

WILLIAM THACKERAY'S REBUILDING OF ROSE CASTLE CHAPEL, CUMBRIA, 1673—75

by Blake Tyson

Rose Castle is built in attractive, red Triassic sandstone and stands in pleasant, wooded parkland on the west bank of the river Caldew about six miles SSW of Carlisle in the parish of Dalston. For 750 years since the Manor of Dalston was given to Walter Mauclerc, the fourth Bishop of Carlisle, by King Henry III in 1230, it has remained the residence of sixty further bishops, several of whom altered the buildings to suit their various needs. Eventually, in 1828—31, Bishop Hugh Percy employed Thomas Rickman to refurbish the interior entirely, to remodel the surviving, L-shaped range of buildings in Gothic style and to create Percy's tower near the north-west outer angle (Figs. 1 and 2). Although this destroyed much physical evidence of earlier building episodes, the former appearance of the north front is indicated in Samuel Buck's view made for Bishop Sir George Fleming in 1739 (Fig. 5). The Rev. James Wilson's *Rose Castle*, (1912) gives a great quantity of historical detail about the buildings and provides numerous transcripts of original documents but, apparently, the Mounsey-Heysham papers, now deposited at the Record Office in Carlisle Castle, were not available to him.¹ As a result the rebuilding work undertaken by William Thackeray between 1673 and 1675 was referred to only briefly², an inadvertent defect which this article will attempt to rectify. In addition, Thackeray's place in the architectural history of Cumbria will be considered briefly.

To set the scene for Thackeray's work, one must go back to before the Civil War when the buildings formed a pentagon round a courtyard (Fig. 3) with the bishop's apartments mainly in the east wing and NE corner where Strickland's pele tower formed the oldest structure. The south and west wings were mainly domestic offices whereas the chapel occupied the western half of the north wing between Bell's tower and the Constable's tower and Portcullis at the NW corner.

In 1648 the Parliamentarians captured Rose Castle easily but, when threatened by a Royalist advance, destroyed it by fire. A detailed valuation in 1649 gives a clear impression of the devastation.³ The western wing was least damaged and was used as a prison until the castle and the Manors of Dalston and Linstock were sold by Parliament to William Heveningham on 1st June 1650 for £4,161. 12s. 10d.⁴ Heveningham repaired the west wing and Kite's tower in 1653—5, some interesting payments being £65 "to Alexander Pogmire free mason for finishing the building at Rose Castle according to articles"; £5.10s. "For slateing of the house and [for] the 4 French windowes" and a similar amount "for leading the rubbish out of the hall which is now in building, when the doores and windowes and dormant



Fig. 1. South-east view of Rose Castle Chapel. Rebuilt by William Thackeray in 1673–75, the main fabric has survived but Thomas Rickman's remodelling of 1828–31 is evident throughout.



Fig. 2. The main, north entrance to Rose Castle in Percy's tower in 1981. Except for the blank, rear wall of the chapel, Rickman's influence predominates.

ROSE CASTLE

DALSTON NEAR CARLISLE
STATE OF BUILDINGS 1671

- WALLS ALREADY REMOVED
- ▨ OLD WALLS THEN STANDING
- REPAIRED BY HEVENINGHAM
- ⋯ REPAIRED BY R. STERNE

Based on plan in WILSON f.p.96
Original in MACHELL MSS.
Dean & Chapter Lib.,
Carlisle.

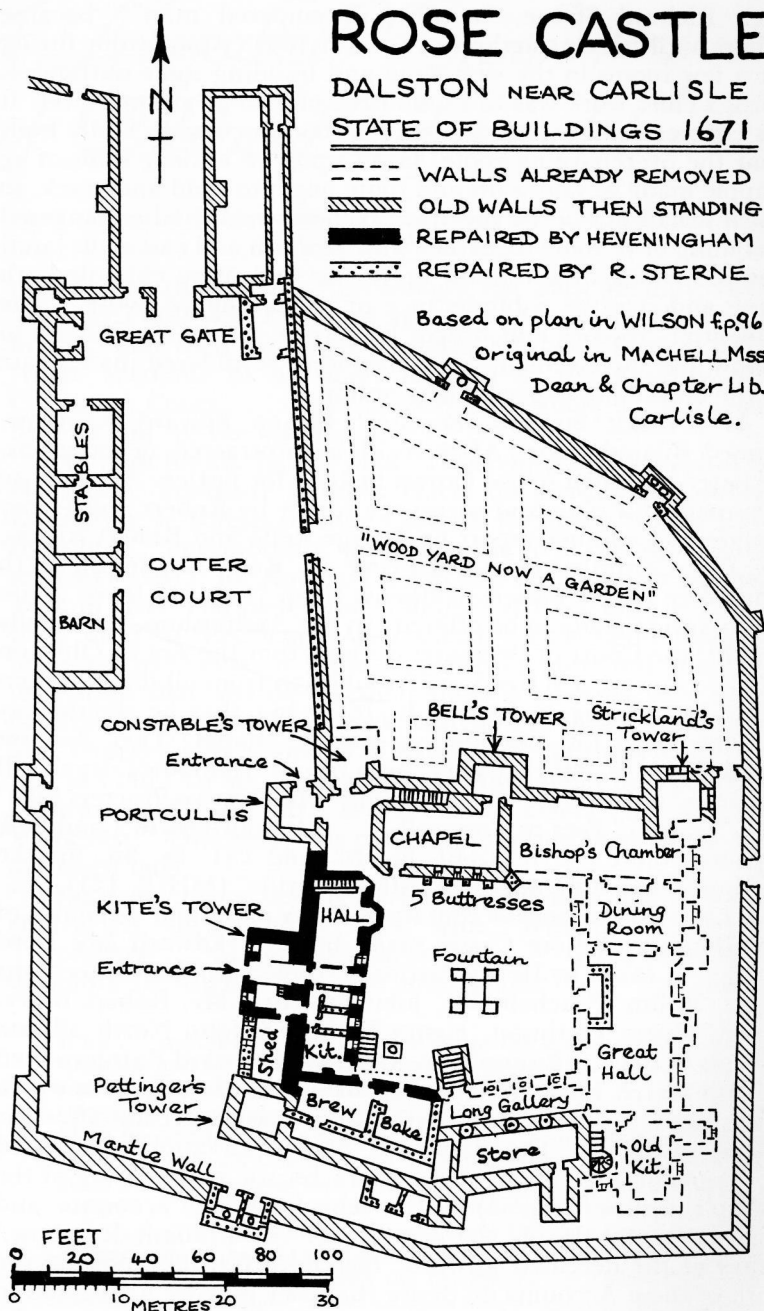


Fig. 3.

holes was made".⁵ He lived in the house until the Restoration when Richard Sterne, "a sour, ill-tempered man",⁶ became bishop until his translation to York in 1664. Apart from fitting out a few rooms in the west wing and building some outhouses, Sterne's chief work was to rebuild the chapel at ground level. It was consecrated on 13th September 1663 but was so badly built "that the overcharging rooffe, layed upon ye antient walls of ye chapple made ye said walls and rooffe begin to yield and crack, so that if it had not beene speedily taken downe it had endangered the falling of ye rooffe together with ye south and east walls [and] that ye making of a window at ye east end of ye chapple hath beene and may be a hinderance of rebuilding ye house." The residential "roomes and offices [were] soe few and generally so narrow and inconvenient" that they were considered inadequate for the hospitality expected of a bishop.⁷

As a result Sterne's successor, Bishop Edward Rainbow, claimed dilapidations. After fruitless, protracted negotiations, the latter appealed to the Crown in 1669 for justice. As evidence he presented a plan and surveyor's report by Robert and Henry Trollop and another report by George Relfe and Robert Ritson, but the Commissioners, meeting at Rose Castle on 12th September 1671, refused to discuss them "because there weare noe surveyors ready to be offered" by the Archbishop. Eventually in 1672, the Court of Delegates decided that the Act of Oblivion (12 Car. II, cap. 12) freed the Archbishop from all dilapidations before his coming to Carlisle in 1660, but that he should pay Rainbow £400 for dilapidations on the chapel. They did not award costs to either party. As a result Rainbow's legal bill amounted to £582. 3s. 1d., including "Mr. Dyer ye Procters Bills" £100. 5s. 6d., "Fees to Councill . . . with journeys to London & Expences there . . ." £440. 9s. 4d. and £41. 8s. 3d. for the "Commission sitting at Rose Castle & Carlile" (MH/2, 121).

This fresh evidence is contained in "A particular Accompt of the Repaires of Rose Castle made by . . . Edward *late* Lord Bishop . . . taken by Henry Pattinson from ye Bookes of Accounts of Mr. Willm. Peachell, Mr. John Lowther, Mr. Robert Berry, the sd. Henry Pattinson, Henry Perkins & John North all *late* servants to the . . . Bishop" (my italics). As Edward Rainbow died on 26th March 1684, this account, like some of those from which it was derived, was not written until at least a decade after the chapel was rebuilt. The manner of their preservation is indicated on the penultimate page in the characteristic handwriting of the bishop's widow (Fig. 4). After checking the accounts and inserting many details she concluded: "I Elizabeth Rainbow,⁸ widow of the deceased Edward, Bishop of Carlile, knowing the truth of these Accounts do desire that they may be Registered in the Office of the Consistory Court of Carlile to perpetuate the

*J. Elizabeth Rainbow Widow
of Edward Bishop of Carlisle*

Fig. 4. Extract of Elizabeth Rainbow's handwriting from the Rose Castle accounts. (Carlisle R.O., D/MH/2).

memory of the same." Accordingly, on 20th January 1693/4, Thomas Tullie who had been appointed Chancellor by Rainbow in 1683 and then preached the latter's funeral service, ordered "these accounts to be safely laid up in the Registry of the Consistory Court . . . to perpetuate the memory of the expensive benefaction" of the bishop.

An item for £6. 1s. 6d. paid "To Architects & Surveyors from Newcastle, Yorkshire & other Places for viewing, measuring & Estimating ye Ruines of Rose Castle & for giving Advice for new Buildinge" undoubtedly indicates the fee for the Trollops' services in 1671, for Robert Trollop had been made a freeman of York in 1647, completed the Guildhall at Newcastle in 1660 and then lived at Redheugh, Gateshead.⁹ This figure may have included payments to Relfe and Ritson also, but there is no indication that any of the dilapidations advisors were actually involved in the rebuilding work. Instead £2. 7s. 6d. was paid "To Mr. Thackeray for a Modell of Paistboard, Journeys & Advice" as well as £140 "To Mr. Thackery as by Agreement by Articles" and £5 was paid "To Mr. Lowther for Overseeing & paying Workmen." Thackeray was paid also for other work which will be discussed later.

Far from being deterred by his set-back of 1672, Rainbow contracted, on 9th July 1673, with "William Thackeray of Torpenhow . . . Mason and Carpenter . . ." to the effect that on or before 1st August 1674, the latter would:

at his . . . own proper costs . . . take downe the South and East walls of the Chappell and what else shall be needfull to be taken downe, and rebuild and compleat the antient Chappell at the Rosecastle . . . in forme of an Upper roome as antiently, together with a Vestry in Bell Tower¹⁰ and the Clock house adjoining to the said Chappell . . . together with a Staircase leading to the said Chappell and an entrance for the said Staircase to be made on the Northwest end of the said Chappell as to all the Mason . . . wallers . . . Carpenters . . . and . . . labourers worke . . . The materials are¹¹ or shall be laid upon the ground in the Outward Court . . . The front or South side of the said Chappell shall be made fifty fo[ot]¹² in length and thirty nine foot in height with the battlement . . . there shall be made therein eight Transome hewne windows with pediments, Architrave, freeze and Cornish, with two Cornish's running cleare thorough the front, the one

under the soale of the Upper windowes and the other under the battlement. The front shall be good Ash[er] worke with Rustick Coynes according to a scheme or Modell subscribed by both . . . parties . . . The front of the said entrance of the staircase [to] be carryed out Northwards two foot without the Chappell wall and doe containe twenty foure foot in length and thirty foot in height according to another scheme or modell . . .

Secondly . . . one hundred and forty pounds . . . to be payed weekly [*sic*] . . . to . . . William Thackeray . . . as the worke shall be carryed on and [any] remainder . . . to be payed within fourteen dayes next after the finishing of the said worke. And . . . [the] Bishop . . . [shall] (within the outward Court of the said Rosecastle) . . . provide . . . a smiths forge with Bellowes, Anvill [etc.] . . . and also another house covered for Masons, Carpenters and such like . . . to worke in during the time they shall be employed . . . [and] . . . at his . . . owne proper . . . charges lay upon the ground in some convenient place . . . all kind of materialls necessary . . .

Thirdly . . . in case anything extraordinary shall intervene . . . [and] putt a stopp to the said worke or any part thereof . . . William Thackeray . . . shall leave off . . . every part thereof then unfinished till further directions . . . and . . . if the worke shall againe be carryed on, then the time . . . shall proporconally be prolonged or if it . . . shall not be againe entered upon, then . . . an estimate shall be made by persons indifferently chosen by both . . . parties . . . Within ten dayes next after such estimate [the Bishop shall] pay . . . Thackeray . . . proportionably to that . . . worke . . . finished . . . and that in such case . . . the said parties . . . shall give mutual releases to each other . . .

This document was duly signed by Thackeray and was witnessed by William Sill (who resigned as vicar of Torpenhow in 1681)¹³, John North, Henry Perkins, Henry Pattinson and James Nicholson, the last two adding 'Notary Public'. In contrast to this original contract, the accounts were made up later, but were carefully vetted by Elizabeth Rainbow and contain a wealth of interesting information. Unfortunately dates are often missing and only work outside Thackeray's contract is detailed.

The timber account, for example, shows that Rainbow had begun preparations over four years before the contract was signed. On 17th May 1669 £30 had been paid "To Thomas Denton of Seburham Esq. for 20 timber trees", £2. 13s. 8d. to "Peter Munkhouse, Robt. Munkhouse and Willm. Holmes for felling, twisting,¹⁴ crosscutting and squaring them" and £5. 15s. to "Wm. Elwood, Henry Sewel and John Stalker for leading them to Rose." Apparently, Thackeray and Holme verified on the original account that "These 20 Trees . . . were all in ye Court at Rose-Castle in July 1673 for the use of the Chappel." In May 1673 and February 1674 £23. 7s. 6d. was paid "To Tho. Denton Esq. for 11 Trees more," the carpenters received £2. 9s. 7d. for processing them and two days before Thackeray signed the contract, £3 was paid "To Robt. Thomlinson for leading of them from Warnal-wood" three miles SSW of Rose Castle¹⁵ at a cost of 1s. 10d. per tree-mile.

A further £11. 15s. was paid "To Hen. Dacres Esq. for 16 Timber trees" and £3. 0s. 11d. "To Wm. Holm wth other

Carpenters" for preparing them. For leading them "from Lannercost to Rose Castle",¹⁶a distance of over sixteen miles, Nicholas Ridley received £2 on 14th March and Mr. Hebden had £15. 10s. on 19th July 1674. A further 50s. was allowed "for meat, drink and Lodging for ye men that brought the said wood, with hay for their goods¹⁷in winter and grass for them in summer."

Sixteen more oak trees from George Blamire cost £11. 11s. on 10th August and "one draught¹⁸ and 2 Carts [were occupied for] 5 dayes leading them" to the site. In addition £2. 2s. was paid "To Mr. Baliffe for 4 oak trees" on 21st August, £3. 10s. "to Mr. Chambers for 4 oak trees" on 17th September and £1. 10s. "To Wm. Richardson for 6 oak trees" on 1st October¹⁹. Peter Munkhouse and Holme received £1. 13s. 6d. in all for "making them fit for Carriage" which in turn cost £1. 1s. 2d. As the average value of these trees was only 35 *per cent* of those supplied by Denton and their average transport cost was 30 *per cent*, it can be assumed that they were carried about the same distance, namely three miles. Clearly, the best trees had been brought on site first and Richardson's must have been poor by comparison.

But what were the estate's own trees like? In the 1649 valuation the best 120 trees "growing near . . . the castle" had an average value of 13s. 4d. If the basis of valuation was comparable to the actual prices paid two decades later, that figure matches the 13s. 2½d. average cost of the cheapest 46 trees bought for the building work. On the other hand, Denton's 31 trees were between 225 and 320 *per cent* more expensive and would have been intended for main beams and roof timbers. In contrast, 680 hedgerow and "old decayed trees of little use but for firing" were valued at 2s. each in 1649 and the other 2399 trees averaged only 3s. 1½d. By comparison even Richardson's trees bettered the estate's main reserve of timber.

Perhaps the estate supplied the five trees and several pieces (including "elm wood [for] ye best stairs") totalling 549 square feet and valued at about £42 "which the Bishop had provided . . . for ye building of the new Dairy, Laundry, new Graynary, Smiths forge and other outhouses and Reparacons . . . [Thackeray] finding the said timber more fit than any [that] could be bought . . . for the Chappel and Staircase". Otherwise "the building was like to have been stayed for want of Timber, wood and Boards", but Thackeray "onely . . . restored 160 foot of small tops of trees and half a Rood of oak boards with 80 Firdailes" valued at £19. 10s. for the outbuildings. This included 42 feet "towards a roof set on ye Portcullis".

In addition to all this timber, "Boards of oak and Firdales" were paid for during 1674. On 10th January £3. 15s. was paid "To Mr. Wm. Nicholson for half an hundred of Firdale" plus 7s. carriage from an unknown place. More clearly, on 11th May, £5

was paid "To James Simpson for 2 Rood²⁰ of oak boards" and "Carriage from Armathwait", about 9 miles east of Rose Castle, cost 18s. On 27th August £10 was paid "To Mr. Wm. Fleming for 4 Rood of oak boards delivered at Threlkeld", fifteen miles south of Rose on the other side of Carrock Fell, and carriage from there cost another £3.²¹ By 5th December two payments of £6 and £6.11s.11d. had been paid "To Mr. John Tickle²² [each] for one hundred Firdale delivered at Whitehaven" and carriage from there cost £5. 8s. However, at the end of the timber account, Elizabeth Rainbow added a note that she had paid £6 "To Mr. Tickel for 6 score²³ firr deals which is in none of the accounts". This suggests that she actively helped her husband in his work and checked the accounts for missing items.

Not only were the largest timbers waiting in the outer court, but scaffolding had also been prepared by the time Thackeray's contract was signed. For example, on 7th July 1673, £2.1s. was paid "To John Holm for wood to make Ladders and Scaffolding" and John Knot and Robert Lamonby received 2s. 8d. "for leading them to Rose". Thomas Head, Robert Lamonby and William Lamonby were paid 5s. "for making Fleaks²⁴ for laying upon ye Scaffold [and] two Riddles for lyme". On 10th July Robert Stub was paid 24s. "for 8 Auler trees for making more Scaffolding". Pattinson's account shows that a further £8. 8s. 3d. was spent on "Wood & other Materialls for Scaffolds". For lifting purposes an "Engine with Ropes &c" cost £9. 14s. 10½d. In addition £9. 0s. 2d. was paid "For takeing down ye old Chappell", "Labourers at Rubbish" were paid £14. 6s. 2½d. and "carrying out 310 Cart Load of rubbish from the Chappel [cost] 3d. per Couple", but detail of subsequent progress is poor.

Although Archbishop Sterne had claimed that materials from the ruins were used only for rebuilding work and that enough remained to make a commodious house, it is interesting to note that £8. 17s. was paid to "Labourers at ye Quarry getting stones" and that "leading 1802 [square] foot of Stone from Chalk Quarries to Rose" at 3½d. a foot cost £26. 5s. 7d. The stone "was led as it rose out of the Quarrie, but [was] measured . . . after it was wrought and set . . .". No exact date is given, but the need for this extra stone suggests that Thackeray had completed the stripping of all usable stone from the east and south wings, of which there are now no remains. The bishops' quarries lay beside Chalk (or Shawk) beck two miles west of Rose and appear to have been worked since Roman times. In 1794 Hutchinson described the main freestone band as being 14 feet thick, dipping northwards at about 8¾°, producing "a red freestone of a open grit, a . . . very white freestone of a closer body and a fine seam of limestone" and was "scarce anywhere to be equalled".²⁵ Presumably the first of these was used for the ashlar work.

Apart from Thackeray, the only other mason named was a Thomas Pinkney who received £29. 6s. 11d. for work not included in Thackeray's contract. An original bill shows that his work included "building the little court wall before the front of the staircase ten quarters high with 2 hewne pillars 3 yeards high under the cornish: And 2 balls above ye cornish". He also set "25 yeards of Battlement upon ye Back sid of ye chappell &c with 2 chimneys topping to bell tower", "44 yeards of freeston dimond pavements in ye little court" together with "48 yeards . . . along ye chappell sid in ye inner court" presumably using "6 Cart Load of Flags [led] . . . from Shawk to Rose" at 2s. 6d. a load. He was also paid for "hearths working and laying".

At least one variation was made to Thackeray's contract as he received £21. 11s. 2d. "for raising ye Roof over ye Staircase & making two fair Chambers where was to have been onely Garretts & for other addiconall work". Though a versatile craftsman, he was also referred to as "Architect" in "an Estimate of meat, drink and Lodging to several workpeople . . .", dated 28th January 1674/5 and drawn up by Thackeray, John Lowther and Robert Berry. This shows that £3. 10s. was allowed "For Wm. Thackeray's horse a year and an half, at grass in summer and hay in winter, with a Cowe-grass about 3 quarters of a year . . .", which suggests that he had worked full time at Rose from the contract date. In addition, £4 expenses was allowed for "Wm. Thackeray having not Convenience of tabling one halfe year [and] was tabled at the Lord Bishops".

With regard to other craftsmen, the same account states that "if any . . . could have had tabling elsewhere, the Bishop would not have had any of them in his house at table, but corne being so very dear . . . did force [him] . . . either to table them in his own house or let the building cease". As a result each man's board was charged at 4s. a week and grass for their horses cost 8d. a week each. There were 2 carpenters, 3 slaters, 2 plasterers and 2 glazers accommodated for 5, 6, 11 and 4 weeks respectively, as well as "Plummers making up the number of one mans table for 7 weeks and 4 dayes" and 2 painters for 8 days each. The painters and glazers had a horse each whilst the plasterers shared one between them, but none were recorded for the slaters and carpenters who may have needed to travel less widely to find sufficient work. All of this hospitality was valued at £13. 3s. 4d. compared with £20 allowed for "All manner of work people having by Condition a Quart of Bear per day".

In the same account a memorandum states "That all the slate used about the Chappel was got at Randal Crag under Skiddah" (NY 255 294) and was then carried only as far as "Baggera gate" (NY 267 367), a distance of about five miles. The bishop could get no one to move it the remaining nine miles and "being advised

that the summer would be spent before [it] . . . could be got to Rose" he persuaded his tenants to lend "Carts to lead it more speedily home". They provided "190 Carts which with ye help of 5 of his own Carts and 5 hired Carts, did lead all ye 10 Rood of Slate . . . to Rose" at an estimated £1. 10s. a rood,²⁶ including food and drink for men and horses. We are told that it would have cost twice that had not the tenants been so helpful. Pattinson recorded a further £23. 7s. 7d. paid for "Blew slate, Carriage [and] Slaters Work with his Labourers" which would include fixing the slate, its cost at source and transport as far as Baggra Yeat. In addition "Lead & Carriage" cost £35. 18s. 4d. and the "plummer" received £12, but it is not possible to distinguish lead for the roof from pipework or rainwater goods. On 13th July 1674 a payment of £11. 12s. 10d. was made "To Bartholomew Lonsdaile for 8000 Laths delivered at Penrith with 1s. as earnest [money] and 1s. in charges in going to bye them". Their carriage from there cost 25s. more. Most laths would have supported slates but some must have been used for stud and lath partitions mentioned in the plasterers' account below.

The building must have been weather-tight by 16th April 1675 when John and William Webster began plastering and painting at Rose. They were paid 3d. per square yard for plastering ceilings in Bell's tower and the "Roof above the Staircase", 2d. per square yard for plastering walls in "the Room below the Chappel", Bell's tower and in the rooms over the staircase and 3d. per square yard for stooth work in the latter place. For "whit washing of the Chappel" they were paid 10s. The staircase floor required 62 yards of moulding at 1s. per yard, 40 yards of moulding at 2d. and "ye ovils there" cost £1. 10s. In the rooms over the staircase "little mouldings . . . about the windows and one dormer at 2d. per yard" cost 5s. 10d. With unspecified additions by Elizabeth Rainbow the total plastering bill came to £18. 14s. 9d. which was duly copied into Pattinson's summary.

The total bill for painting amounted to £17. 17s. 7d. and comprised "painting the wainscot above the seats on the north side of the Chappel" (9½ yards) and 25⅔ yards of "wainscot on the south side" all at 1s. 3d. per square yard. At the same rate the Websters painted "one back piece towards the Front windows", "the Screen on both sides", "the Pulpit on the outside", "the Back part of the Bishops seat", "All the foreseats and the places in each seat for lying Books on" and "the Rails and Ballisters before the Lords table", but, for some reason, painting "the Bishops seat within and without" cost rather less than 10d. per square yard. Elizabeth Rainbow noted that "Oyle & colours" cost £3. 11s. 7d. and that 15s. was paid "To Will. Thackary for painting ye stairs & doors". She also recorded £2. 10s. paid to "Will. Thackary for

the new Court wall" and £2. 5s. "To him for setting a roof upon ye Portcullis" as well as £2. 10s. "Mr. Thackary's account Getting Stones & wood for ye gates", all being extra to his contract.

Although Pattinson summarised all these accounts and added, as an after-thought, £2. 10s. "for ye dyall on ye Chappell Wall" and £3. 11s. "for flower Potts & Rigging", Elizabeth Rainbow found £15. 7s. 6d. of carpenter's work omitted and concluded that the whole work had cost her husband £1513. 3s. minus the Archbishop's £400 dilapidations payment. Her total included £150 for "the outward nessessary Buildings as in the next page" which Pattinson had already written to explain "The Buildings at Rose Castle finished . . . [by] William Thackeray . . . as followeth":

The Chappell with 2 large Rooms under it with Chimneys in both, at the East End Stone Staires going up to the Vestry made out of the Ruines of Bell Tower with Wood Staires to an upper Chamber with Chimneys in both.

At the front of the new Building a Court Walled in with great Gates and Diamond Pavements with two Steps of larger Pavements at entering into the House. A large staircase & at the Top a faire Gallery leading to ye Chappell & Dining Room both of a Floor, also Staires up to two very good Chambers over ye Stair Case. A Roof laid upon Constables Tower & a Cellar made in it, which was very much wanted.

There was other necessary Buildings chargeable to the Bishop as a Dayry House built from ye Ground with two low Roomes & a Closet, also Staires to two upper Chambers & adjoining to that a Wood House & Slaughter House with a Granary over them, & in another place a Smiths forge.

The former old Dayry House, being too remote from ye Castle & very much out of Repaire was all taken down & new built with two low Roomes for Servants to lodge in with a Chimney in one of the Roomes & three Closets.

The Accounts of these Buildings are lost but, as I remember the same, besides some materialls of the old Building came to about fifty pounds, but for ye Charge of the new Dayry with the rest of that Building I can give no perfect Account but as I thinke it might be about £100 or more.

Although it is natural to wish that more detail had been included in the accounts, the Mounsey-Heysham papers have allowed a much closer investigation of Bishop Rainbow's rebuilding work than was feasible previously. As the bishop undertook to deliver all materials to the site, their prices and sources are well documented and the unit costs of transport can be deduced. Stone obtained from the ruins or the bishop's quarries two miles away probably presented few problems, unlike the slate which was brought fourteen miles from Skiddaw over difficult roads. Some main timbers were hauled a similar distance from Lanercost in the opposite direction but the largest trees were obtained from Warnell wood only three miles away. Clearly good timber was scarce, even for such a notable building, as evidenced

by the poor quality of estate timber and the import of deals through Whitehaven over thirty miles away.

Fortunately the accounts name many of the workmen and indicate some of their activities, but one might regret that the main construction work was done by contract. As a result we know the name of only one mason other than Thackeray and we have insufficient detail to determine the size of the work-force, their progress, working methods or problems. Although John Lowther (who as Constable of the Castle had held Rose for the Royalists in 1645)²⁷ was rewarded for "Overseeing & paying Workmen", William Thackeray was clearly the key person at the building. As contractor and senior mason and carpenter, he possessed also skills usually attributed to an architect. Not only was he referred to as "Architect" but he was paid for "Journeys & Advice" and for making a "Modell of Paistboard". His contract specified two models, one for the north entrance and the other for the south front which was to possess eight windows with "pediments, Architrave, freeze and Cornish" together with two cornices running the whole length of the front, one under the upper windows and the other under the battlement.

This reference to classical features is vital to the present accuracy of the history of Cumbrian architecture. Even if there was some influence from the Trollops' "platforme for a new building"²⁸ prepared in 1671 when they were "viewing, measuring & Estimating ye Ruines of Rose Castle" as dilapidations advisers, it would appear that William Thackeray must have been familiar with using, and probably designing, the elements of classical architecture by 1673. Thus the claim made by the Rev. Thomas Machel (1647—1698) that he and Edward Addison of Kirkby Thore were "the first introducers of Regular building into these Parts . . ." ²⁹ must be open to challenge, for Machel was not inducted to the living at Kirkby Thore until 15th August 1677.³⁰ Up to that time he had been at Oxford University where he graduated B.A. in 1668 and then M.A. in 1672 when he became a Fellow of Queen's College until his return to his native Westmorland five years later. His interest in Oxford's architecture was already apparent.

In view of Thackeray's efforts, Machel's claim to have worked on Rose Castle requires some consideration. Buck's etching made in 1739 (Fig. 5) shows William Thackeray's main entrance projecting "Northwards two foot without the Chappell wall and . . . twenty four foot in length . . ." This structure replaced the earlier, ruined Constable's tower which had projected about 16 feet. Presumably Buck drew what he saw. He included "Rustick Coynes" and "two [semi-circular] Steps" leading to a wide doorway which was capped by an open segmental (almost semi-circular) pediment. Above were two transomed windows with

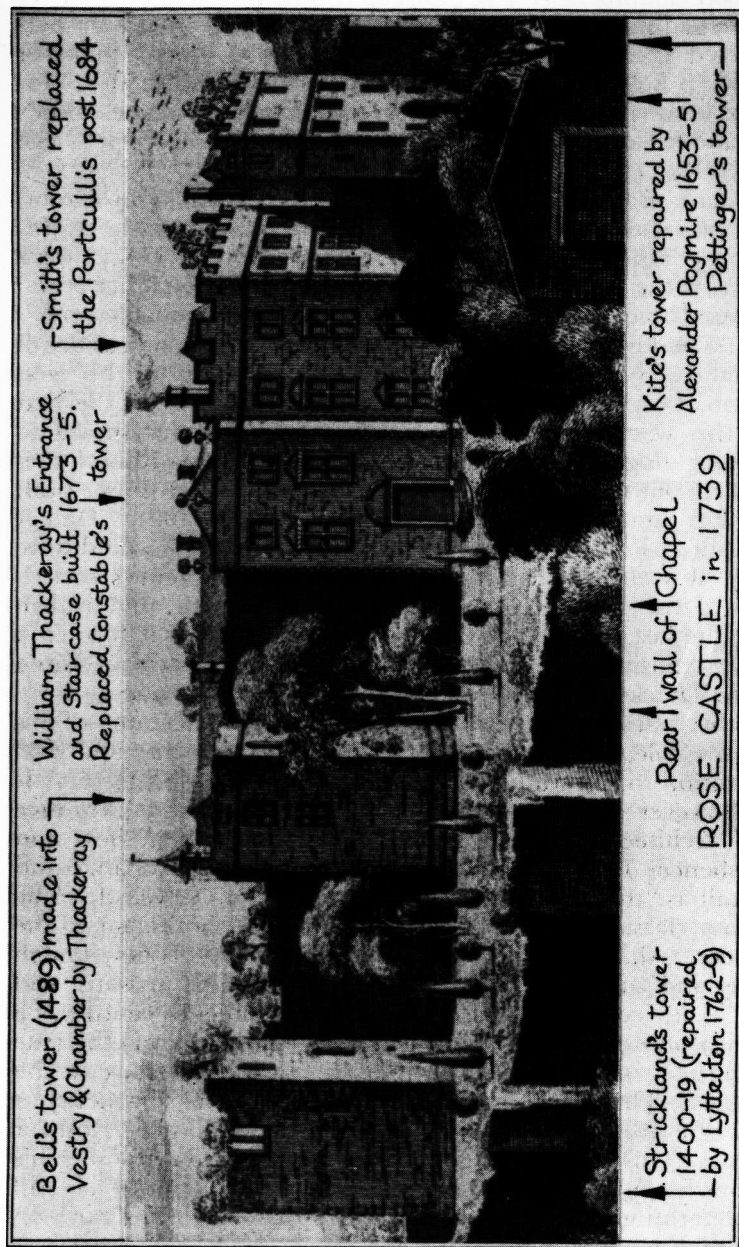


Fig. 5. Extract from an etching by Samuel and Nathaniel Buck annotated to show the main features of the north front of Rose Castle in 1739.

open triangular pediments and on the second floor two square, mullioned windows showed where Thackeray had inserted "two very good Chambers over ye Staircase." The roof line created yet another pediment above two cornices, and urns or flower pots completed the composition. The vestry and upper chamber windows in Bell's tower appear to be Thackeray's work also,³¹ for now we know that he created these two rooms from the tower's ruins, and for access, built the stone steps outside the chapel's east window (Fig. 1).

Instead of showing the Portcullis with Thackeray's roof, Buck's view shows a large replacement structure filling the north-west corner of the castle. Its north face matches Thackeray's work except that the first-floor windows have segmental pediments and the ground-floor triangular, as if to counter-balance Thackeray's design. The lower cornice is continued but the upper cornice is replaced by battlements which carry on round to the west elevation. Despite having plain transomed windows on the first floor, this west elevation reflects the older features shown in Alexander Pogmire's work on Kite's tower. The Rev. James Wilson (p. 96) suggested that this corner was the new tower built by Bishop Smith during his episcopate (1684—1702).³² Had it been built in Rainbow's time his 'memorial' accounts would have said so. It seems likely, therefore, that this is Machel's contribution to the architectural history of Rose Castle undertaken during the last fourteen years of his life.³³ Certainly it formed a pleasing transitional element linking the earlier style of Kite's tower to Thackeray's classical work on the main entrance.

If this assessment diminishes Machel's own account of his innovative role, it in no way detracts from his immense and vital contribution to the study and recording of Cumbria's history. It does, however, raise the question of who really did introduce formal architecture to the region and where, when, how and from whence? The completion of Robert Trollop's Exchange and Guildhall as "the first building of importance in Newcastle to be built in a classical style" in 1660³⁴ may well be significant to the argument. Although there is ample evidence of how much Cumberland and its coalfield relied for skilled artisans and technical advice on Newcastle in the late seventeenth century,³⁵ a great deal more research will be needed before (if ever) the true provenance of formal architecture in Cumbria can be established. The main structures built by William Thackeray at Rose Castle still survive but the detail he created has been lost for 150 years. This article has gone some way towards exposing his work but his full contribution to Cumbrian architecture has still to be determined and to this end a further study of his work on other buildings is in preparation.

Notes and References

1. Cumbria County Record Office, Carlisle (C.R.O.) D/MH/2, 113—123. I am greatly indebted to Mr. Bruce Jones, M.A., the County Archivist, for drawing my attention to this source and for his constant encouragement. Presumably the Rose Castle documents were obtained by George Gill Mounsey (1797—1874) for his historical research. He wrote *Carlisle in 1745* (1846) and succeeded his father (who died in 1842) as Deputy Registrar of the diocese of Carlisle and Secretary to the Bishop. C.R. Hudleston & R.S. Boumphrey, *Cumberland Families & Heraldry*, 1978, 234. (Hereafter C.F.H.)
2. Wilson, *op. cit.*, 93. His sources were Thomas Denton's manuscript *A Perambulation of . . . Cumberland in 1688* now in C.R.O., D/Lons/L/12 (folio 83) and manuscripts in the Rydal papers now in the Record Office at Kendal.
3. Fully quoted in Wilson *op. cit.*, 232—5 (Appendix xvii) and J. Nicolson & R. Burn, *History . . . of Westmorland & Cumberland*, 1777, ii, 313—5. Timber on the estate was valued at £521 and the building materials in the castle £425, including lead £120, timber £120 and the hewn stones in the walls £172 for 5170 yards @ 8d.
4. *Collectanea Top. & Geneal.*, i, 290. "Sales of Bishops' Lands 1647—1651."
5. Wilson, *op. cit.*, Appendix xviii, "Extracts from accounts of Bailiff of Dalston." Pogmire also worked at Lowther Hall in 1642 and 1655. H.M. Colvin, *Biographical Dictionary of British Architects*, 1978, 650. Dormant = main beam across a building.
6. Nicolson & Burn, *op. cit.*, ii, 288 quoting Bishop Burnet.
7. Wilson, *op. cit.*, 238, Appendix xx, Commissioners' comments based on the surveyor's report by Henry Trollop (1671) to his client, Bishop Rainbow. Sterne's counter arguments are in Appendix xxi.
8. In 1652 she married Rainbow, who succeeded her father as Master of Magdalen College Cambridge. After Rainbow's death she lived with her nephew, Sir Edward Hasell at Dalemain near Penrith, died in 1702 and was buried at Dalston. *D.N.B.*, xvi, 618.
9. H.M. Colvin, *op. cit.*, 837.
10. All towers except Constable's and Pettinger's were named after earlier bishops who had built or repaired them. Bell's Tower dates from 1489 (Wilson, *op. cit.*, 75).
11. There were already "20 Trees . . . in ye Court . . . in July 1673." Rose Castle timber account, C.R.O., D/MH/2/118, discussed below.
12. Fieldwork shows that all dimensions were external. The internal dimensions are quoted by Wilson, *op. cit.*, 126. It was common for the width of buildings to be ignored in contracts especially if any beams were to be re-used.
13. As vicar of Adingham he became Prebendary of the First Stall at Carlisle Cathedral in 1668 until 1681 and was made vicar of Bromfield (1673—81) by Rainbow. Nicolson & Burn, *op. cit.*, ii, 127, 170, 308, 451. He may have recommended Thackeray to the bishop.
14. Twist: to prune, clip or lop off the branches.
15. Thomas Denton (1638—1698) was a barrister-at-law, Recorder of Carlisle and Appleby and author of the Manuscript *Perambulation of . . . Cumberland in 1688* (C.F.H., 88).
16. Henry Dacre of Lanercost, heir of Sir Thomas Dacre (1607—c1674) died in 1696. (C.F.H., 82).
17. Either horses or oxen; both "movable property": Including this charge, the cost per tree mile was 1s. 6¾d.
18. Presumably a timber carriage or pole-waggon. These and carts cost 2s. a day each.
19. Unfortunately these suppliers are difficult to identify. Blamires lived in Dalston, Cardew Hall and Thackwood Nook, all near Rose Castle (C.F.H., 26).
20. A rood of boards was 441 sq. ft. of any convenient thickness. B. Tyson, "The Rood as a Measurement of Builder's Work," *Vernacular Architecture*, 10: 11.
21. Each rood therefore cost 1s. per mile for transport.
22. Presumably in error for Thomas Tickell, Sir John Lowther's Whitehaven agent and Customs Office informant from 1666 to 1692. He frequently handled deals imported from Norway. His many letters to Sir John survive in C.R.O. D/Lons/W.

23. One hundred deals were in fact six score, as a "thousand of nails" was 1200 and a hundredweight is 112 lbs. to allow for waste, breakage or substandard goods.
24. Or Flakes. Clearly scaffolding planks, akin to "Racks for storing oatcake or drying fish", *Oxford English Dictionary* (whose reference to "a framework of boards used as a [miners'] shelter against rain and wind" ignores the boards' original purpose).
25. William Hutchinson, *History . . . of Cumberland*, 1794, ii, 438—443.
26. If each cart load was only two hundredweight (like packhorse loads), the twenty tons of slate would have covered about 460 square yards (Coniston slate covered 23 sq. yds. per ton—Kendal R.O., WD/Ry 22). This lies between ten Westmorland roods of 42·25 sq. yds. each and ten Cumberland roods of 49 sq. yds. each and would be about three times the quantity needed to cover the chapel. Accounting for the gratuities and hospitality given to the carriers, the memorandum writer concluded "we cannot . . . abate above one half of the said £15" expenses from the chapel account so, presumably, at least half was intended to cover outbuildings and the old slate off the chapel was no longer serviceable.
27. Charles J. Ferguson, "The development of domestic architecture; Rose Castle . . ." *Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian & Archaeological Society, Transactions*, old series, ii, (1874), 159. Other useful remarks are made by C.M.L. Bouch "Rose Castle" *ibid*, new series, lvi, (1956), 132—141.
28. Wilson, *op. cit.*, 238. There is no other evidence that the Trollops took any part in the design or rebuilding work but Thackeray may have used their ideas.
29. Quoted by H.M. Colvin, *op. cit.*, 531 from the Machel Mss., vol. i, 538. Dean and Chapter Library at Carlisle Record Office.
30. Note in the Kirkby Thore parish register (now in the Record Office, Kendal). Machel's life and achievements are summarized by Jane M. Ewbank, *Antiquary on Horseback*, C.W.A.A. Soc., Extra Series, xix, (1963), xi—xvi, and also by T. Rogan & E. Birley, "Thomas Machel the Antiquary", C.W.A.A. Soc., *Transactions*, new series, lv, (1955), 132—153.
31. Wilson (p. 76) considered these windows to "date from Bishop Vernon's restoration" in 1796 but he lacked the Mounsey-Heysham evidence and commented that "this portion of the castle has proved a veritable trap to architects . . ." He dates the lowest windows also to 1796 when the earth-filled ground floor was dug out for Vernon.
32. Referred to as Smith's tower by T.R.B. Hodgson, "*Rose Castle, a brief description*", undated typescript pamphlet available at the house.
33. If Machel ever worked for Rainbow, it must have been on minor projects.
34. H.M. Colvin, *op. cit.*, 837.
35. See for example J.V. Beckett, *Coal & Tobacco*, 1981, *passim.*, or the numerous letters of Thomas Tickell of Whitehaven, C.R.O., D/Lons/W.