyon* in 1729, his last traceable appointment.<sup>65</sup> Presumably, the additional income from these posts helped him to buy various properties at Eamont Bridge close to his wife's family.

In the Carleton Cowper archive a deed,<sup>66</sup> dated 4 August 1725, records that for £11 Henry Hall of Workington, sold to 'Robert Patton of Eamont Bridge, late Chaplain of his Majesties ship the *Dartmouth* . . . All that dwelling house & garden . . . adjoining to Mr. Thomas Pattinson's Orchard on the one side and the Gate leading into the Low Field on the other side . . . a half tenement' of yearly customary rent sixpence. This description is compatible with the position of the later Park Holme, an early nineteenth-century house immediately south of the Mansion House (Fig. 4b). Patten was already involved in local affairs as an overseer



Fig. 6

The Beehive Inn, Eamont Bridge, viewed from the west. Its front door lintel is inscribed with the initials of Robert and Anne Patten who built it as a house in 1727 when he was about to retire from naval chaplaincies.

of the poor in Barton parish in 1725<sup>67</sup> and had begun to accumulate a small estate perhaps to re-invest his wife's share from the Mansion House sale in 1724. He bought the following properties:<sup>68</sup>

Deed date	Vendor	Area	Property description	Cust. Rent	Admitted by Manor Court
9 Mar 24	Henry Hall	1r.	Land 'in town fields of Eamont Br'	4d.	1 Jly 24
14 May 24	John Hall	½ a.	Land 'in town fields Eamont Br'	6d.	1 Jly 24
	Ann Layburne	1r.	Land between river Lowther & Patten's Syke Lands	2d.	5 May 25
4 Aug 25	Henry Hall		House and garden	6d.	6 Jne 28
14 Nov 27	Dudley Brougham	3r.	Land called Syke Lands	1s.6d.	18 Jne 29
	John Brougham	1a.	Land called Bowden's Hill	1s.0d.	12 Jly 32

Note: In 1728 the Court also noted 'We amerce Mr. Patton for 3 load of coals 2s.3d.'

Patten probably rented Syke Lands before buying it from Dudley Brougham and as Ann Layburne's land lay between it and the river

Lowther, Patten must have bought all the land south of the Mansion House, the field-name Brougham Close reflecting the previous or subsequent ownership. Significantly, the Beehive Inn has R<sup>PA</sup> 1727 inscribed over the front door (Fig. 6), indicating that it was built by Robert and Anne Patten in preparation for his retirement from naval chaplaincies. He died only six years later aged a little over fifty.

The Clifton parish registers record that, on 11 November 1733, 'The Revd. Mr. Rob Patten of Eamont Bridge was Buried'. Thus, on 19 June 1734, the Manor Court admitted his son Robert Patten (born 3 January 1712 at Allendale) to all of the properties listed above. He became a lawyer in Penrith and married Alice Snell at Askham on 30 September 1736.<sup>69</sup> By a deed dated 29 March 1742, he sold all but one of his father's properties to Thomas Brougham of Halifax for £170.<sup>70</sup> The exception was Henry Hall's cottage site which Patten sold for £8 to John Fidler, a miller of Eamont Bridge, on 24 February 1852. The cottage had been demolished and a £20 bond indemnified Fidler against Anne Patten's widow right.<sup>71</sup> She was buried at Clifton on 22 October 1756 aged 77 and her son Robert was buried at Penrith on 3 February 1757. Eventually, on 14 May 1794, Thomas Brougham, a lieutenant in Bengal (son of Peter Brougham) and his mortgagee, John Robinson of Watermillock near Patterdale, sold 'All that Dwelling house, Barn, byar, Stable and Garden formerly Patten's . . . the Croft formerly Patten's, 2 acres . . . Bowders Hill, 1 acre' and other land for £1,600 to John Rittson, a bleacher of Eamont Bridge who, two weeks later, sold them to Mrs Elizabeth Wallace of Carleton Hall, Penrith.<sup>72</sup>

Robert Patten's inventory, appraised on 5 February 1733/4 lists ten rooms in his house: kitchen, pantry, parlour, brewhouse, milkhouse & cellar, room over the kitchen, little room adjacent, middle room, dining room and servant's room. His effects were valued at £64 including £10 for books in the middle room, £11 for corn & hay, £6. 10s. for black cattle and £12 for his purse, apparel, horse and riding accoutrements. This gives the impression of an active, scholarly smallholder living quietly and simply. Although his account remains the classic work on the 1715 uprising, his grave slab close to the south side of Clifton chancel was broken up by masons repairing the church in 1850.<sup>73</sup> The Beehive Inn<sup>74</sup> therefore offers an alternative monument to commemorate this turbulent priest. Perhaps inclusion in the English Heritage trail, which passes the door on the way to the ancient monuments of the Round Table and Mayburgh nearby, would allow tourists an opportunity to take refreshment whilst reflecting on a sad episode in British history.

## NOTES AND REFERENCES

1. For example, R.W. Brunskill, 'The Development of the Larger House in the Eden Valley', *Cumberland & Westmorland Antiquarian & Archaeological Society, Transactions*, lvii (1957), 90-3; R.W. Brunskill, *Vernacular Architecture of the Lake Counties*, 1974, 44-5; N. Pevsner, *Buildings of England (Cumberland & Westmorland)*, 1967, 236. Historical comment is scarce.
2. Now (1986) proprietor of the Brantwood Hotel, Stainton, two miles south-west of Penrith.
3. Bought from Sir John Pattinson of Park Holme, Eamont Bridge which, until 1947, was part of the Carleton Hall estate of Major G.T.M. Carleton Cowper.
4. Cumbria Record Office (C.R.O.), Carlisle, D/Lons/W, Harbour papers (unsorted).
5. C.R.O., Carlisle, D/Lons/L/YE, 8 and 9.
6. C.R.O., Carlisle P. 1707, Copy of will.
7. In fact his commemorative slab lies south of the altar under a carpet. Its top line is partly obscured by the communion rail. It reads:  
 Here Lyeth y<sup>c</sup> Body of  
 ROWLAND BORROW A M  
 R[ec]t<sup>r</sup> of Clifton 39 & of  
 Brougham 26 YEARS  
 The bottom is cut off by a stone commemorating John Robinson DD, rector from 1818 to 1847. The inscription corrects the version offered by Edward Bellasis in *Westmorland Church Notes*, i, (1888), 176 when the *bottom* line was obscured by the rail which has now been moved to the edge of the top step.
8. A suggestion made independently by Denis Perriam of the Cumbria County Architect's Department, Carlisle, in a private communication in February 1986.
9. C.R.O., Carlisle, Carleton Cowper papers, D/CC/2/12.
10. On the Yanwath & Eamont Bridge Tithe Map (1843), Crabtree Lands comprised three fields totalling almost 13 acres, another third of which was included in the conveyance on 14 May 1794 of a house, buildings and land 'formerly Patten's' bought two weeks later by Mrs. Elizabeth Wallace of Carleton Hall. The vendors were Thomas Brougham (a lieutenant in Bengal) and his mortgagee John Robinson of Watermillock (C.R.O., Carlisle, D/CC/2/9). The other third has not been traced.
11. The Manor was bought by Sir John Lowther (1605-1675) in 1654 from Christopher Dudley (1607-1667) of Yanwath Hall. R.S. Boumphrey, C.R. Hudleston, and J. Hughes, *Armorial for Westmorland and Lonsdale*, 1975, 106, 192.
12. At Sir William Dugdale's Visitation to Cumberland in 1665, Henry Brougham of Scales was twenty-seven years old, the eldest of seven sons and one daughter of Thomas Brougham who, through his father Henry and grandfather Peter, was descended from the Broughams of Brougham in Westmorland. It is likely, therefore, that when the Yanwath & Eamont Bridge Manor Court admitted 'Henry Brougham the eldest sonne and heire of Thomas Brougham Gent, late of Edmondbrigg' to a customary tenement on 6 March 1649/50, the property was the fore-runner of the Mansion House. Henry's father died in 1648. Joseph Foster (Ed.), *Visitation . . .*, n.d.
13. J.E.B. Mayor, *Admissions to the College of St. John the Evangelist . . .*, i (1882), 132-3 and J.A. Venn, *Alumni Cantabrigiensis*, part i, A-C.
14. No will has survived but his inventory made on 10 June 1640 mentions his widow Elizabeth and comprised only the goods one would expect of a small farmer, valued at £17.14s.10d. Lancashire R.O., Archdeaconry of Richmond wills.
15. Joshua was awarded BA in 1686-7 and was licenced curate at Stanwix, Carlisle, on 2 February 1690/1. His first wife Lydia was buried at Hutton on 9 February 1702/3. He remarried at St. Bees on 15 April 1706, to Katherine Robertson of Whitehaven, daughter of Thomas and Joyce Curwen. She had married Ebenezer Robinson [sic] on 28 March 1699 and had children Thomas (d.1701 aged 1) and Joyce (bap. 7 May 1702). Borrow's children were Margaret (1707), Curwen (1708), Elizabeth (1711) and Thomas (1713). Curwen Borrow was admitted to Christ's, Cambridge on 16 April 1726 from Kirkby Lonsdale School; BA 1729-30; ordained deacon at Carlisle 1730; priest 1737. (Venn, *Alumni*). As

- curate at Clifton, he married Mary Munkhouse 'a Mantoe Maker' at Penrith on 2 January 1744/5 and had children Joshua (1745) and Katherin (1750) baptized at Clifton, where he was buried on 29 May 1777 aged 70.
16. J.D. Marshall (Ed), *Autobiography of William Stout* . . . , 1967, 72 and 247.
  17. Namely Agnes (1625), Elizabetha (1627), Thomas (1628), *Timotheus* (1629), Robtus (1629), Margareta (1630), Maria (1633), Simeon (1634), John (1635), Samuel (1636), Maria (1638), *Rowland* (1640).
  18. C.R.O., Carlisle, DRC/5/2, pp. 129, 195, 265 etc. In 1665 Christopher Langhorne was curate at Dacre and Thomas Robinson the parson.
  19. C.R.O., Carlisle, DRC/1/4, Bishop's Register 1660-1683.
  20. J.E.B. Mayor, *op. cit.*, ii, 70 states that a John Bell, aged 20 and born at Langwathby, Cumberland, son of John Bell, husbandman, was admitted to St. John's College Cambridge on 22 June 1678, noting 'school Penreth (Mr. Burrough)'. Thus, either Rowland Borrow's career as schoolmaster continued for a decade beyond the evidence offered by the Bishop's Register or the admission date should be 1668. Unfortunately the Langwathby registers are illegible for 1648 and 1658, but in 1646 Thomas Bell son of John Bell was christened there.
  21. On 10 March 1697/8, the baptism of 'Lennard son of Mr. Benjamin Smith' was entered in the registers of both Brougham and Clifton by Rowland Borrow who kept them at his house. Benjamin was probably baptised at Lowther on 20 February 1672/3, the eighth of ten children of William Smith, rector of Lowther who died in December 1675.
  22. The St. Bees registers record the baptism of Richard and John twin sons of Francis Stainton of Whitehaven on 29 September 1702, three months before Rowland Borrow made his will, and also the burial of Dorothy, wife of Francis Stainton on 25 November 1704. The Mormon Microfiche offers no other suitable Richard. Francis seems to have been the son of Richard Stainton of St. Bees, baptized in October 1677.
  23. Eamont Bridge was within the eastern margin of Barton parish formed by the river Lowther (Fig. 4a).
  24. J.F. Curwen, *Later Records of North Westmorland*, 1932, 300.
  25. J. Nicolson & R. Burn, *History . . . of Westmorland & Cumberland*, 1777, i, 416.
  26. B. Nightingale, *The Ejected of 1662* . . . , 1911, ii, 1248; Nicolson & Burn, *op. cit.*, i, 392; Boumphrey, Hudleston & Hughes, *op. cit.*, 301-2.
  27. G.C. Williamson, *Lady Anne Clifford* . . . , 1922, 305-7.
  28. Brougham was valued in the King's books at £16.10s.7½d., Clifton similarly £8.3s.4d. and Lady Anne Clifford's first husband's chaplains had £40 per year. Nicolson & Burn, *op. cit.*, i, 390, 415; G.C. Williamson, *op. cit.*, 306.
  29. Revd. Thomas Machell of Kirkby Thore (1647-98) claimed to have worked on Caesar's Tower, the impressive keep at Appleby Castle. H.M. Colvin suggests that he might have been responsible for the East Range and that his associate Edward Addison might have built the Mansion House (*Biographical Dictionary of British Architects*, 1978, 532, 60). Firm evidence awaits discovery, however.
  30. C.R.O., Kendal, WPR/45, Churchwardens' accounts included in the Clifton parish register; C.R.O., Carlisle, Bishop's Miscellany Accounts, 68; Quoted more fully in C.M.L. Bouch, 'The Churchwardens' Accounts of Clifton, Westmorland', *CWAASoc. Transactions*, xlix (1949), 160-2. Edward Bellasis, *Westmorland Church Notes*, 1888, 177, quoting Hill Mss., vi, 87, 89.
  31. 'Bishop Nicolson's Diaries', *CWAASoc., Transactions*, 2nd series, vols ii to v.
  32. J.F. Curwen, *op. cit.*, 301 and B. Nightingale, *op. cit.*, ii, 953.
  33. Clifton parish register. On 20 August 1703, Bishop Nicolson (Misc. A/cs, 68) noted that the registers of both parishes were kept at Borrow's house. The Earl's estate was at Kilruddery, near Bray, Co. Wicklow. In 1671 he married Elizabeth 2nd dau. of Francis Lennard, Lord Dacre of Dacre near Penrith (Burke's *Peerage*, 1923, p. 1538).
  34. Elizabeth was buried at Ormside on 14 March 1709/10, the same day as her youngest child Susan was baptized. The other children were John (1696), Roger (1698), Mary (1699), Thomas (1701), Ann (1702), *Lancelot* (1706), William (1707), Elizabeth (1707), then Susan. Their father was buried at Melmerby on 29 November 1742.
  35. C.R.O., Carlisle, D/CC/2/15, Deeds 1769-1808. The garden opposite was not sold until 1796.
  36. A note says that Busky Holme was sold to William Brougham of Brougham Hall on 10 October 1853.
  37. The ownership of Carleton Hall estate from about 1700 must be outlined. When Robert Carleton (b.1656), the last in the male line, was buried at Penrith on 9 September

1703, he was heavily in debt and his wife Joan (*née* Frere) quickly married Robert Lowther (1681-1745) of Maulds Meaburn Hall as her fourth husband. She died in 1722. A deed (D/CC/2/46), dated 1 August 1721, recites that Mary Carleton (late of Carleton Hall and then St. Andrew's Holborn, Middlesex), spinster, only daughter and heir of Robert Carleton, had been sued in the High Court by Robert and Joan Lowther. Three decrees issued in 1711, 1716 and 1717 ordered the estate to be sold to the best purchaser. About 15 February 1721, John Pattenson of Netherend, Penrith agreed to raise £4,450 to buy the estate, the best offer despite several notices in the *Gazette*. The Master of the Court awarded Joan Lowther £200 dower plus £1,472. 8s. 4½d. for principal, interest and costs and £2,777. 11s. 7½d. to Mary Carleton.

- This John Pattenson (bap. 16 April 1681, youngest brother of Thomas Pattenson (1673-1742) of Breeks Hall) married Elizabeth Lough (d.1723) of Blencarn on 2 February 1706/7 and was buried on 28 August 1721 leaving an only son Christopher. On 12 February 1742, Christopher bequeathed his estates to his three sisters Elizabeth (m. Thomas Simpson), Dorothy (m. John Raincock) and Mary (m. William Aderton). Amongst other bequests he left ten guineas each to Revd. Lancelot Pattenson of Melmerby (his first cousin) and Margaret his wife (D/CC/2/21). Christopher Pattenson was buried on 19 January 1756 and, on 27 April 1764 (*ibid.*), his three sisters agreed to divide his estates so that Mary (widowed) had lands at Culgaith, Temple Sowerby, Blencarn and Low Hall and Dorothy had properties at Penrith, Cockermouth, Dundraw, Allonby and Kelsick Hall. Carleton Hall and other properties went to Elizabeth Simpson, she to pay each sister £149. 3s. 9d. to equalise the estate values and John Raincock to pay Mary Aderton £100 likewise. Elizabeth's husband Thomas Simpson (1706-1768), attorney and successively agent to the Duke of Somerset (1747), Lord Egremont and the Duke of Portland, died two months before their son Hugh (1733-1768), whose sister Elizabeth (1741-1811) succeeded, having just (1767) married James Wallace. He bought the Mansion House nine years later. C.R. Hudleston, R.S. Boumphrey, *Cumberland Families & Heraldry*, 1978, 52-3, 255-6, 307, 355 &c.
38. C.R.O., Carlisle, D/CC/2/48.
  39. The name and area suggest that Wallace bought this garden with Crabtree Lands in 1796. On this plot was built 'St. John's chapel of ease, an iron structure consisting of nave only . . . the site given by Frederick Cowper Esq. & is held by the payment by the vicar of Barton of 1s. yearly'. Kelly's *Directory of Westmorland*, 1894, 33. 'An iron church was erected in the village in 1871 [sic] at a cost of £360 raised by subscription. It will seat 150 persons'. T.F. Bulmer, *Directory of Westmorland*, 1885, 303. The lease, dated 1873, survives in Barton Parish Records, C.R.O., Kendal, WPR/93, I, 20.
  40. Hudleston & Boumphrey, *op. cit.*, 73.
  41. C.R.O., Kendal, WPR 93/3, Vestry Minutes and 93/2, Poor Account Book.
  42. Gilbert's Act of 1782 which empowered parishes to form unions and build a workhouse.
  43. They were soon joined by the parishes of Bampton and Cliburn and by the townships of Sockbridge/Low Barton, Yanwath & Eamont Bridge (Barton parish) and Morland (parish of Morland). West Ward Union minute, 4 January 1837.
  44. On 21 September 1836, the Guardians found a 'quantity of beds &c belonging to the parishes & townships of the former Union, kept separate so that the overseers know which belong to their own parish . . . Like utensils, furniture, materials for clothing, garden crops and pigs, they were to be valued before parishes contributed more 'to the common fund for providing such articles'.
  45. C.R.O., Kendal, SPU/W, Minute Books of West Ward Union, 1836-1930. The volume for 1868-72 is missing. Shap parish (WPR/84) kept a copy of the regulations and the Commissioners' order to join the new Union on 6 September 1836.
  46. i.e., Askham, Bampton, Barton, Brougham, Cliburn, Clifton, Crosby-Ravensworth, Lowther, Morland and Shap. The East Ward had fifteen parishes with a workhouse for 100 at Kirkyb Stephen, converted from an abandoned factory in 1816 for £2,000.
  47. They resigned in December 1841 aged fifty-five and thirty-five respectively (Census; Minutes 1, 147). Their successors from March 1842 were George Clark (aged sixty-seven in 1851) a Greenwich Pensioner, born at Dalston, Cumberland, and his wife Mary, born at Rochester, Kent in 1795.
  48. The room was described as unfurnished and needing a table, two dozen common chairs and fire irons.
  49. R. Thompson, *The New Poor Law in Cumberland & Westmorland, 1834-1871*, Ph.D. Thesis, University of Newcastle, 1976, 325, 345. Copy at C.R.O. Kendal.
  50. Mannex & Co., . . . *Directory of Westmorland and . . . Lonsdale . . .*, 1851, 209.

51. Suggested by Sir John Walsham, Bart., Assistant Poor Law Commissioner. Minute, 19 June 1839.
  52. The ground floor was counted as the first floor.
  53. On 21 January 1874, Capt. Frank Markham (of Morland Hall) proposed that an additional £12. 12s. should be paid to Cowper 'in consideration of the lapse in time and increase in the cost of building since . . . September 1872 when the original agreement . . . was signed', but the minute book for that period is missing. The following details are stated: 'Old Buildings, less £21 allowed for frontage, £779 [i.e. £800 total]; 2700[square] yards extra acreage £83.13s.6d.; Allowed for Old Farm Buildings [behind the house] which will now become the property of the Board, £589.12s.; Total £1452.5s.6d.'. Presumably the farm building had been valued originally at £577.
  54. Minutes 22 July 1874 and 17 March 1875.
  55. Electoral Lists for Yanwath & Eamont Bridge include him as 'Occupier of house and land of £50 per annum & upwards at Eamont Bridge' and give his home as Brunswick Square, Penrith. Entries continue until 1887 when his home was at Wordsworth Street, Penrith.
  56. Minutes 10 December 1873 and 24 November 1875.
  57. Bulmer's *Directory* (1905), mentions Mrs. Martha Wright, Old Mansion, E. Bridge.
  58. Sale catalogue kindly loaned by Mr. J.L. Noble, son of Mr. T.E. Noble.
  59. Patten's other published work was *The Rebel Convinced and Liberty Maintained* . . . (1718), 28pp., in which he explained why he became 'a dutiful subject to His Majesty'. Copy at British Museum Library, (1141 c.22).
  60. Patten probably matriculated at Glasgow in 1697 and was still a theology student in 1700. However, the University Archivist has been unable to find his graduation there. R. Whittingdale must have married Patten's sister but remains unidentified. Patten should not be confused with ministers of the same name at Caldbeck, Cumberland c.1700-2 and at Dumfries, Annandale (the latter mentioned in Bishop Nicolson's *Diaries* in 1718).
  61. Patten's marriage to Anne Borrow has not been found; it might have coincided with a gap in the Clifton registers. Their other children, baptized at St. Cuthbert's Allendale, were Jane (1707), Matthew (1710), Robert (1711/2), John (1712/3) and Jane (1716). Northumberland R.O., EP1/2.
  62. *History of Northumberland*, vol iv, Hexhamshire, pp 77-81.
  63. British Museum, Add. Mss. 6116.
  64. Bodleian Library, ADD. D4, fol.52. 'Original Warrants for Pensions . . .'. A marginal note refers to the beneficiary as having been King's Evidence.
  65. Gordon Taylor, *The Sea Chaplains*, 1978, 148.
  66. C.R.O., Carlisle, D/CC/2/40.
  67. One of nine overseeing the distribution of £6 annually under the terms of Agnes Dudley's will (1671). C.R.O., Kendal, Barton parish registers.
  68. C.R.O., Carlisle, D/Lons/L/YE 8 and 9. Manor Court verdicts.
  69. Alice was buried at Penrith on 4 January 1755. Their children were John (1737-41), Robert (1740-2), Burrow (1742-), William (1744-44), Thomas (1745-), Grace (1747-), Anthony (1749-).
  70. Yanwath and Eamont Bridge Manor Court, 11 June 1742.
  71. D/CC/2/40.
  72. D/CC/2/9.
  73. Edward Bellasis, *Westmorland Church Notes*, 1888, 181.
  74. One can dismiss the claim of Kenneth Smith (*Cumbrian Villages*, 1973, 57) that the inn was kept by a Jacobite chaplain after the failure of the 1745 Rebellion. The Beehive Inn appears in local directories only from the 1858 *Post Office Directory* when Joseph Jopson was landlord. Later proprietors included Isaac Longrigg (*Kelly's*, 1873), James Scott (*Bulmer's*, 1885), Henry Crabtree (*Kelly's*, 1894), John Hanson Taylor (*Bulmer's*, 1905; *Kelly's*, 1914 and 1921), William Farnbell (*Kelly's*, 1929 and 1934).
-

**ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS**

I am grateful to Mr. R.J. Woodland, General Manager of H. & W. Welfare Ltd. for his cooperation in allowing me to examine the Mansion House and to Mr. Hudson Irving for guiding me round the property. Mr. J.L. Noble of Mansion Cottage very kindly lent me the deeds of his house and offered most stimulating discussion. Jeremy Godwin of the Cumbria Record Office, Carlisle has given invaluable help on numerous points of detail and catalogued the Carleton Cowper archive. As always Bruce Jones, the retired County Archivist and the archivists at the Kendal Record Office have been most helpful in my research, but, without the constant support of my wife, Margaret, and my daughters, the work could not have been contemplated. Martin Eagle and Ian Pope of Oxford Polytechnic gave invaluable help with reprographics.

---