

UNERIGG (EWANRIGG) HALL, MARYPORT, CUMBRIA

by Blake Tyson

Unerigg Hall¹ stands one mile south-east of Maryport harbour and is now separated from the town's sprawling, modern housing estates by a remnant of former parkland just one field wide. The building (Fig. 1) presents a depressing sight: a sad but salutary reminder of how an earlier generation abandoned their architectural heritage in the face of economic pressures. Except for the former kitchens which became the present farmhouse, only the lower one and a half storeys of the north-west facade survived the devastation of January to March 1903² when the remainder of the mansion was demolished to provide building materials for the present, out-dated range of farm buildings. By relating these scant physical remains to surviving but sparse documentary evidence, this article will attempt to reconstruct the building's former architectural history, a task hitherto avoided by earlier writers who concentrated on family history and business affairs.³

The property's history reaches back into the medieval mists and its name stems from the river Ellen (formerly Alne or Ulne) whose valley lies between the house and the nucleus of Maryport, laid out by Humphrey Senhouse II from 1750.⁴ Oenrigg was mentioned in the registers of Holm Cultram Abbey about 1174 and by 1436 had become Unerigg, possessed by the Thwaits family who sold it in 1638 to a Richard Barwise.⁵ That same year he sold it to Ewan Christian, a deemster of Milntown near Ramsey in the Isle of Man, (from whom the modern name may have been derived) and the history of the house was then bound



Fig. 1: Ewanrigg (Unerigg) Hall, Maryport, in 1979. The buildings behind this north-west facade were demolished in 1903. The farmhouse was formerly the kitchen wing built in 1782-3.

inextricably to the fortunes and fancies of the Christian family until almost the end of the 19th century.

In the earliest reference to the house about 1675, Edmund Sandford described Unerigg as "an Ancient squires Towerhouse and familys residence . . ."6 no doubt similar to many other fortified towers of the northern Borderlands. However in 1688 Thomas Denton noted that "Mr. Ewan Christian"7 . . . hath built a good house out of the shell of an old Tower"8. It is fortunate that a plan, elevation and contract survive to give some detail of that stage of development and an impression of the earlier structure (Fig. 2).9

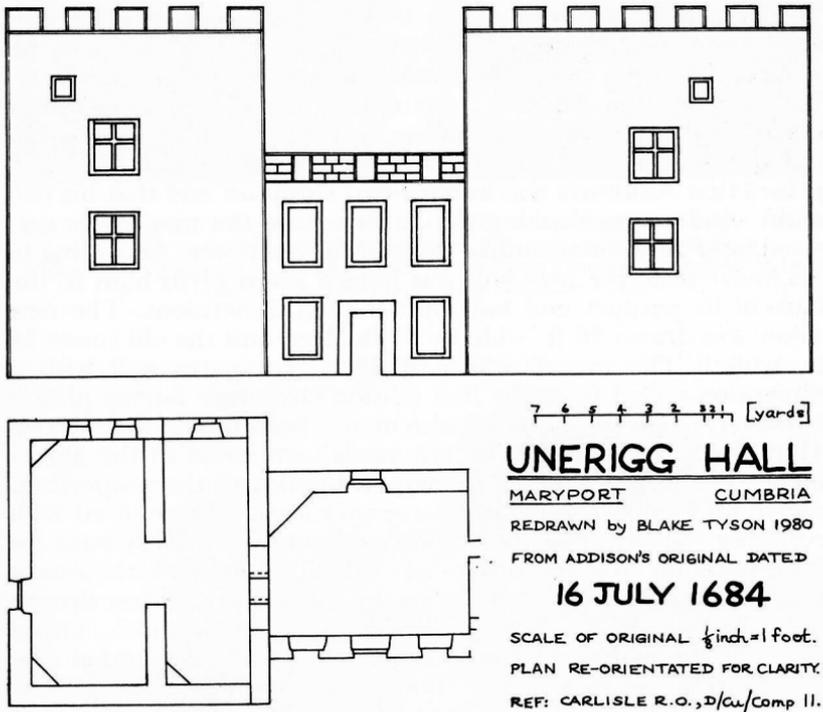


Fig. 2: South-east elevation and plan of Unerigg Hall as designed in 1684 by John Addison of Barnard Castle.

On 16 July 1684 an "Article of Building [was] . . . made between Ewan Christian of Unerigg . . . and John Addison of Marrwood Park¹⁰ . . . Co. Durham, Mason" to ensure proper supervision of Ewan's "house now in building . . . according to a paper draught or modell thereof by ye said John Addison . . . hereunto annexed". Addison's fee was agreed at one guinea downpayment and five more on completion. The work was to be

“. . . at ye costs . . . of the said Ewan according to his agreement with the severall workemen now employed”. Abell Fearon, a waller, had agreed to build the walls and chimneys, the hall to be “seven yards high and the rest ten yards high”. Anthony Barwis and Edward Gibson, both masons, had agreed to undertake “the Hewen work” but no prices or other details were mentioned. Addison promised that the work would be “. . . finished competently and in good proportion for such a Building”, that all chimneys would “well vent & avoid smoake without offence or damage to their respective roomes” and he agreed to correct faults at his own expense. There is no record of any problems or of how the work progressed.

Figure 2 has been redrawn from Addison's original and comparison with Figure 3 allows important conclusions to be reached. Addison's plan shows only the extension's ground floor, but his elevation suggests an attempt to produce a balanced facade with matched fenestration in towers of identical height but different widths. Figure 3 shows the same relationships and proves that Addison's was a south-east elevation and that his two main windows overlooking the garden from the new tower survived later alterations, unlike those of the old tower. According to his linear scale the new hall was indeed seven yards high to the base of its parapet and had similar plan dimensions. The new tower was drawn 28 ft. wide by 31 ft. deep and the old tower 38 ft. wide.¹¹ The overall width of 88 ft. compares well with a dimension scaled from the first edition Ordnance Survey plan.¹² However, to the top of their battlements, both towers were drawn 41 ft. high, rather than the ten yards mentioned in the agreement. The larger dimension compares well with the proportions shown on Figure 3, but the discrepancy cannot be resolved with certainty. Nevertheless these details provide a sufficient basis for interpretation of later proposals and alterations which almost coincided with Nicolson & Burn's inadequate description published in 1777: “an old house built castle-wise”. Other evidence shows that a single-storey kitchen had been added previously to the south-west side of Addison's tower (see below).

Meanwhile, in 1752, Unerigg had passed to Ewan's grandson John Christian (1719–1767) who had married Jane, the eldest daughter of Eldred Curwen of Workington Hall. One of their first tasks was to erect a new cowhouse and barn about 250 ft. ENE of the house, and they inscribed over the door “J^CJ November 1753” and added “O fortunatos nimium sua si Bonanorin Agricola”. Only the decrepit shell of this building survives, buried amongst a clutter of modern extensions. As the couple's two eldest sons died young, when John Christian died at Petty France near Bath five years after his wife's death, their third son John (1756–1828), aged eleven, succeeded to the estates under the guardianship of

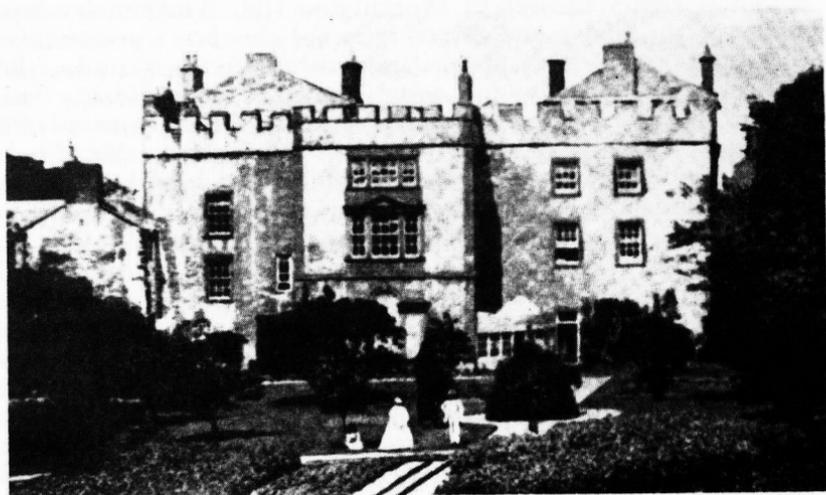


Fig. 3: Unerigg Hall from the south-east. The original tower house is to the right, the 1684 tower to the left, and an extension of 1777 projects between them.
Photograph reproduced by kind permission of Liverpool University Press from S. Hicks-Beach The Yesterdays behind the Door, 1956.

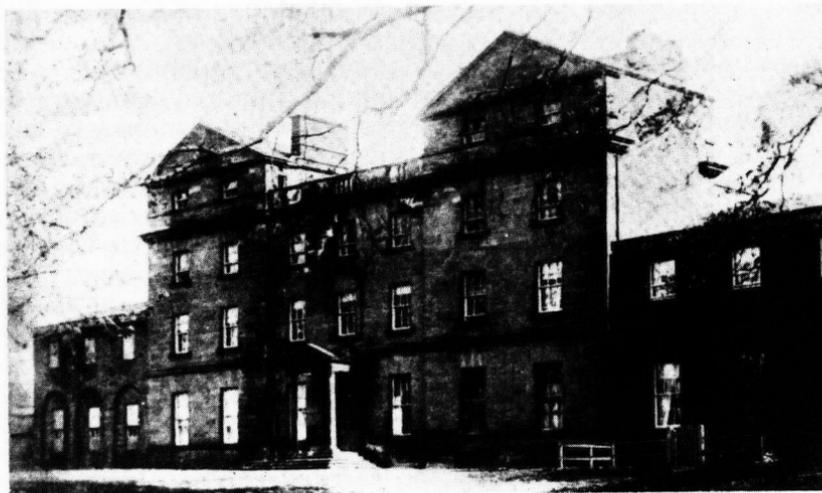


Fig. 4: Unerigg Hall, north-west front. The central block was designed by William Heaton in 1777 and the wings were added in 1782-3.
Photograph reproduced by kind permission of Liverpool University Press from S. Hicks-Beach The Yesterdays behind the Door, 1956.

his uncle Henry Curwen of Workington Hall. Further developments of the house and estate reflected this boy's personality, ambitions and destiny, but affairs were effectively under the control of his father's land agent named Charles Udale. This remarkable man's death was recorded in the *Carlisle Journal* of 8 February 1806: "Tuesday se'nnight, at Workington, Mr. Chas. Udale aged 77 years, nearly 50 of which he had been head-agent to J.C. Curwen Esq.¹³ and to Mr. Curwen's father". Udale was living in Crosscanonby when he married Mary Walker at Bridekirk on 29 November 1768 but no record of his several children has been found. He was not a Quaker as some have suggested.

There is ample evidence that Christian held Udale in highest esteem, relied heavily on his judgment in all matters and regarded him as a valued friend and business adviser. Although they require considerable editing, Christian's letters to his agent provide useful evidence of the proposals, modifications and progress of building work at Unerigg. Their correlation with Udale's building account book¹⁴ allows detailed study of two distinct construction episodes started in 1777 and 1782.

Earlier letters (Cu/3/55) set the scene and highlight Christian's incessant demands for money. In 1771 when staying with his uncle, the rector of Docking in Norfolk, Christian wrote to Udale: "I hear you are to be the inhabitant of Unerigg till I come of age, which gives me great pleasure, as I am certain it will take no harm". Writing to Udale at Unerigg in January 1773 he said he expected "to have betwixt 3 & four hundred pounds a year till I come of age & intend to keep one horse at Cambridge—but . . . it will be but a very short [time] till I am my own master". This suggests that the sixteen-years-old heir was eager to take control of his affairs, but in May 1773, from St. Peter's College, Cambridge (Peterhouse), he complained that his uncle Curwen was sending only half his allowance. He endured university life until 1775 but then left without graduating, went to the Isle of Man and on 10 September married his sister-in-law Margaret Taubman, aged 26, daughter of John Taubman of Castletown. This responsibility motivated him to obtain possession of Unerigg as soon as he would come of age in 1777.

Thus he wrote from Castletown to Udale on 7 November 1775 saying "Mr. Curwen has given me leave to begin your [new] house as soon as you think propper . . . I would only wish you to get some wood which might be in good order by the time I shall want it" for later building work (Cu/3/56). Udale's new house was built at a cost of £156. 16s. 0d. (Cu/2). Its location is uncertain but a rental of 1777 (Cu/5/152) shows that he rented New Close for £5 per year out of his annual salary of £63.¹⁵ Udale must have asked his young employer's permission to modify their proposals for this

house and Christian's reply on 23 March 1776 reveals their relationship: "I am angry with you. Can you suppose I should think any thing I could do which would . . . make your house more agreeable to you or [more] convenient a trouble? I hope you will live to be the occupier many years. I look upon you more as a friend than servant & I have few who would do so much to promote my interest & welfare & I shall always be happy at every opportunity . . . to show you the confidence & esteem I have for you". He approved Udale's plan and told him to proceed. In similar vein, his next letter on 22 April commented "I am happy to hear you have got the foundation laid . . . Make it to please yourself & you will be shure to have my approbation". As Udale's replies have not survived, no other information is available, but supervising the construction of his own house gave him invaluable experience for the greater task that was to follow.

The restless, impulsive youth's schemes must have been inflicted on his uncle also, for Henry Curwen wrote to Udale "as to what my nephew mentions about his [own] house I will make enquiry after a proper person, and talk with you on the subject". This comment can be dated roughly from Christian's response to his agent on 19 February 1777 when he revealed his reactions to the initial building proposals:¹⁶ "I was much obliged to Mr. Curwen for his kindness in getting a proper person over to viewed [*sic.*] my house; but I do not approve their plan of Buildin[g] a new house . . . I could not . . . destroy a house I have been used to from very childhood. It would be like parting with an old friend for a few faults . . . if I can any way with convenience keep the form of my old house, nothing shall tempt me to alter it". He considered that "four thousand Pounds . . . which . . . a new one would cost me with furniture" was too much, so made his own counter-proposals: "Could not the old Tower be taken down . . . & a tower the same size as the new one built [in its stead]. The middle part might be much enlarged by making the towers at a greater distance [apart]. I think this might be done at much less expence . . . [and if] I could make this plan answer, I might [then] repair the new tower (which stands at present) at my leasure . . . If [the architect] sends you the plans, they may be sent [to me] though I am determind if possible to go upon the plan I have named to you & at the same time I will raise the kitchen . . . Say what you think of [my plan . . . I] assure you that I would rely on your judgment as soon as anyones". To finance the project he was "resolved to sell . . . some of the detached part of my Milltown estate which . . . may raise two thousand pounds" but this was not done, perhaps because he was expecting to receive £4000 as his wife's marriage portion on 1 August.

On 5 March Christian wrote that his baby son John, born on 12 July 1776, was to be innoculated against smallpox and would

be presented to Udale in April. He confirmed his intention to take down the old tower, expressed surprise that Udale had not heard from the architect, Mr. Heaton, and added "I think your judgment of him seems to be very right" — and, presumably, unfavourable! On 8 March, William Heaton wrote to Udale from Windermere Island where he was working on Thomas English's circular house,¹⁷ explaining that he had been ill ever since he left Cumberland. He enclosed two sets of drawings for the intended alterations and a plan and elevation for a new house, hoping that one of them would be acceptable. Heaton promised full cooperation in preparing further designs to meet his client's needs, but unfortunately no drawings have survived. Nevertheless Udale's building accounts show that on 14 February 1779, £25 was "Paid John Nelson Mr. Heaton's draft in fav^r Agnes Thompson in part for Drawings"¹⁸ and on 29 October a final £15 was "Paid Mr. Heaton in full for Drawings &c by 3 N[ew] Castle Bank Notes £5 each".

Christian received Heaton's plans on 27 March 1777. Having reported that his son was ill, he apologised for troubling Udale again and remarked "I have got more improvement from your Correspondence than ever I got from all my College Education". He added in a postscript "I have just seen the p[lan]s and like them very well. Pray give me your opinion which will do best". His next (also in Cu/3/56) reported his son's recovery and commented "I approve much of Mr. Heaton's Plans but I like the improvements on the old tower best; but of this [more] when we meet". Clearly, Heaton's efforts to adapt the out-moded buildings to contemporary needs were of merit and resulted in the old tower being preserved, though considerably modified.

Christian's April meeting with Udale was prevented by bad weather so, returning his chosen plan on 20 April, he wrote from Douglas a long, complex letter (Cu/3/61) explaining his ideas by reference to numbers inserted on Heaton's drawings. Some statements are quite clear, for example "I cannot think of having the House the way it fronts at Present" and "I mean to front it to Maryport". Thus Addison's south-east elevation formed the old front overlooking "the Court" or enclosed garden, whilst a "Back Garden" faced Maryport. Unused to building matters, Christian seemed uncertain which of two extensions was to form the new front. "No. 1 is a room to be built out into the court or Back Garden as shall be thought best. [No.] 2 . . . to have two Rooms built back or added . . . Wheather the Building must be added to the Court Part or the back Garden I must leave to Mr. Heaton and you". He wanted "a handsome staircase leading out of the hall & . . . a Gallery to Join the two Towers . . . in the form I have drawn" (Fig. 5), but his annotated sketch shows the "two Rooms" (4 and 5) on the south-east "Court" side entered from the gallery

(3). The stair angle (1) and old tower's position (6) prove the sketch's orientation. In the event, Figure 3 shows that "No. 1" was built with Venetian windows to project between the two towers on the south-east side and the "two Rooms" were built into the back garden to create the new front (Fig. 4) as Heaton had already planned after discussion with Udale and Henry Curwen.¹⁹

The old tower presented problems, however. Christian referred to Heaton's plan: "No. 4 is the room in the old tower which will . . . make a very good study but . . . must we take down the old tower or no. If . . . the walls can be cleared of the damp I would . . . have it left but . . . as soon as possible get the floors taken up . . . to Judge the better wheather it will do. . . . I intend having the Nursery a bove my own room in the Old Tower. I suppose you will make a staircase from the first floor to the rooms a bove as I can see no occasion for one from the hall up the way we spoke of". He suggested that "Maidservants may very well Lay in the Garret &c above in the two Towers".

He continued "The P[lan] above Stairs I like very well", but of six rooms over the kitchen he wanted four made into two larger rooms for "Batcholors or others whom I can . . . make a little free with. Their may be [also] two small ones, one for the House keeper & the other for any person who may come upon buisness of the former kind". These two bedrooms were to have "communication from the new Tower", but the details are not clear and his intentions are open to misinterpretation. Presumably, riotous parties would be better kept to the more isolated part of the house. He referred uninformatively to "No. 6 . . . the Stair Case in the New Tower" and "No. 7 . . . the little Breakfast Parlour" both to remain unaltered, apologised for drawing on Heaton's plans and wanted work to start without delay.

Other letters (Cu/3/56) indicate that Udale had fully understood his employer's intentions and had been told "if you see anything that you can alter for the better . . . do it". Christian "would not have chose to have begun any Building without Mr. Curwen's Approbation" but as his uncle had been sent to Buxton

- No 1 the stairs these I only put to endeavour to show what I mean
 2 the side gallery
 No 3 the middle gallery with
 No 4 & 5 to the Rooms which are to be built
 No 6 Joins the old tower with a door; this you will understand goes out of the Hall

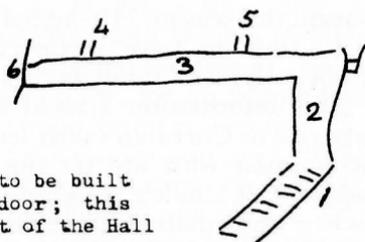


Fig. 5: John Christian's comments and sketch for altering the hall at Unerigg in 1777. (C.R.O., D/Cu/3/61)

on doctor's orders until about 20 June, and since the young man had taken a one year lease of a house on the Isle of Man to tide him over, he was anxious for work to start.

He received more plans on 28 May 1777 and wrote that day (Cu/2) to Udale "I like it very much. But I can never think of pulling down my Kitchen . . . I shall follow . . . your Plan . . . to raise the lean too to the height of the other building, but as to making it come upon a level with the New front . . . I would not expend so much for the look only. Mr. Heaton has so poor a way of expressing himself on paper that 'tis hard to understand his Plans. I [will] have it fronted with Polished Read [i.e. red] Stone but . . . Building the inside wall with the Broughton Stone would have been cheapest", for the estate had quarries at the junction of Broughton, Unerigg and Dearham commons one-and-a-quarter miles south-east of the house.

These ideas reached Udale on 31 May and, keeping a draft, he replied the next day hoping "you will have . . . come to some fix'd resolution either to begin immediately or to lay aside any thoughts of doing more than making the necessary preparations this year". Tactfully he explained that Christian had misunderstood about "taking down the Kitchen part". Though Heaton's method was more costly, it would "be much more Convenient than what was proposed by me . . . He does not mean to raise it the height of the new front . . . but only two storry High". He pointed out that, by either scheme, a new roof and upper floor would be required for the kitchen, and the cost of taking down its walls and rebuilding would be "a trifle compared with the rest of the expenses", but as it formed a distinct part of the building "there is no need to meddle with it at all this year". In fact it was left until 1782. In anticipation of final instructions he had "got down between 2 & 3 Hundred Cart load of Stones from the Quarry at Broughton and . . . having the offer of a proper workman . . . propose[d] to make between 50 and 60 thousand [bricks] . . . Next week I shall get some lime which will be better for laying if not wanted for 6 months. I have . . . good workmen who promise me to be ready at a Call should you chuse to begin this season". He hoped to have "the walls of the new part up in time to have it Covered in before the winter" and, significantly, that same day started his building account book.

This information arrived in time to be mentioned in the postscript of Christian's next letter dated 3 June. He had become discontented with life on the Island and, writing initially in ignorance of Udale's news, suggested "you might begin with the Kitchen immediately & get that done before Mr. Heaton would have his Plans ready. I shall leave the kind of Roof to yourself [but] lay out as little unnecessary Money as possible. I wish to have the present staircase stand if it can but . . . you might contrive to

light it by a doom [*sic.*] . . . I would have all the floors in the New tower stand. When I can better afford it I may finish that. I mean to furnish my House neat not expensive. If we can get the out walls up this summer I shall not mind as to the Inside of the New Building. It will be best to have a flat Roof & that all lead [as] the Cost will be at first & that will be all. All the [down] Pipes of the New building & some from the towers [could be] Brought to a large sestorn [cistern] Behind the Kitchen. I must beg my wine sellers may be taken great Pains with as I meen to look to my wine always myself. Stoves &c for Kitchen use will point themselves out. I would have the Kitchen part facing Mary Port faised with Read stone [and for a mere] twenty Pounds . . . have it Polished Stone". In postscript he added "I shall adhear to the Plan Laid down & though you may think Mr. Heaton's Plans better than yours in regard to the Kitchen I do not . . . I beleive I am more indebted to you . . . than Mr. Heaton. Should anything be left unsay'd 'tis left to yourself to supply it".

Still he was not satisfied with his stream of suggestions for he wrote a second letter that day. He had been "speaking to a stone cutter a bout marble to Pave the Hall & Lobby. I can get you plenty of the Black Stone from hence" and white too and he thought of sending over some samples. He suggested "the Windows in my Study should be broke soon as . . . that will be the room first to be done. I think it will be a very convenient house but I tremble for the expence [though] . . . it will cost less than a new house as none of my out offices will be hurt". He remarked that "Mr. Taubman . . . admires your Paper Directions" and he gave permission to "Act as is most convenient to yourselves . . . I leave you a power to do everything you see for the best".

In fact Udale had already assumed such powers, for his building account book reveals important details of the early work.²⁰ A "Messenger with plans from Workington" arrived on 7 June so work could proceed unhindered, but already on Sunday 1 June, Moses Wedgewood had been paid for "11 days at Quarry ending 31 May @ 14d." and the next day Robert Usher received £1. 5s. 0d. for 15½ days there at 1s. 8d. a day. Both were labourers who started work in mid-May with Donkin Henderson and Thomas Johnson who both completed 20 days at 16d. by 7 June. Carting the stone began soon after, for on 5 June Robert Dixon junior, one of Christian's tenant farmers, received £2. 5s. 0d. for "9 days Cartage of Stones from our own quarry to 31 May" at 2s. 6d. per day for each of two horses and carts. He also had 2s. 6d. for "1 Horse 1 day making Brick Floors" and £1. 12s. 0d. for "48 waggons stones down @ 8d.". These daywork and piecework rates continued until 18 September by which time Dixon had carted 150 loads. His next payment on 23 September was for "10 Cart load stone S B @ 7½d.". In the same period John Ferguson

carted 53 loads at the same rate and 69 more were moved by Jos. Dixon, another of Christian's tenant farmers.²¹

Manuscript plans in Carlisle Record Office prove the estate quarry's location.²² Two "Quarries belonging to Mr. Christian" are shown just north of Harker tarn, now drained and part of Harker Marsh Farm (NY 062 343). Here Coal Measures produced a buff/brown, coarse rubbly sandstone of poor aesthetic value, best seen mixed liberally with bricks in the upper parts of Heaton's north-east end wall above the present milking parlour. Protruding red sandstone quoins and window dressings indicate that this was to be hidden by rendering as in the kitchen end walls. On 3 July Udale paid the "Brickmaker for 53,000 @ 5s." and also for "Cutting Flacks²³ and making Floors 11s. deducting 18s. for Cost of Casting Clay our own men in Winter £12. 18s. 0d." This indicates how early Udale had started preparations.

The source of the "Read Polished Stone" used for the house and kitchen front and dressings is given in the building accounts. On 14 June 11s. 3d. was paid to George Tinian "for leading stones from Seabrow Quarry 18 Cart load @ 7½d.". Seabrow comprises a series of derelict quarries stretching for over a mile along the cliffs northwards from Maryport harbour and is in the Triassic Keuper Sandstone Series. It is a well-bedded, compact rock of small, well-sorted and rounded sand grains cemented by quartz and stained red by haematite, ideal for a freestone. By his last payment on 23 December, Tinian had carted 837 loads at the same rate, so each horse and cart must have carried four loads per day on a round trip of three miles. Clearly R. Dixon junior joined him at Seabrow and carried 189 loads more, but payments from 10 July show that Robert Dixon senior, tenant of "part of Unerigg Demesne", carried a further 739 loads from there by New Year 1778 and 130 more that year at the same rate. Other carriers like R. Wilson, using "our own horse" and paid a shilling a day, were used as necessary and all occasionally carted sand, bricks, lime and timber as required, but details are lacking.

The Seabrow stone was paid for in three instalments: £14. 14s. 0d. to Philip Nelson on 15 August 1777; £35. 2s. 7½d. to Mr. R. Nelson on 6 November and, finally on 23 April 1778, £106. 12s. 4½d. was "Paid Mr. Jon^a Nelson for all stones in the new building Hewn & otherwise from His Quarry measured this day, 8300 feet superficial @ 4½d., £155 12s. 6d. [plus] 44 yds. Tabling²⁴ @ 4½d., 16s. 6d., [paid] before £49. 16s. 7½d.". Although the masons had been paid for "44 yds. Table stones @ 7½d. p. yd." on 22 January, details of their other activities are not well recorded.

Rough hewing seems to have been done at Seabrow, for on 3 July Tinian was paid for "126 Cart load [of] Hewn work @ 7½d." and there are other similar entries. By the same date the masons

had already prepared "400 feet [of stone] by day [work]" and nine of them were then set a piecework rate of 6½d. a square foot for dressing the stone. After a week John Barton was made foreman at fifteen shillings a week and by the end of July there were at least eight masons preparing stone, seven "wallers and setters" on day work under Barton's leadership and eight labourers at the quarry, mixing lime and helping the wallers.²⁵ Normally all were paid on Thursdays. Before 10 July the cellars were excavated by five labourers and R. Dixon junior was paid £1 for "4 days at Cellars" with horses and carts, presumably removing spoil.

No doubt Udale reported this progress and the accumulation of materials on site for, with characteristic impatience, Christian wrote on 10 July "I am glad to find you are in such forwardness with the House. Would to God it were done[!] . . . I shall see you in a fortnight's time". This time he did get to Unerigg and probably wrote with pride to his father-in-law giving details of the work, for John Taubman's prophetic reply on 9 August has survived. ". . . I observe your Building at Unerigg is getting on apace. It certainly will be an elegant house, rather too much so, for I fear it will stand you in too much money, far more than I should wish to lay out in that way for I have no Idea of such superfluous unnecessary things that is a dead sink upon a man's hands" (Cu/2).

It is interesting to speculate whether these thoughts of economy might have influenced both Christian and later events for on 21 August the masons' piecework rate was cut to 5¾d. a foot. The result is recorded by the payment of a shilling that same day to "Wm. Nicholson for ½ day when every Body else had deserted the work on acc^t of Wages". The stoppage was short-lived but it cut production of dressed stone that week from 339 to 207 square feet. Hewn work thereafter remained at the lower price, rising to a peak of 349 square feet in early October and then declining unevenly to a final payment on 26 February 1778.

Meanwhile, on 24 July 1777, four masons and "McCormick & Boy [were] at Springers by day" and received a day's pay each. Apparently they were cutting rather than setting the lowest stones of arches, and a letter from Heaton received on 28 July suggests that the work was associated with flooring over the cellars. He was concerned that he had not given proper instructions on "what hight to set the plinth or Basement stone of the Building". He had driven in a stake at the level of the old house floor and another "by the side of it 6 Inchis higher . . . to be the hight of the [new] floor when finished . . . and also . . . the top Edge of the plinth . . .". The assumption seems to be borne out by the first of almost weekly payments to the sawyer "Folder for sawing Flooring Boards, Scaffolding &c 1651 ft. @ ¼d." on 27 August.

On 11 September four masons were paid for "Working Inside

Arches Windows by day" so that perhaps the ground floor walls were almost complete by then. However, Taubman wrote again on 5 September mentioning his daughter's persistent headaches so Christian returned to the Island by 27 September "After a very disagreeable passage of 29 hours". He reported "our weather here is quite broke. I much fear it will have stoped your Building". He wrote again on 14 November: "I grieve at every bad Day . . . I would wish you to get covered in if possable by Christmas". He apologised for troubling Udale, sent a sample of marble for bedroom fireplaces and had "sent for two from Naples". For doors, he wanted "the best, made of Oak, [but] the windows I leave to yourself" and he admitted "you know I am a stranger to these things therefore take the opinion of those who are acquainted with such matters".

Despite the weather, work continued unabated but not without incident. The payments to individual workmen show that Thomas Railton, a labourer who started work in mid-June at 1s. 2d. a day, was "Killed by a fall from the Gangway" or scaffold and on 25 November his widow received his "wages 4s. 8d., Charity 5s. 10d.". A year later John Walker, a joiner at the house, was paid 9s. for "T. Railton's Coffin Killed by a fall" (*sic.*). At the least, this incident shows that the work was well advanced. Masons had started cutting cornice stones by 23 October at 3s. 0d. a foot and continued until 26 February 1778. They were paid for the "cornice in full" on 7 May and James Charters, the local blacksmith, received a shilling a hundred for "sharping . . . Tools" for them. Roofing started at the beginning of December, for on 4th, Robert Parker received 4s. 7d. for "2½ days Cutting Gutter in Cornice" and on 18th Norman Towson was paid for "15½ days Roofing @ 1s. 7d.". On 19 March £6. 0s. 5d. was "paid [to] Norman the Slater for 289 [square] yards slating (and Rendering and finding pins for 289 yds.) @ 5d." and he had "8 yds. allowed for Gutters @ 5d." A Mr. Dawson supplied the slate and laths and also considerable quantities of timber. Thomas Bell and John Biglands supplied nails on several occasions and on 24 December £1. 1s. 6d. was "paid [Isaac] Coulthard [a Maryport tanner] 19. 11 Hair for Rendering @ 13d." per stone. On the same day George Ferguson was paid "for 70 Bushels Lime @ 7d.". Lime for both rendering and plastering was brought on numerous occasions from Eaglesfield, nearly six miles south-east of the house, in loads of 3½ bushels costing 5d. a bushel, plus 2s. 6d. a day horse-hire and 2d. per beast bridge toll over the river Derwent. Lime was also burnt on site by Thomas Johnson and others.

A second stage of building work began early in the New Year for on 15 January Barton and five men were paid for six days work on "the Old Tower" and by the end of the month he had ten men

and Benjamin Ashley, a carpenter, under his control. Then tragedy struck. On 1 February 1778 Christian's wife, Margaret, died unexpectedly at Peeltown (I.O.M.) after catching a chill and, to make matters worse, Henry Curwen died on 23 June 1778 leaving his only daughter Isabella, aged 12, heiress to a considerable fortune.²⁶ In despair Christian lost enthusiasm for his house, moved to London and his letters became uninformative on the subject.

Udale's accounts, however, show that work continued unabated and there is just enough information to indicate its progress. Barton's men worked on the old tower until 26 March, presumably making new window openings amongst other things. On that date James Grindley and Thomas McCormick were paid £3. 17s. 3½d. for seven "Windows in old Tower . . . Cont[aining] 323 ft. @ 2½d.". This explains the different fenestration shown in figures 2 and 3. Apparently the main structural work was by then complete and attention was given to decorative features and finishings. On 16 April the masons were paid for "Sundry Jobs . . . and Drains from New building" and by 7 May John Elliott had made "40 feet of Bordering Flaggs @ 2d." presumably to lay round the outside. A week later six masons were paid for "181 [feet of] Steps to portico @ 5¾d." and on 28 May they were paid at the same rate for 338 feet of "Hewers Work for Portico & Venetian Windows". The latter are shown on figure 3 in the middle of the south-east side but only the scars of the porch survive on the north-west front. On 4 June Jacob Barton and John Elliott were paid for the "Portico—Modilion²⁷ Cornice 12 ft. @ 2s. 6d." whilst Wilfred Pearson and Sam. McMillan had made the "Cornice [for] Venetian Window 11 ft. @ 18d.". The latter mason was paid for "Arcitrave portico 22 ft. @ 5¾d." on 18 June and a week later four masons received £2. 14s. 1d. for "29½ days in all Working Caps for Columns". On 9 July "6 flaggs Covering Portico @ 20d." completed this structure and the first stones for the parapet were paid for. Finally on 27 August 1778 Jacob Barton was paid for "Balustrade 8 ft. @ 6d." and "Coping for Tower 75 ft. @ 3d." so that more roofing could be done. From 8 September Joseph Tyson of Maryport was paid on several occasions for glass, lead and plumber's work and Norman Towson had completed 103 square yards more slating by 2 October no doubt making the building weather-tight.

Four carpenters were employed throughout 1778. On 17 April John Wilson and his brother Martin were paid respectively for 72 and 74 days @ 24d. and 20d. a day for making "Sashes &c" and on 8 September had completed a further 86½ and 95½ days at the same rates. Benjamin Ashley and John Walker also worked regularly on unspecified jobs. On 6 August £7. 12s. 6d. was "Pd for Marble Chimney Kilkenny . . . for Library" and in December

at least five white and four red fireplaces were installed by the masons. John France from London received his first five guineas "on acct of Plaistering" on 30 October and on 23 January 1779 he was paid another £20. 16s. 6d. "for Plaistering and ornamental Stucco work (Library cost £21. 8s. 8d.)". On that visit he had £3. 4s. 0d. for "Board 96 days @ 8d.". He received £1. 1s. 3d. on 29 June for "freight Italian Marble from London to Whitehaven" and returned to Unerigg by 12 July to complete more plastering for which he was paid £26. 13s. 0d. and "Board 6 weeks @ 5s.". Mr. Bragg the local cooper supplied the plaster laths.

Meanwhile Christian had thought of buying a seat in Parliament but, on 12 February 1779, he remarked: ". . . in regard to my House, I would wish to keep doing a little, but as I see . . . no immediate use for it, laying out a large sum at once might not be convenient". From that date, account book entries become sporadic and the only regular labour retained at the building comprised John Barton and two boys for general work and the Wilson brothers for internal carpentry. The latter were paid about once a year producing marked peaks in the monthly expenditure (Fig. 6).

Instead of entering politics, Christian decided to travel the continent. On 27 September 1779 he wrote from the "College des Écossais à Douay" in northern France, where he hoped to learn social graces like fencing, dancing and speaking French: "I took my passage from London on Sunday 19 [September] . . . in a neutral Packet for Ostend" rather than embarking at Margate. He gave interesting topographical details but later letters (Cu/3/57) deal mainly with his desire to secure sufficient money to satisfy his rather extravagant tastes. Thinking of economy, he wrote on 6 November 1779 ". . . a thousand pounds a year is what I allow myself . . . I would wish everything to be suspended in the House as I do not think we can spare the money tho' I leave you a discretionary power". Udale therefore gradually paid off outstanding bills but from April to November 1780 nothing was spent on the house.

Except for a short visit to London in the spring of 1780 for political purposes, Christian stayed at Douai until the end of February 1781 and then set out on tour through Bruxelles (March), Frankfurt (April), Dresden (June), Vienna (July/August) and Munich. From there on 19 September he ordered "be going on a little with the house so as to make it habitable by April 1782". Clearly he was ready to return and plan a new life for himself. Udale's reply (Cu/3/63) on 6 October gives some idea of the state of the house. He acknowledged his master's instructions but sought clarification of details: "If the Hall or Saloon be plastered I presume the walls must be plain but perhaps you would chuse some ornament on the Cieling which is so very

spacious and high. The Drawing Room wants nothing to Compleat it but Painting and a Chimney piece . . . [those of] Italian Marble of any price from 10 to 25 pounds the Chimney may . . . be had from Dublin Cheaper than from London and equally neat.²⁸ One or two of the bed Rooms will only require the plain Kilkenny Marble". Without commenting on his house, Christian completed his tour through Lyon (Nov.), Avignon (Dec.) and Paris (Jan.) and was back in London for March 1782 after 2½ years absence.

From Craven St., Strand on 1 April, he wrote the first of a series of letters (Cu/3/58) saying how he wanted Unerigg furnished and further extended: ". . . do as much as [possible] this summer towards finishing my house . . . in the first place you can get stones to build the front of the Kitchen wing & the false [wing]. Can you do it without a plan or must that . . . be got from hence? You remember no doubt what was my idea upon the matter by the Kitchen & false wing to take off from the too great height of the building". This suggests that he thought Heaton's four storey extension to the towers too high and obtrusive. He wished no "more to be done in the Inside than requisite" and his furniture to "be no more than is absolutely necessary—very plain. One bed I think of getting made here [to] serve as a pattern for the rest which may be made in the Country. My furniture will be had best and cheapest from Lancaster". This is a clear example of how London fashions spread to the provinces. Receipts dated 1785 show that the furniture was supplied by Messrs. Richard and Robert Gillow of Lancaster.²⁹ Christian remarked that all "must be regulated by our finances". He wondered if enough stones could be obtained, suggested that "the two old coach horses" should be used to cart them and told Udale to "take what steps you think proper as to engaging workmen".

On 19 April he wrote that Udale's "Plan³⁰ pleased all parties [but] judgements were divided on the subject of plain or polished stone—I would wish . . . that both sides were finished this year" but left everything to his agent and continued "I shall go then into your house for three months [!] . . . & after that I hope all will be near ready". He wanted "the height of the best bedroom to find a bed for it" and asked for "the dimensions of the dining room chimney. I have ordered two very handsome chimney pieces [but] will not name the price to you". In a letter dated 6 May Christian agreed with Udale that stone for the wings "should be polished to correspond with the front" and mentioned an important development in that "the other [false] wing [be] constituted into a room. I think it would make a most elegant library instead of the preasent [one] which is too small—it might be this & a dancing room also . . . push every nerve I want it done".

Udale had already started to do just that. His first account entry in a section headed "Cost of Building the two Wings" was on 4 May 1782 when George Ferguson was paid for "67 Carts stones from Sea Brow Quarry @ 7½d.". This time the stone was paid for in four instalments up to 4 September when £12. 10s. 5d. was "Paid Thomas Mitchell [for] 3111 Feet Stone Composing the Building of the 2 Wings @ 2¾d. p. Foot, [paid] before £23. 2s. 0d.". John Dobby was leading "our own stones" at sixpence a wagonload and £10. 10s. was "paid Armstrong for 22,000 Bricks". Later they "Paid Mr. Thomas Caruthers [for] 3,000 bricks £1. 15s." and "Stevenson for 4,800 Bricks £3. 3s. 2d.". ³¹ Timber was obtained from three suppliers; Mr. D. Fletcher, Mr. Fawcett and Mr. Wood. Folder was again the sawyer and was paid for "sawing scaffold boards" on 13 June whilst Ben. Ashley spent "15 days preparing Scaffolds" before 29 June. A different team of masons, ³² again under John Barton's leadership, was first paid on 16 May and Joseph Smith, a labourer, had completed 22 days work by 18 May. On 3 August Thomas Twentyman, a labourer paid two shillings a day, was paid for "Mixing Lime and other work about the building 72½ days" so he must have started early in May but the information is vague on all matters except the amounts paid.

Christian concluded his letter of 6 May "I have every reason to flatter myself that a short time will see all my wishes compleated", a reference to his hopes that the legal proceedings over his intended marriage to his cousin Isabella Curwen would soon be resolved. She was nearly seventeen and a Ward in Chancery. The next day he asked Udale to "make a state of my landed property . . . [including] the profits of the Collieries [and] make everything appear as well as [we] can" to prove his fortune worthy of a wealthier heiress. ³³

He now concentrated his attention on finishing his house with some urgency. Having ordered "a Glass door compleat" and "a Carpet for the best room", he wrote on 9 May that he was "about buying a sophia & Cortins—also a quantity of handsome damask . . . I send you two beds—you must get Blanckets—Carpeting also for two bed rooms . . . the Lantern for the Hall is also got . . . & better than a chandler [*sic.*]. I have ordered two very superior Chimney pieces for a hundred pounds each; these will not be finished for some months . . . so must make the best shift we can . . . I am sorry you are so hurried but . . . I am shure my happiness will make you forget everything . . .". Only two days later he admitted that the "sophia . . . would not do" and neither would the intended chimney piece "& it must be altered". He went on: "with respect to the room off the drawing room end I would . . . make it my library. Could not one force a door thro' the present Library . . . [and] have recesses in the wall . . . which

will have a good effect". The reconstructed plan (fig. 7) indicates that no such door could have been made, but three arched recesses survive in both the front and rear walls of the proposed library, now a milking parlour with a loft above.

On 17 May he thanked Udale for the "Acct of my fortune . . . the very thing required". He was about to send all the items bought earlier, including wall paper "for three rooms, the blew for my room" and went on "I shall reside part of the winter at Unerigg. When you take down the Kitchen you will take away the Pirgin [pigeon] house &c as they are useless and look ill . . . I see the brightest prospects before me—the possession of a charming woman—with fortune beyond my wishes [but that] . . . has never given me above a seconds satisfaction". He commented "'tis not in the power of anyone to change the Lady's mind" indicating that Isabella was as little deterred by the opposition as he.³⁴ Although on 11 June he said "I shall want my house . . . long before it can be got ready", the legal wrangle dragged on throughout the summer so, eventually, the couple eloped to Edinburgh where they married on 9 October and then returned directly to London *en route* for their honeymoon in Paris where they remained until January 1783.

Meanwhile building work at Unerigg had progressed steadily. On 26 June 1782 £28. 2s. 6d. was "paid Mr. France his Bill for plaster work, exclusive of Hall Cieling Ornament" and for the "Hall Cieling unmeasured and the other work done and unfinished on his Note" he received £20 more. On 11 July he was paid £2. 9s. 6d. for "Board from 1 April when he came to work to 26 June when finished, 12 wks & 2 days (about 1 week off) @ 4s. 6d.". France was paid £24. 15s. 5d. on 7 October for "plaistering Hall Cieling, Dining Room, Parlour &c" and £3. 12s. 3d. for "the 2 Rooms at the west end of the upper story". In addition, £21 was "paid Mr. Tyson Plummer on acc^t Lead Cistern, pipes & Water Closet & other work" on 26 June whilst a week earlier "Brass Work water Closet" had cost £2. 14s. 4½d. Two "Kilkenny Marble Chimneys had cost £5. 4s. 10½d. on 23 February and "2 Marble Chimneys & Hearths £5. 16s. 11½d. on 24 June whilst £4. 10s. was "Pd W. Martin for 2 new Grates" and the "carriage [of] 2 grates from Whitehaven" cost 1s. 6d.. On 21 November £1. 10s. 6d. was "paid Banks Bill papering rooms" and on 2 December £4. 16s. was "Paid James Charters [blacksmith] for Stair Banisters fixing & himself 37½ days Boy 21 days". Thus, by the wedding day the main house was virtually ready but work on the wings was still progressing.

On 27 November Udale "Paid J. Barton in full for Hewn Work New Wings in all 2945 ft. @ 4¾d. . . . in all £58. 5s. 8d." but there is no indication of why they received a penny a foot less than previously for the quality of work appears to be the same in

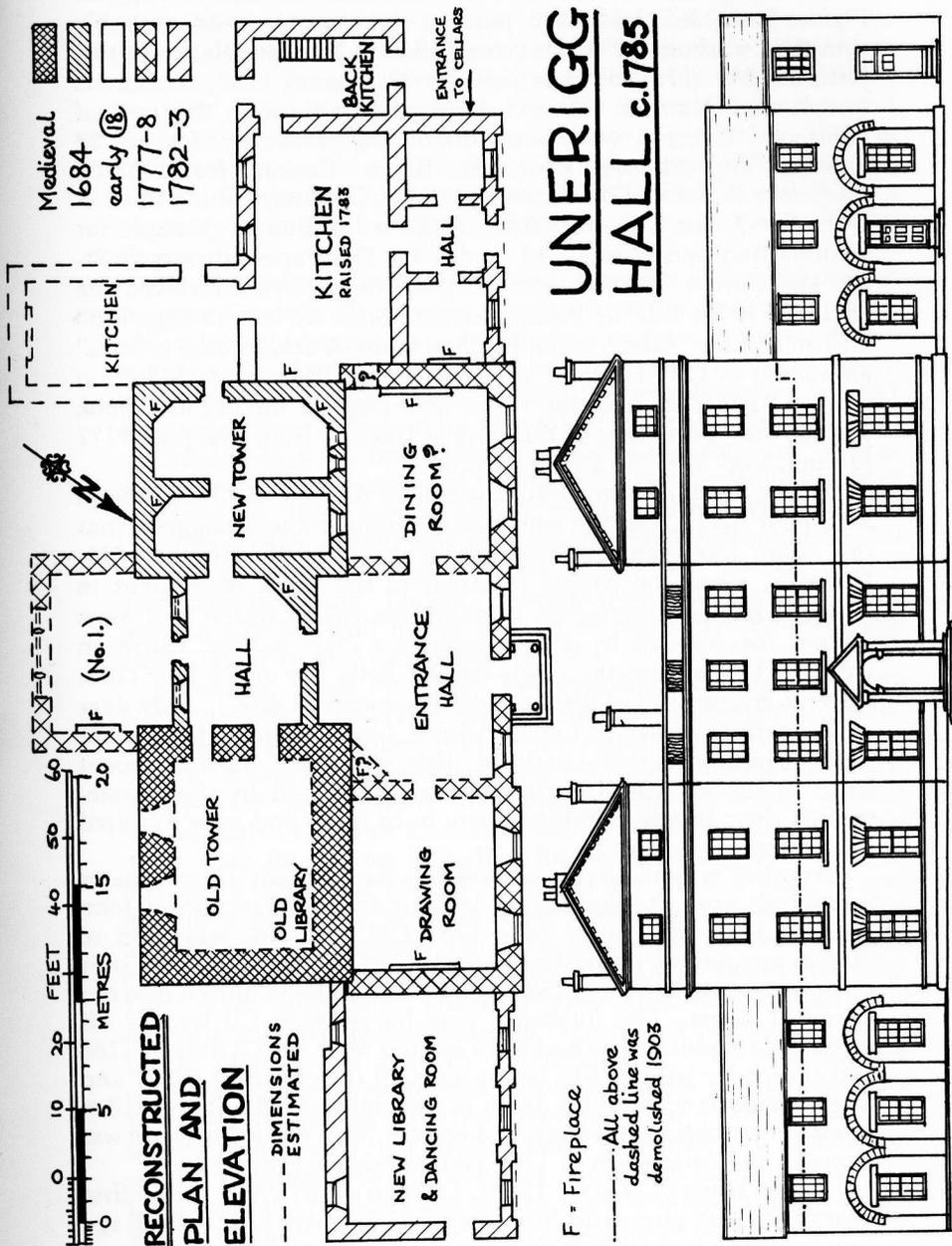


Fig 7: Reconstructed Plan and Elevation of Unerigg Hall c.1785.

the surviving walls. Two weeks earlier the "Sawyers bill [for] Gutter Planks Rafts &c" had been paid so the structure was probably complete. Although "Mr Dawsons Bill Oak Timber, Slates, Laths, Joists &c £49. 17s. 4d." was paid on 29 January 1783, the slaters Joseph and Norman Towson were not paid until the end of February. Internal work was progressing, however, for on 28 February 9s. 0d. was paid "To Banks Tayson [for] making Carpets". At the end of March a "Marble Chimney Dining room & Duty Fees" cost £46. 13s. 3d., whilst a "Gallon of Vinigar for staining Banisters" cost 2s. 4d. and "12½ Doz Paper Nursery @ 2s. 8d. and Border 9s. 0d." were bought. Joseph Tyson received the "balance of his Bill for Pipes, Gutters, Glass &c" on 18 May 1783 and on 23 June "Charters bill Kitchen Grate & other house articles" amounted to £25. 11s. 6d., whilst on 22 July they paid "J. Wilson painter further on account". The next page in the account book records the "Total Cost of Building at Unerigg from first June 1777 Ending Aug^t 1783" as £3162. 18s. 6d.³⁵

Other finishing work continued until the end of 1786, though with poor detail, but the evidence mentioned above suggests that the house was ready for occupation probably by August 1783. However, when the couple returned to the north, they went to Thomas English's house on Windermere Island which had been bought for Isabella by her trustees two years earlier. Christian wrote to Udale from the newly named Belle Isle on 14 July 1783: "after a journey full of little accidents we arrived safe . . . My dear adored wife is as well as I could wish & I am extremely happy and well pleased with this delightful little paradise". This comment helps to explain why Unerigg was not fully used by the couple, though their first five children were born there and were baptised at Dearham.

Another reason was that Christian had already begun major rebuilding work at Workington Hall under the direction of John Carr of York, for on 17 May 1783 £20. 19s. 4d. was paid to "Labourers pulling down the House &c".³⁶ Christian had spent over £10,000 on that work by 1789 when he and Isabella moved into her ancestral home. The following year he adopted Curwen as his surname. In addition he had been elected M.P. for Carlisle in 1786 and except for 1812–1816 he represented the city until 1820³⁷ and then Cumberland until his death in December 1828. This entailed extended periods of residence in London. Most of his furniture was removed to Workington in 1789 and Unerigg was neglected.

John Christian (1776–1852), Curwen's only child by his first marriage, was given the Milntown estate when he came-of-age and he graduated from St. John's, Cambridge the following year. Although he was called to the bar in 1801 his chief ambition seems to have been to live at Unerigg. Thus, when he married Susanna Allen of Bath on 21 April 1807, he urged his father to let

him have the house so that his first child, Susan, might be born there. He took over Unerigg in 1808 and insisted on using the name Ewanrigg Hall which has persisted ever since. His letters (Cu/2) reveal an un-naturally formal relationship with his father. He had difficulty paying the rent his father demanded and neither his farming nor colliery activities was profitable. Thus in 1822 he went to live at Fort Anne, Douglas until 1830 when the lease on Milntown expired so that, in 1829, Parson and White's *Directory* reported that Unerigg Hall "has been long occupied by a farmer".

In 1829 Susan Christian married Augustus Hillary of the 6th Dragoon Guards. They leased Unerigg from her father and entertained lavishly for nearly a decade in a manner befitting such a mansion, but they over-spent and had to leave. The house passed to her brother so that Mannix and Whellan's *Directory* in 1847 reported it "now possessed by H[enry] T[aubman] Christian Esq., of Unerigg Hall—a fine mansion, with good prospects". Apparently he lived "in a corner of the house".³⁸ He inherited it in 1852 but died in 1859 and it passed to his brother William Bell Christian (1815—1886) who took out extensive mortgages so that everything had to be sold at his death. Mr. Twentyman, a merchant in China, bought Unerigg from the creditors for a reputed £28,000 and it was he who demolished the towers and almost all of Heaton's extension in 1903.

However, when Mr. J.R. Twentyman of Kirkby Misperton Hall, Pickering, Yorkshire exposed the 626 acre estate to public auction on 4 September 1911 at the Agricultural Hall, Cocker-mouth, it was withdrawn at a mere £12,000 offered by a Mr. Molyneux.³⁹ Apart from the mining royalties, which yielded almost half of the gross annual income of £1296. 4s. 2d., the main items were four farms including lot 14, Ewanrigg Hall farm of 202 acres rented to Mr. W. Ellwood for £213 a year. It was described as having "a comfortable dwelling house of 10 rooms and the usual out offices. The farm buildings have recently been erected and comprise Byres for 40 Cows, Loose Boxes, Stabling, Hay Lofts, Bull Box, Turnip House, Milk Room, Barn and Granary and an excellent range of Piggeries. The farm . . . is said to be one of the best in Cumberland". The Hall garden containing four acres formed part of a market garden rented to Mr. Joseph Bell and was considered ideal for a poultry farm. It was even suggested that Arches Field, a quarter of a mile north-west of the house, "would afford a choice site for a garden city". Eventually the property was sold by the Twentyman family to Mr. William Wilson about 1955 and was bought in November 1963 by Mr. J.E. Dixon the present occupier.⁴⁰ In spite of some modernisation the main structure retains the form established in 1903.

Although the evidence in the Curwen papers is far from

complete and some items which lack clarity have had to be omitted for brevity, this study offers the most detailed account of Unerigg Hall's history so far attempted and corrects several misinterpretations of earlier writers. Based on fieldwork measurements and the evidence discussed above, figure 7 shows a reconstruction of the house as it would have been about 1785 but the layout and function of rooms on each floor is not now available. There are no known plans of the house.

Of the mediaeval pele tower only Addison's drawing of the south-east elevation survives to indicate its form in 1684, presumably after its windows had been modified at least once. The frontage across both towers and the hall was about 88 feet and as Heaton's north-west front of 1777 measures 92 feet, the latter work must have projected beyond the two tower extremities by about two feet at each end. This is confirmed in Heaton's north-east end wall by a string course which survives in the rear corner of the loft above the present milking parlour. This string course exactly defines the limit of Heaton's work and shows that the new library's rear wall, built in 1782-3, was not joined to Heaton's work but to the old tower beside it. Figure 8 demonstrates this relationship.

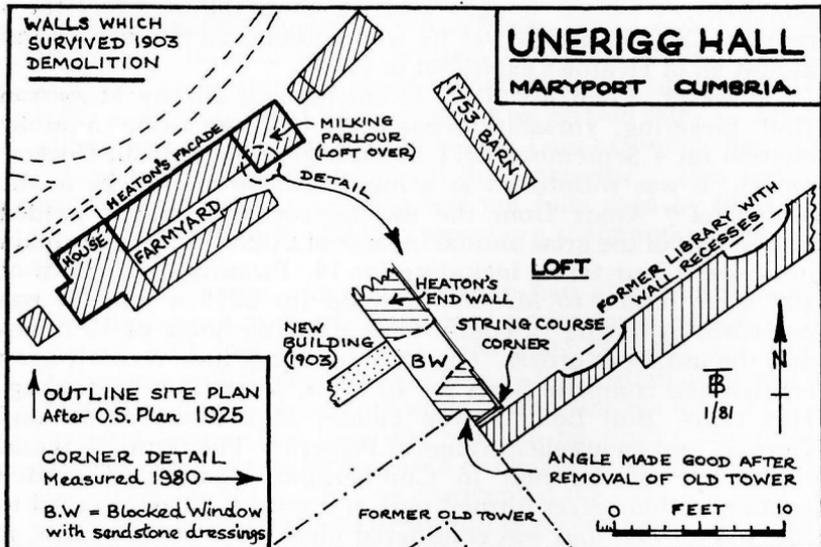


Fig. 8

Measurements in the present farmyard reveal an unusual angle in the wall which undoubtedly resulted from making good the walls which had abutted the old tower's northern corner until 1903. If, from this point, that tower extended 31 feet south-eastwards like Addison's tower, then the south-east face of both

would have coincided with the position of the rear wall of the present farm buildings which, therefore, must have been rebuilt on the foundations of both towers. The only other ancient wall which influenced the 1903 work was the south-west wall of Addison's tower against which a remodelled back kitchen left an unbonded join in the rear wall. Figure 3 shows that its predecessor projected south-eastwards and was added to Addison's tower perhaps early in the eighteenth century. No documents have been found to confirm this, but the wing probably formed a part of the kitchen raised on Christian's orders in 1782 and is indicated, but not shaded, on the first edition of the Ordnance Survey plan.

Therefore it is possible to identify six distinct stages in the evolution of the building, all of which reflect the economic and social fortunes of the Christian family. Initially, modest modifications to the pele tower sufficed until a London-based lawyer sought more modern and commodious accommodation by adding a hall, with a symmetrical frontage, and a new tower in 1684. With the addition of a single-storey kitchen, this sufficed for nearly a century until John Christian's ambitions, coupled with the profitability of his mining and shipping interests, led to the 1777 and 1782 extensions detailed above. The latter seems to have been undertaken to be commensurate with his second wife's fortune, but marriage to Isabella Curwen introduced fresh centres of interest at Workington Hall and Windermere Island and political life in London assured Unerigg a minor role in Curwen's affairs. Having been forsaken by its main developer, John Taubman's pessimistic predictions were to be proved correct, for colliery and farming profits became insufficient to support such a large house and those who lived there either failed or existed "in a corner of the house". As both product and victim of Christian Curwen's insatiable ambition, Unerigg Hall fulfilled its intended purpose for only three brief periods, alternating with much longer spells as a mere farmhouse, before its final humiliation in 1903. It is fortunate that sufficient documentary evidence has survived to allow interpretation of the scant physical remains of a building hitherto ignored by architectural historians.

Notes and References

1. The present name *Ewanrigg* was wrongly attributed by J. Nicolson & R. Burn in *History . . . of Westmorland & Cumberland, 1777*, II, 113. It became popular only from the early 19th century and was perpetuated on Ordnance Survey maps. As the documents used in this study refer only to *Unerigg*, this form will be used throughout.
2. Details on the back of a painting dated 1915, by J. McKay of Maryport from a photograph by R. Baxter, now in the entrance hall at the house and used to illustrate Edward Hughes, *North Country Life in the 18th century*, II, 1965.

3. For example, Alan D. Curwen, "The Christians of Ewanrigg", Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archaeological Society, *Transactions*, 1904, 217. Also E. Hughes, *Op. cit.* and Mrs. S. Hicks Beach, *Yesterdays Behind the Door*, 1956. The latter gives misleading information about the house on pp. 56—57.
4. H. & M. Jackson, *A History of Maryport*, 1960, 9—10. The town was founded by the *Act for Repairing . . . the Harbour at Ellenfoot*, passed in 1748.
5. W. T. McIntire, "Ewanrigg Hall", article in *Cumberland News*, 24 Feb. 1934. This contains two misleading statements about dates of building operations.
6. Edmund Sandford, *A Cursory Relation of all the Antiquities . . . in Cumberland*, (c. 1675), C.W.A.A.S., Tract Series, No. 4, 1890.
7. Ewan (1651—1719), a London lawyer (Hicks Beach, *op. cit.*, 56) and great-grandson of Ewan (1579—1653) who bought Unerigg originally (A. Curwen, *op. cit.*).
8. Thomas Denton, *A Perambulation of Cumberland . . .*, 1688, 49. Manuscript volume in Cumbria County Record Office, Carlisle (C.R.O.), D/Lons/L/12.
9. C.R.O., Curwen Archive, D/Cu, Comp. 11. To save footnotes, brief references to this archive will be inserted in the text.
10. Adjoining Barnard Castle and extending along the north bank of the river Tees. It was purchased from the grantees of the Crown in 1636 by Sir Henry Vane (1589—1655). (J.H.F. Brabner, *Comprehensive Gazetteer . . .*, IV, 233b). The Mormon microfiche index reveals baptisms of "John Addyson, son of John Addyson" at Barnard Castle on 2 Dec. 1629, 6 Mar. 1656, and 14 Jan. 1689. Either of the first two might have been the mason.
11. The near-symmetry suggests it was probably 31 feet deep also.
12. O.S. plan, 1 : 2500, 1864, Cumberland XLV, 5 & 9.
13. By the King's Sign Manual dated 1 March 1790, John Christian adopted his second wife's surname Curwen and she conveyed all her property to him. T.W. Thompson (Ed. R. Woof), *Wordsworth's Hawkshead*, 1970, 128.
14. C.R.O., D/Cu Additional, "Masons, wallers and builders pay and account book", covering the period June 1777 to the end of 1786.
15. C.R.O., D/Cu, "Cash account book, John Christian, 1776—1784".
16. C.R.O., D/Cu/2, "Letters 1760—1849". Many of these letters require editing. Some rearrangement and insertion of punctuation has been necessary for clarity.
17. The author's research on this house is in an advanced state of preparation.
18. The exact meaning of this has not been proved, but John Nelson seems to have been the owner of Seabrow quarry (see below).
19. Mentioned in Udale's letter of 1 June 1777.
20. The accounts are divided into four main sections; (a) an index to 32 workmen; (b) payments to individual workmen 1777—8, 48 pp.; (c) summary of monthly payments; (d) payments in date order 1777—86, 44 pp.. Entries under b. and d. sometimes show complementary details which have been united in the text.
21. C.R.O., Cu/2. "Moneys laid out in building at Unerigg the Mansion Ho. & Farm Houses". Mentions "Jos Dixons £91. 8s. 9d.; R Dixons £200. 17s. 1d.; CUs Ho £156. 16s. 0d.". In a letter dated 7 Jan. 1778 Christian remarked "I hope young Robin Dixon has had the stones for his house". Ferguson and several of the workmen also appear to have been tenants (1777 Rental, D/Cu/5/152).
22. C.R.O., D/Lons/W, "Plan of the Common belonging to John Christian Esq.", c.1750.
23. Presumably flax, but unfortunately there is no indication of how it was used.
24. Flat, rectangular moulding capping a wall. Heaton's front was 92 feet with end walls reaching back 21 feet to the towers (= 134 ft. or 44 $\frac{2}{3}$ yds.).
25. Masons: Thomas McCormick, John Hayton, Mark Toppin, Adam Stobo, John Casson, Philip Bell, John Elliott, John Graham, James Grindley, Isaac Wilson, Robert Parker, Wilfred Pearson and Sam. McMillan. Wallers: John Barton, John Gaitskell, William Nicholson, Jon^d Ashburn, Robert Hurst, John Lattimer. Labourers: Moses Wedgewood, Robert Usher, Thomas Twentyman, Thomas Railton, Sam. Morris, Thomas Johnson, John Reay, John Walker. Some wallers doubled as masons or labourers.

26. She was born 2 October 1765. Her mother Isabella, daughter of William Gale (a Whitehaven merchant and one of Curwen's Trustees) had died on 10 December 1776.
27. Projecting bracket under corona of cornice.
28. "A very beautiful marble mantlepiece taken from Ewanrigg Hall at the Demolition" was re-erected in the dining room at 23 Curzon St., Maryport, the home of Mr. Thomas Carey, J.P. (Information on back of picture, see footnote 2).
29. C.R.O., Cu/Misc. Vouchers in quarterly bundles. Purchases by Christian from Gillows in London are recorded from 1787 onwards but most were for furnishing Workington Hall (see below). Waring & Gillow records, Westminster City Library.
30. This may have resembled Heaton's original design, but the architect was no longer available. He had been imprisoned for debt in the Fleet, London from 25 Oct. 1781 to 18 Mar. 1782. Public R.O., Pris 1, 11 and Pris 10, 51.
31. Unfortunately there is no explanation of these differing prices, nor of the markedly lower cost of stone and masons' piecework. Undoubtedly narrower stones would have sufficed for the lower wings and would have been cheaper.
32. Masons and wallers included T. Thompson, Thos. McCormick, James McGowan, Andrew Stewart, — Whiteside, — Willis, — Richardson, — Stoddart, Robert Usher, John Simon, J. Southward, Robert Dawson, John Dawson. Most were paid 2s. a day.
33. An "Account of the Real and Personal Estates of John Christian of Unerigg" dated 3 July 1782 (Cu/2) indicates his net value as £6361 plus £1534 colliery income averaged over ten years, plus £2706 spent on buildings (including £2257 on Unerigg Hall to date). His rents on Unerigg, Milntown and Papcastle (Cockermouth) totalled £813 and rents on six other properties amounted to £309. He had interests in five ships and Hartleys Atkinson & Co. Isabella's fortune was about £27000.
34. Details of this affair are well recorded by both Hughes and Hicks-Beach.
35. By December 1784 the total was £3602. 7s. 6d., but after that several items for Workington Hall (e.g. flagstones from Sandsfield) were also included.
36. C.R.O., D/Cu, "Daybook of payments on buildings 1783—1790".
37. Isabella Curwen died on 21 April 1820.
38. These two paragraphs draw on the account in Hicks Beach, *op. cit.* 103—140.
39. C.R.O., D/Cu/5/275 and *West Cumberland Times*, 5 September 1911.
40. Information from Mr. Dixon, to whom my thanks are due for his co-operation. Mr. B. Jones (Carlisle) and Miss S. MacPherson (Kendal) of the Cumbria County Record Offices have kindly given me their invaluable support throughout.