

QUARRY-FLOOR INSCRIPTIONS AT ECCLERIGG CRAG, WINDERMERE.

By Blake Tyson

Between the bustle of water sports on Lake Windermere and the incessant traffic of the main A591 road, there are still some peaceful, forgotten corners which modern life has passed by. Ecclerigg Crag quarry, at the north-western extremity of White Cross bay (NY 389 005) is just such a place. There is no public access, for the quarry is in the private grounds of Crag Wood House, the home of the late Mr. Norman Buckley, a holder of several power-boat records.¹

As an important source of building stone and slate, the quarry had its own barge dock, traces of which survive east of the modern boat houses and dock, and Crag Wood House, built in 1910 for a Mr. Warburton, is only one of many local houses which incorporate its stone.² Perhaps the best known of these is the remarkable circular house built for Thomas English in 1773 on Belle Isle, to which over 800 tons of stone was ferried by three men in barges of 6 and 9¾ tons capacity.³

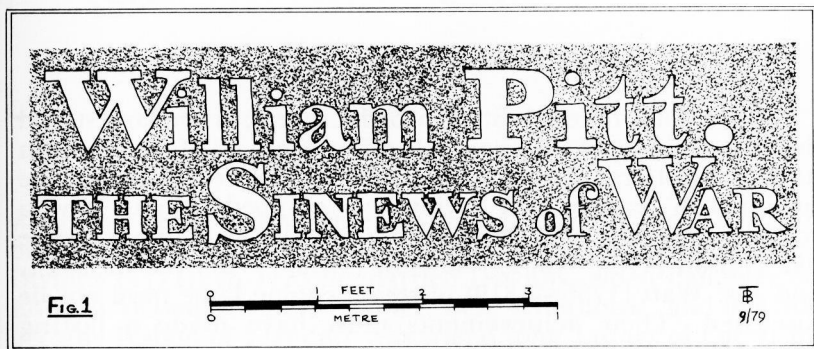
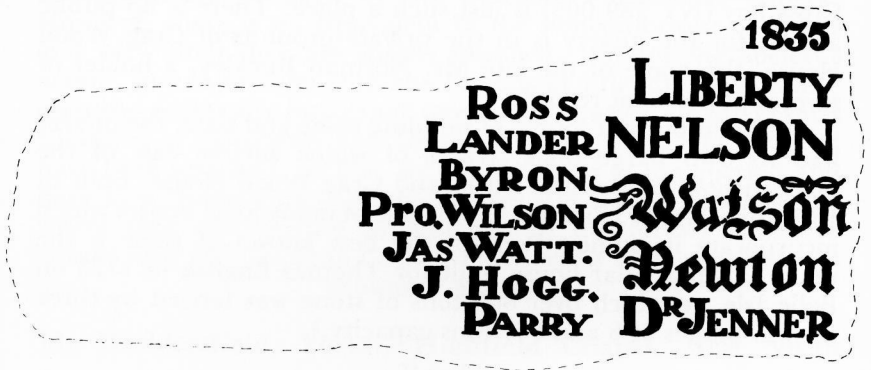


Fig. 1: This rubbing from slab 5 (greatly reduced) demonstrates the typical style and quality of incised lettering.

On the quarry floor and dipping uniformly south at 22°, five huge slabs of bed-rock all bear meticulously carved inscriptions in large letters up to 350 mm. tall (fig. 1). At first sight, they present an apparent jumble of names, quotations and comments which, except for some well-known names, require some explanation to show their significance. They are said to have been carved by an eccentric monumental mason named Longmire from Troutbeck,⁴ but no documentary evidence has been found to prove this. Four of the slabs are dated from 1835 to 1837 and there are two further fragments lying just within the lake. Unfortunately, frost and other hazards have taken their toll of the inscriptions and the

purpose of this article is not only to comment on their historical associations but also to record what is left of this intriguing and unusual monument before more is lost.

SLAB 1. Size: Carved portion 12.5 x 9.5 feet (3.81 x 2.90 metres). Total length 22 feet (6.70 metres). Dated 1835.



Sketch of slab 1 to show general arrangement.

The earliest dated slab, inscribed **Liberty**, is the largest and lies in the middle of the quarry. It differs from all of the others in having its letters in raised relief (fig. 2), the remainder of the smooth slab's eastern half having been chipped away to leave a rough background.⁵ Of the eleven names, those of famous people like **Nelson** (1758–1805), **Newton** (1642–1727) the physicist, and **Jas. Watt** (1736–1819) of steam engine fame need not be discussed. Their achievements must have made a lasting

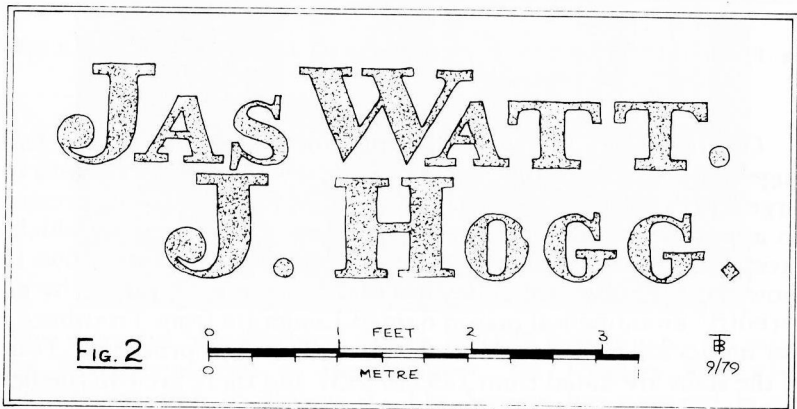


Fig. 2: Rubbing from slab 1 to show typical style of letters in raised relief.

impression on the carver, as must those of **Dr. Jenner** (1749–1823), the physician who developed vaccination against smallpox in 1798. As a poet, **Lord Byron** (1788–1824) was one of the greatest influences on European thought in the early 19th century, but the manner of his death whilst helping the Greeks in their fight for national independence may as easily have captured the carver's imagination, for several later particulars suggest concern for freedom too.

Watson, the name of the quarry-owner at that time, was recorded in letters of 'Old English' style (fig. 3). Richard Watson (1737–1816) was born at Heversham, about twenty kilometres

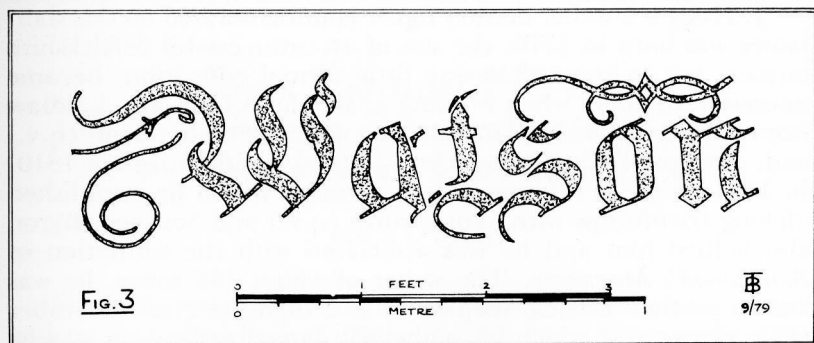


Fig. 3: Rubbing of more ornate lettering on slab 1; the site owner's name.

south-east of the quarry, entered Trinity College, Cambridge and became successively Professor of Chemistry (1764) and then Divinity (1771). In 1773 he married Dorothy, eldest daughter of Edward Wilson of Dallam Tower, near Milnthorpe, and in 1782 became Bishop of Llandaff. His friend John Luther of Ongar in Essex died in October 1786 and left his Sussex estate to Watson. The latter sold it the following July for £23,500 and bought the Calgarth Park estate near Windermere with the proceeds.⁶ This included the quarry site. He rarely visited his diocese, preferring to live as a country gentleman in this increasingly fashionable part of the Lake District. His widow lived on at Calgarth until 1831 when the estate passed to their grandson Richard Luther Watson.⁷ He was born in 1811 but lived in Dover until 1846 when he moved into Ecclerigg Cottage, a new mansion nearly a kilometre north of the quarry.⁸ He remained "tenant for life" until his death in 1875.⁹ Undoubtedly, the carver knew him and his social contacts well even though, at the time, Watson was an absentee landowner.

Another popular "off-comer" was **Professor John Wilson** (1785–1854), perhaps better known as Christopher North of

Blackwood's Magazine. On leaving Oxford in 1807 he bought a traditional house at Elleray near the future site of Windermere station. His exuberant character drew both criticism and many new friends from the fashionable social set in the area. He married a Liverpool merchant's daughter, Jane Penny of Gale House, Ambleside in 1811 and lived at Elleray for five more years until he lost his inherited fortune and moved to Edinburgh. There he studied law, became Professor of Moral Philosophy and wrote profusely.¹⁰ He kept his house at Elleray until 1850,¹¹ gaining a reputation for his prowess in sports, particularly sailing and wrestling, but became a less frequent visitor after his wife died in 1837.

J. Hogg is another literary figure commemorated on this slab. James was born in 1770, the son of an unsuccessful Selkirkshire farmer, but in spite of having little formal education, became interested in books when working as shepherd for a Mr. Laidlaw from 1790 to 1800. In 1802 he came to know Walter Scott (q.v.) and, after publishing some poetry, settled in Edinburgh in 1810. In 1814 he met Professor Wilson through whom he established lifelong friendships with Wordsworth (q.v.) and Southey. Byron also helped him and he was associated with the formation of *Blackwood's Magazine*. The writer of about 140 songs, he was known as the "Ettrick Shepherd" and died on 21st November 1835, the year in which his name was carved perhaps as a personal tribute.

Lander undoubtedly refers to one of two brothers John (1807—1839) or, more likely, Richard Lemon Lander (1804—1834). Born in Truro, both travelled abroad extensively. Richard undertook three expeditions to West Africa in 1827, 1830 and 1832. On the second of these he reached the river Niger at Bussa where Mungo Park had died and explored the course of the river to the sea. For this he was acclaimed and became the first gold medallist of the newly-formed Royal Geographical Society. His third expedition, financed by Liverpool merchants, was intended to open up the Niger as a trade route but was marred by misfortune. Of the 48 members who set out in the two paddle steamers, *Quorra* and *Alburkah*, only nine returned, Lander having died of wounds in Fernando Po in February 1834. Since the principal monuments erected to his memory in Truro and the London Savoy have been destroyed, the Ecclerigg slab provides a lasting reminder of how much his exploits must have impressed ordinary folk of that time.

Although **Ross** and **Parry** are not such distinctive names as the explorer just discussed, their significance can be explained sensibly if they are considered together in a similar context. Rear-Admiral Sir John Ross (1777—1856) was an eminent polar explorer who made several voyages to investigate the North-west

Passage. For his exploits he was awarded the gold medal of the R.G.S. in 1834. He was accompanied by Captain William Edward Parry (1790—1855) who was knighted in 1829 and made Rear-Admiral in 1852, and by his own nephew (Sir) James Clark Ross (1800—1862). The latter discovered the North Magnetic Pole in 1831, was awarded the R.G.S. gold medal in 1842 and was a friend of Harriet Martineau¹³ who settled at The Knoll, Ambleside in 1845. Whilst there must remain some element of doubt about the identity of these last few names, the next slab to be considered is unequivocal.

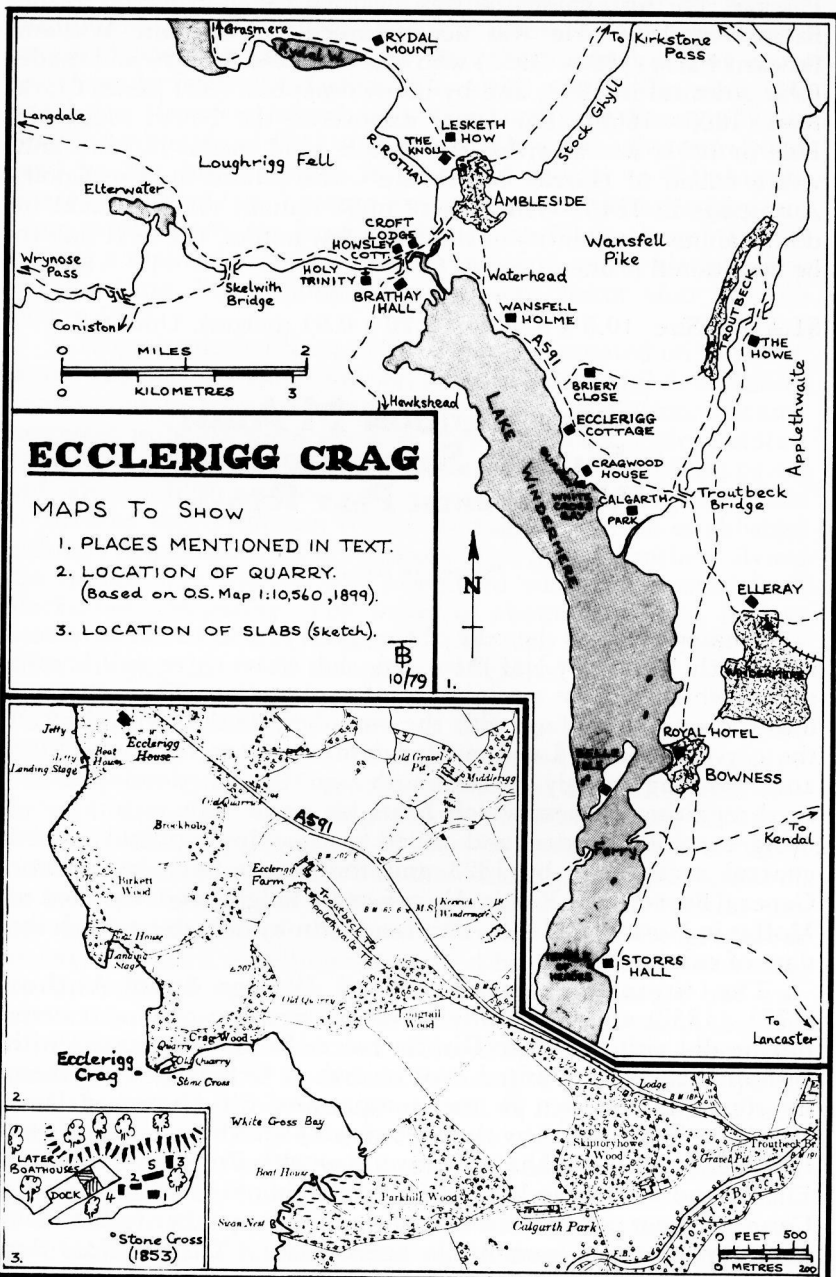
SLAB 2. Size: 10.5 x 3.0 feet (3.20 x 0.91 metres). Undated.

JOHN LAUDON McADAM
WALTER SCOTT AUTHOR
WORDSWORTH POET RYDAL

Sketch of slab 2

Situated towards the rear of the quarry, near the boat house, and partly buried by leaf litter, this slab bears three well-known names which require a minimum of explanation. They were cut into the smooth surface with the considerable skill typical of all the carvings. **John Laudon McAdam** was born in Ayr in 1756 and, working mainly in Falmouth and Bristol, developed the road-repairing process which bears his name. His technique of using carefully graded and rolled stone chippings had gained general acceptance by 1823 and four years later he became General Surveyor of Roads. He refused a knighthood and died at Moffat in November 1836. This last fact may help to establish the date of carving.

The literary achievements of **Walter Scott Author** (1771—1832) are sufficiently known to need no comment here, but he did visit the Lake District twice. In 1805 he stayed with Bishop Watson and visited Wordsworth at Grasmere with whom he climbed Helvellyn in the company of Sir Humphry Davy (q.v.). In 1825, Scott (by than a baronet) with his son-in-law and biographer John Lockhart, spent a day with Professor Wilson at Elleray and went on to John Bolton's mansion at Storrs Hall where Canning, later to be Prime Minister, and many other fashionable guests made up a memorable house-party.¹⁴ On the final day Wilson as 'Admiral-of-the-Lake' and Bolton (q.v.) led a regatta on Lake Windermere which may well have been witnessed by the carver and would have left a lasting impression.

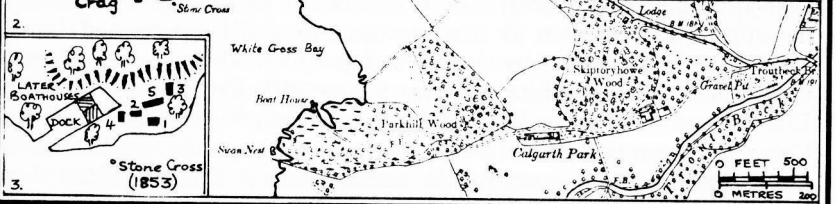
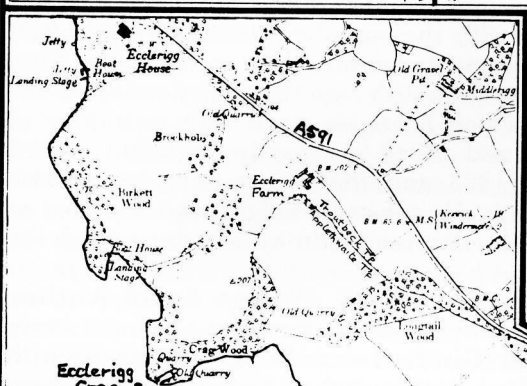


ECCLERIGG CRAG

MAPS TO SHOW

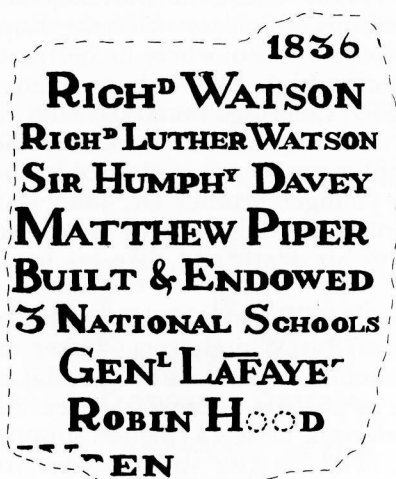
1. PLACES MENTIONED IN TEXT.
2. LOCATION OF QUARRY.
(Based on OS. Map 1:10,560, 1899).
3. LOCATION OF SLABS (sketch).

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Wordsworth Poet Rydal (1770—1850) did not succeed Southey as Poet Laureate until 1843 and from 1813, when he moved into Rydal Mount, until 1842 had held the post of stamp distributor for Westmorland. This long career probably made as little impression on the carver as it has on history. Apart from his poetry, perhaps Wordsworth's greatest achievement was the exceptional topographical description of his native region in his *Guide to the Lakes*.

SLAB 3. Size: 8.0 x 10.5 feet (2.44 x 3.20 metres). Dated 1836.



Sketch of slab 3

This is the most easterly slab at the back of the site. It stands above the general level of the quarry-floor and considerable damage to some of the marginal lettering suggests that later quarrying may have been undertaken right up to the edge of the carver's work, allowing frost-action to dislodge fragments. As a result the commemoration of Wren (1632—1723), the great architect, can be interpreted only from the survival of three serifs of a "W" and the upper curve of an assumed capital "R", the "E" and "N" having survived intact.

Similarly, one can discern **General Lafaye**(tte) (1757—1834), the only foreigner to be included. Although a nobleman, he was a lifelong republican, fought for the Colonists in the American War of Independence, and in the French Revolution commanded the Paris National Guard. He advocated abolition of titles and slavery and always supported liberal policies and moderation. After Waterloo he took a leading part in bringing about Napoleon's abdication and when he re-visited America in

1824—5 was fêted as the last surviving major-general of the War of Independence. In Thomas Jefferson's phrase he was "the doyen . . . of the soldiers of human liberty of the world".¹⁵ His later achievements and his death in 1834 were probably still fresh in the carver's mind. **Robin Hood** (also somewhat damaged) may have been included light-heartedly, but is compatible with the recurring theme of freedom. The significance of the two **Watsons** has been considered already.

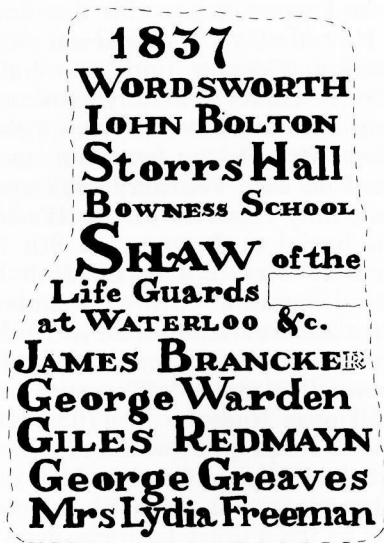
Although his chemical discoveries and invention of the miners' safety lamp alone would have justified the inclusion of **Sir Humphry Davy** (1778—1829), he was associated also with the Lake Poets. Before his appointment to the Royal Institution in 1801, he had worked at Bristol where he befriended Southey and Coleridge, contact which probably influenced his visit to Wordsworth in 1805. Coleridge remarked later that "if Davy had not been the first chemist, he would have been the first Poet of his age". Examples of his poetry are contained in the memoirs of his life edited by his younger brother Dr. John Davy (1790—1868) who, it may be noted, lived at Lesketh How, Ambleside from its erection in 1844 to his death and, like his brother, was a keen fisherman.¹⁶

The remaining inscription concerning **Matthew Piper** refers to the generosity of this Whitehaven Quaker in endowing very early National Schools¹⁷ in Lancaster, Kendal and Whitehaven with £2,000 each to pay the masters' salaries. Also, to help feed the poor of Whitehaven, he left £1,000 to support a soup kitchen in Queen Street. This charity still operates from Mill Street. Whitehaven Marine School was founded in High Street in 1817 for training boys to go to sea, though they were not obliged to do so. Financed from public subscriptions, the building was opened in 1822 but was sold in 1908 to buy a site for a grammar school.¹⁸ The Lancaster National School was formed by amalgamation with the Old Blue Coat Charity established in 1770, and its foundation stone was laid on 4th June 1817. The building was on the Green Area (SD 479 622), a site acquired by the North Western Railway Company in 1850.¹⁹ A substitute school was opened in St. Leonardgate in 1851 but the 1817 building, used for many years by a local brewery, was not demolished until 1962.²⁰

The Kendal National School was established by a deed dated 21st November 1817, on a one acre site called Lower Spout Close in Beastbanks (SD 513 925).²¹ The foundation stone was laid on 16th December 1817 and the school was opened on 11th August 1819. Having lived frugally all his life, Matthew Piper stipulated that the interest on his endowments should be paid to him during his life, but he died at his lodgings in Scotch Street, Whitehaven, on 25th October 1821 aged ninety-one. The following Thursday, 1st November, his funeral procession gathered at the northern

end of Stricklandgate, Kendal at four o'clock, the 150 school boys having "been regaled with a large biscuit" beforehand. Large crowds gathered to watch the impressive procession pass through the town to the school where, "without any religious service" the coffin was laid in a flagged and walled grave within the school in compliance with Piper's wishes. The *Westmorland Advertiser*, however, commented, pointedly, that "matters were eventually so managed that the benefit intended by him for children of all religious sects was restricted to those belonging to the establishment only". On 27th December 1825 "at the anniversary dinner of the governors, a portrait of Matthew Piper . . . was ordered to be placed within the establishment".²² This school is still in use for Juniors.

SLAB 4. Size: 5.0 and 8.0 x 11.5 feet (1.52 and 2.44 x 3.50 metres). Dated 1837.



Sketch of slab 4

The most westerly slab next to the boathouse commemorates the building of another local school. **John Bolton** of **Storrs Hall** was born at Ulverston in 1756, made his fortune as a Liverpool merchant in the West Indian trade and bought Storrs in 1807.²³ As a trustee of the old Bowness School Charity, first established about 1637, Bolton had offered to pay for a new school of two classrooms with a lending library and a committee room upstairs.²⁴

The foundation stone was laid on 13th April 1836 and the *Westmorland Gazette* reported the proceedings. On an exceedingly wet and stormy day "Mr. Bolton . . . residing in Liverpool could not from age . . . and the very precarious state of his health" attend and so "deputed his . . . sincere friend William **Wordsworth** . . . to officiate for him". Delayed by pouring rain, the cortege assembled at Mrs. Ullock's (now the Royal Hotel) and to the firing of cannon and ringing of bells, moved off at one o'clock to be met by a crowd of over 700 spectators. Wordsworth, aided by the master mason John Holme, laid the stone but his lengthy, intended speech (printed in full) was cut short by rain. "**George Greaves** of Briery Close gave the signal for three times three cheers for Mr. Bolton . . ." and the official party retired thankfully to the shelter of Mrs. Ullock's for a lavish dinner starting at four o'clock. A toast was drunk to the architect, George Webster of Kendal. Replying to the toast to the Chairman, Wordsworth commented that "To public life he was not accustomed, and never before this day had he addressed a public meeting". He retired soon after seven o'clock and his place was taken by George Greaves until the ball started in the Assembly Room.²⁵ The carver probably witnessed this event.

All the builders' accounts have survived,²⁶ the total cost being £1,450.11s.0d. but Mr. Bolton was not to see the project completed. He died on 24th February 1837 aged eighty and his sumptuous funeral, fully reported in the *Westmorland Gazette*, culminated in his burial at Bowness on 9th March. The new school was opened by Mrs. Bolton on 20th September 1838. Later, the building became part of Windermere Grammar School but, regrettably, was demolished in 1973.²⁷

The lower portion of this slab, carefully walled in but buried by leaf-litter, names five more "off-comers". **Giles Redmayn**, born at Ireby Hall near Ingleton in 1793, became a wealthy London mercer with shops in New Bond Street and Henrietta Street. He bought the 400 acre Brathay Hall estate in 1834 for, reputedly, 26,000 guineas. For thirty years previously the house had been occupied by the painter John Harden (1772—1847) and had become a centre of social life for the Ambleside area, the Watsons and Wilsons being frequent visitors. By 1836 Holy Trinity church in Brathay had been built entirely at Redmayn's expense on a site recommended by Wordsworth. The following year Redmayn paid nearly £300 for its peal of bells made by Thomas Mears of Whitechapel Road, London.²⁸ Perhaps the carver was impressed by such benevolence.

Mrs. Lydia Freeman, the only woman commemorated, was also a church benefactor. She was a niece of Mr. Howsley Freeman of Howsley Hall near Sheffield and widow of the Revd. John Mackereth Freeman, curate of All Saints, Wakefield from

1776 to 1789.²⁹ The latter lived at The Howe in Appletwhaite until his death on 6th September 1805 aged 56. He was buried at Troutbeck on 11th and left £50 to be applied annually on Christmas Eve amongst the poor labouring people of Troutbeck to be paid within twelve months after his wife's decease.³⁰ They had a long wait! Lydia Freeman did not die until 2nd March 1837, aged 95, and was buried at Troutbeck on 10th. Perhaps as recompense she left a further £100 to the same cause, a bread charity still in use.³¹ In addition she left £500 towards building St. Thomas's church in Stricklandgate, Kendal. Intended to serve the rapidly growing northern part of the town, it was built of wrought limestone at a cost of nearly £2,900 and was designed in the early Gothic style by George Webster of Kendal. It is unusual in having the chancel window facing west so that the ninety-foot high tower, containing the former town hall clock, creates an imposing street frontage. The foundation stone was laid on 4th August 1835 and the church was consecrated on 5th July 1837.³²

Mrs. Freeman had lived in Clappersgate since at least 1811.³³ In 1834 she bought for £700 the freehold of a property on "the north side of the highroad", still called Howsley Cottage, a pleasant Regency house. In this she was helped by **George Warden**, of Glasgow, who bought out the remainder of a 1,000-year lease and conveyed it to **James Brancker** who in turn took over the mortgage of the previous occupiers and conveyed the freehold to Mrs. Freeman.³⁴ These two men will be considered in turn.

From 1836, **George Warden** was entitled to vote in Ambleside township as the absentee owner of Wansfell Holme, a mansion beautifully set above the eastern side of Lake Windermere.³⁵ He must therefore have made an immediate impact on local society, for he was invited to the Bowness School foundation ceremony but could not attend. He lived at Wansfell Holme from 1840 when he married Nancy Elyetson of Dent, but from 1843 appeared in Liverpool Directories, living at 3, Rodney Street and having his business at 12, Dale Street. In the 1861 Census he appears as a sugar broker, aged 64, born in Scotland.³⁶ He had sold Wansfell Holme by 1848 and was succeeded by James Hornby of Winwick, Lancashire.

James Brancker was a Liverpool sugar refiner³⁷ who bought Croft Lodge in Clappersgate in 1828 following the death of a Miss Pritchard there, and carried out considerable alterations to the house.³⁸ He was a keen yachtsman, built a new boat-house with a deep dock and altered the course of the river Rothay to give better access to Lake Windermere. His boat *Dolphin* had been built at Cowes. Brancker married Miss Jane Moss who lived nearby but, when she became an invalid in early married life, he moved by 1844 to Aigburth near Liverpool and died at the

Manor-house, Maghull in 1852, aged 62.³⁹ His elder brother, Sir Thomas Brancker, was Mayor of Liverpool in 1830 and turned out to pay his last respects to John Bolton in 1837.

George (Frederick) **Greaves** has been referred to before. He was already living at Briery Close when electoral registers started in 1832 but does not appear in Parson and White's *Directory of Cumberland and Westmorland* in 1829. The registers also call him Captain Greaves and show that he moved away by 1840. He appears frequently in *Westmorland Gazette* reports of yacht races on Windermere sailing the *Yager*. For example on 10th August 1838 in the first heat of the Windermere Cup "having been thrown out at the very first (he) gave up the trial immediately" and J. Brancker won in *Dolphin*. In the second heat, on 3rd September, six boats competed under handicap which enabled *Yager* to lead the first lap, but it dropped to third place by the end of the second lap and finished fifteen minutes behind *Victoria*, sailed by Thomas Hamilton of Elleray, with *Dolphin* second. In the third heat *Dolphin*, one of the finest boats, ran aground but *Yager* was not able to match *Victoria* which won both the heat and the Cup.

Clear social links have therefore been demonstrated for all the named persons on this slab except for **Shaw**. Sir Arthur Bryant mentions that "(John) Shaw the Life-Guardsman who fell at Waterloo" was one of the "lesser giants of the ring". Elizabeth Longford, giving more graphic detail, says "There were several champion pugilists flexing their muscles along Wellington's ridge: Dakin and Shaw, for instance, the latter a six-footer in the Life Guards. Both had posed for (painter) Benjamin Robert Haydon in their peaceful moments". Following an initial cannonade, three fierce, French assaults on Hougoumont château were repulsed with heavy losses, so at 1.30 p.m. D'Erlon's infantry attacked La Haye Sainte, a white-walled farmhouse in the centre of the field and annihilated the Dutch-Belgian troops defending the hill behind. The French threatened to overwhelm Picton's division which had counter-attacked, so Lord Uxbridge ordered the Union and Household Brigades to advance and "Wellington personally led forward the Life-Guards" who "smashed against Travers' Cuirassiers like a wall . . . Life-Guardsman Shaw cleft a skull so violently that the face 'fell off like a bit of apple' ". The French fled, Uxbridge lost control and his heavy cavalry charged ferociously into the French lines where they became cut off. Amongst the 2,500 casualties "Dakin's body was found cut to pieces and Shaw, after slaying nine Cuirassiers, had crawled down to La Haye Sainte and bled to death propped against its wall." "Sir Walter Scott, having once met and admired Shaw in Haydon's studio, had his body brought home to his native Nottinghamshire. A cast of his skull is in the Household

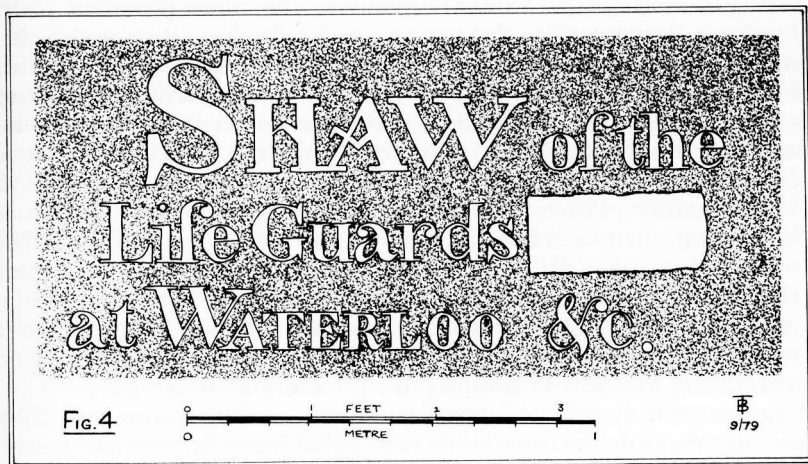
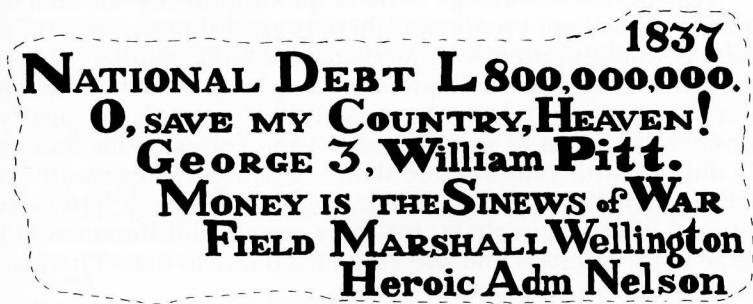


Fig. 4: Rubbing of detail from slab 4 showing erasure of “?fell?”.

Cavalry Museum, Windsor”.⁴⁰ Presumably the carver admired such deeds, but one wonders what error he made to justify erasure of “?fell?” (fig. 4).

SLAB 5. Size: 16.0 x 5.5 feet (4.88 x 1.68 metres). Dated 1837.



Sketch of slab 5

This slab has its lower portions deeply buried by leaf-litter and by quarry debris which supports a large, dead cherry tree with half its roots severed. Although partly obscured, the second mention of **Heroic Adm Nelson** probably helps to reveal the carver’s attitude towards some of his subjects, so the inclusion of **Field Marshall Wellington** (1769–1852) requires no explanation. **George III** (1738–1820) and **William Pitt** (1759–1806) may also have impressed him, and it is significant that the latter began his parliamentary career in 1781 as M.P. for

Appleby nominated by the Lowthers, the most powerful local family.⁴¹ Perhaps also, the carver was hankering after "good-old-days" when income tax was only two (old) pence in the pound. His apparent concern over the **National Debt of £800m.**⁴² reveals more of both his character and literary awareness, for the apposite quotation "**Oh, save my Country, Heaven!**" comes from the last line of the *Epistle to Lord Cobham*, written in 1733 by Alexander Pope (1688–1744).⁴³ His second extract shows him at variance with Francis Bacon, Lord Verulam (1561–1626) who, in his essay "*Of the True Greatness of Kingdoms*", asserted that "Neither is money the sinews of war (as it is trivially said), where the sinews of men's arms . . . are failing",⁴⁴ a sentiment more in keeping with the Duke of Wellington's views on the role of hunting and physical sports in his victory at Waterloo.

Two other, undated portions, need brief mention and they lie, significantly, at the water's edge. The first bears a single name **Neptune** in 'Old English' style lettering whilst the second has a fragmentary quotation:

“ S | Lndin_ | The Bri | Strand bec(om)es | FREE ”

Scraps of a "g" and capitals "S", "E" and "T" survive and "om" can be inferred.⁴⁵ Again the carver has demonstrated his interest in **Liberty**.

The carver's knowledge of these quotations, the national debt and the names and events described, suggests that he was unlikely to be a young apprentice practicing his skills. Rather, they are indicative of an older craftsman looking back over thirty or more years to matters which impressed him enough to justify a considerable input of time and effort in expressing his thoughts. He did this with consummate skill.⁴⁶ A straight-edge would have been used for the lines but then, undoubtedly, the letters were outlined freehand in chalk, for there are small differences in the shape of some letters and size varies from line to line. There are a few spelling discrepancies.

It is possible that the carver was influenced by the Temple of Heroes, built at Storrs for Sir John Legard in 1804. That structure bears the names of Admirals Nelson, Duncan, Howe and St. Vincent and was intended as a summer-house for watching yacht races.⁴⁷ Recently, it was restored using public subscription money before being handed over to the National Trust.

In contrast, the Ecclerigg slabs have no single theme and so are unlikely to have been commissioned, especially since the site's owner lived in Dover at the time. They provide, almost, a cryptogram of the thoughts of an 'ordinary' man and appear to show a particular interest in national freedom. Some of the names provide lasting reminders of almost forgotten personalities and in

the case of Bolton, Mrs. Freeman, Lander, Hogg, Lafayette and McAdam they are sufficiently topical to be like a personal tribute to their memory and achievements. Earlier names appear to have greater popular appeal the further back they are in time. Most were heroes like Nelson, whose death ruined many of the celebrations of his victory at Trafalgar,⁴⁸ or were literary or scientific figures. One might have expected other names like Southey, Coleridge or Stephenson to have been included and whilst the omission of Queen Victoria's accession in June 1837 may establish a terminal date for the last two dated slabs, the space available would have limited his choice also.

It seems likely that physical prowess impressed the carver too. Apart from John Shaw, Lord Byron had been trained in fighting techniques by "Gentleman" John Jackson in London,⁴⁹ Professor Wilson was a noted exponent of Cumberland and Westmorland wrestling and James Hogg was of fine, athletic physique.⁵⁰ Similarly, explorers like Lander, Ross or Parry would appeal to the same sense. In marked contrast, frail old people like Bolton and Mrs. Freeman were included for entirely different reasons. They formed a part of a complex local social group of "off-comers" whose interaction has been displayed in this article. Many other local worthies might have been included but, nevertheless, the slabs serve as an anonymous, unusual, probably unique, reminder of a way of life long since displaced. As such, this monument must surely deserve more attention and formal preservation than it has received hitherto, particularly as recreational pressure increases demand for access to Windermere's lake frontage.

Notes and References

1. I wish to thank Mrs. B. Buckley for allowing me to examine the carvings, and Mr. Henderson for his co-operation at the site. Miss S. MacPherson and her staff at Cumbria County Record Office, Kendal, have given invaluable assistance. Where other sources are not quoted, the *Dictionary of National Biography* has been referred to.
2. Over the front door is "A W 1910". In Cumbria Record Office, Kendal (K.R.O.) WQR/PE, electoral registers for Troutbeck record a William Warburton at this address from 1911. His wife's name was Ada.
3. From research for a paper by the present author, in preparation for the *Transactions* of the Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian & Archaeological Society.
4. Tradition told by an old Troutbeck man to Mr. Henderson in his youth.
5. The western half remains in virgin state, except for a badly finished inscription "J. Westlake Junr. B'nes G.A. Seymour July 18-7".
6. Richard Watson, *Anecdotes of the Life of Richard Watson, Bishop of Landaff*, 1818, I, 16 and 233.
7. Son of Lieut-Col. Charles Luther Watson of 3rd Dragoon Guards, the bishop's elder son. Both were named after their benefactor. William Whellan, *History and Topography of Cumberland & Westmorland*, 1860, 879.
8. K.R.O. electoral registers and the 1846 Troutbeck Valuation Map & Schedule (WD/RG & WD/TE). Called 'Ecclerigg House' by 1899 and now 'Ecclerigg Close'.

9. A copy of his will (1870) gives family details and states that he had allowed Calgarth to fall into disrepair. K.R.O. WD/AG 113.
10. Daphne Foskett, *John Harden of Brathay Hall*, 1974, 33 and 40 for biography. Norman Nicholson, *The Lakers*, 1972, 137–144, for character.
11. K.R.O. electoral registers for Appletwhaite. It was rebuilt in 1869.
12. This suggests an interesting link, for Professor Wilson had “planned to explore central Africa with Mungo Park”. N. Nicholson, *op. cit.*, 1972, 138.
13. Margaret Storey, *Associations of Clappersgate and Brathay*, I, (1958), 35.
14. J. Lockhart, *Life of Sir Walter Scott*, 1848, 88 and 257.
15. *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 13, 592–3.
16. John Davy (ed), *Collected Works of Sir Humphry Davy*, 1839, I, “Memoirs”, 18. For Davy’s poems, *ibid.*, 169–178. For 1805 visit see T.E. Thorpe, *Humphry Davy: Poet & Philosopher*, 1901, 110. Ambleside electoral registers (K.R.O.) for J. Davy’s arrival. Hence, Canon Rawnsley’s statement that “Thither not infrequently came the great Sir Humphry Davy” is untenable. (*Literary Associations*).
17. The “National Society for Promoting the Education of the Poor in the Principles of the Established Church” was founded in 1811 and incorporated in 1817.
18. M. & S. Moon, *Bygone Whitehaven*, 1976, II, 40 (includes a portrait of Piper).
19. Edward Baines, *History and Directory of Lancashire*, 1825, II, 21. Mannex & Co., *Directory of Westmorland and Lonsdale*, 1851, 485.
20. Information kindly supplied by Miss W.B. Murphy, Central Library, Lancaster.
21. K.R.O. WD/AG 114.
22. Reports in *Westmorland Advertiser & Kendal Chronical*, 20th December 1817, 14th August 1819, 3rd November 1821, 31st December 1825. Criticism of sectarianism, 13th September 1817.
23. Biographical details in Sir Clement Jones, *John Bolton of Storrs*, 1959, *passim*.
24. K.R.O. WD/MM 44, *Case for the Opinion of Mr. Tyrrell*, October 1837.
25. *Westmorland Gazette*, 16th April 1836. Mrs. Ullock’s bill of over £60 included dinners for 32 gentlemen, beer for the children, 128 gallons of ale for the locals and an item for windows broken by cannon fire. K.R.O. WD/AG 11.
26. K.R.O. WD/AG 11. Limestone came from Whitbarrow and other stone from Brantfell.
27. *Westmorland Gazette*, 4th March 1837, 22nd September 1838. Anon, *Windermere Grammar School*, 1936 (published by Westmorland Gazette). Demolition, in H.M. Colvin, *Biographical Dictionary of Architects*, 1978, 875.
28. Brathay Hall is now an outdoor pursuits centre. Its early history is described in M. Storey, *op. cit.* II (1965), 3–9 and D. Foskett *op. cit.*, *passim*.
29. Her husband added the name Freeman in 1787 when his wife inherited Howsley Hall through her aunt Grace Brown. J. Hunter, *History of Hallamshire*, 1869, 444. Information also kindly supplied by Mrs. E.K. Berry of West Yorkshire Record Office.
30. K.R.O., Troutbeck parish registers and WPR/62.C5 Feeman Charity. His will was proved at York, 11th November 1805.
31. Troutbeck parish registers and obituary in *Westmorland Gazette*. Also K.R.O. M.L. Clarkson (ed), *Review of Charities in . . . Westmorland 1967–1973*.
32. *Westmorland Gazette*, 8th July 1837; J.F. Curwen, *Kirkbie Kendal*, 1900, 335; Cornelius Nicholson, *Annals of Kendal*, 1861, 76. The other main benefactor was Mrs. Thomasina Richardson, daughter of James Dowker, who gave £1000 (plus 300 guineas for the organ). She also gave generously to St. Thomas’s, Milnthorpe, (*Westmorland Gazette* 19th August and 1st October 1837) attributed to the same architect.
33. M. Storey, *op. cit.* (1958), 22.
34. K.R.O. WDX/229, T8–14.
35. Ambleside electoral lists do not mention the house before that date and a horse trough is inscribed G.W. 1836. The house is now converted to flats.
36. Information kindly supplied by the archivist, Liverpool City Library, cross-referenced by K.R.O. electoral lists and Boumphrey, Hudleston & Hughes *An Armorial of Westmorland and Lonsdale*, 1975, 310.

37. Edward Baines, *op. cit.* I, (1824), 220 contains six entries of the family's addresses, whilst J. Foster *Pedigrees of County Families*, 1873, I, "Brancker of Bispham Hall" shows their relationship.
38. M. Storey, *op. cit.*, (1958), 15 and 18–20. Cleveland County Council, the present owners, applied for consent to demolish the house to develop an outdoor pursuits centre (*Westmorland Gazette*, 27th July 1979), but it was refused. Repairs undertaken 1980.
39. K.R.O. WDX/229, T14 and *Gore's Liverpool Advertiser*, 19th February 1852.
40. Sir Arthur Bryant, *The Age of Elegance*, 1950, 266. Elizabeth Longford *Wellington, the Years of the Sword*, 1969, 455, 462–3, 483.
41. C.M.L. Bouch & G.P. Jones, *The Lake Counties 1500–1830*, 1961, 326.
42. This was its value in 1828. In 1836 it was £832m. and £827m. in 1840. *Encyclopaedia Britannica* — Debt Public.
43. F.W. Bateson, *Poems of Alexander Pope*, 1961 III, ii, 38. A similar line ends Pope's "Epitaph for Dr. Francis Atterbury", N. Ault and J. Butt, *ibid*, 1954, VI, 344.
44. Bacon, in turn, may have been commenting on "Victuals and ammunition And money too, the sinews of the war" from *Fair Maid of the Inn*, Act I, by John Fletcher (1576–1625) and Francis Beaumont (1586–1616).
45. So far this quotation has defied identification.
46. The only lettering error was GEORGE 3 with mixed-case "E"s.
47. N. Pevsner, *Buildings of England*, Cumberland & Westmorland. 1973, 229.
48. Sir Arthur Bryant, *Years of Victory*, 1963, 180.
49. *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 3–986, Boxing.
50. J.E.H. Thomson, *Domestic Manners of Walter Scott*, 1909, 50.