

**MATERIALISING CULTURAL VALUE IN THE ENGLISH LAKES,
1735-1845: A STUDY OF THE RESPONSES OF NEW
LANDOWNERS TO REPRESENTATIONS OF PLACE AND PEOPLE**

A thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of the degree of Doctor of
Philosophy

by

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Abstract

This thesis explores responses to the cultural construction in the developing identity of the English Lakes from 1735 to 1845, through studies of three landowners. The principal focus is Derwentwater. The Greenwich Hospital held estates from 1735 to 1832, Lord William Gordon from 1781 to 1823, and John Marshall of Leeds, the flax spinner, from 1810 and 1845.

The study classifies the identity of the English Lakes and its inhabitants with Regions of Romance, as a territory increasingly occupied by the romantic antithesis of the dominant thesis within the modern age. The cultural identity of the English Lakes is considered as a construction of Throsby's cultural values, established through discourse and overlaid upon economic values. This anthropological approach to culture recognises both aesthetic and social cultural assets. The acquisition, management and disposal of landowners estates are examined to evidence the materialisation of cultural values, whether through the agency of discourse, the influence of others, or personal experience.

During the eighteenth century the Hospital responded to criticism minimally, by planting the Derwentwater shore. Lord William Gordon responded strongly to discourse by creating a picturesque park which demonstrated his taste and values, and by completing the picturesque occupation of Derwentwater by 1787. Wordsworth influenced the choice and management of John Marshall's extensive estates from 1811, providing an early materialisation of the principles in Wordsworth's *Guide*. In the early nineteenth century the Hospital protected their Keswick woods, before selling the estate in 1832 at auction to John Marshall at a low price.

The study demonstrates a significant and growing intervention by these landowners to materialise aesthetic cultural value, but with little response to social cultural values, though cultural landscape was preserved. An early private path of intervention in the English Lakes is demonstrated, which feeds into the later and better known public path.

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Abbreviations

a-r-p	a quantity of land in acres, roods and perches, see glossary
£-s-d	English currency up to 1971 in pounds, shillings and pence
ADM	The National Archives (TNA): Public Record Office (PRO), the records of the Admiralty
BL	British Library
CACB	Cumbria Archive Centre, Barrow-in-Furness
CACC	Cumbria Archive Centre, Carlisle
CACK	Cumbria Archive Centre, Kendal
CACW	Cumbria Archive Centre, Whitehaven
CUP	Cambridge University Press
CWAAS	Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archaeological Society
DW	in references, Dorothy Wordsworth
DWM	Cumbria Archive Centre, Whitehaven, Records of Waugh and Musgrave, Solicitors
JM	in references, John Marshall
LWG	in references, Lord William Gordon
MP	Member of Parliament
MP	in references, The National Archives (TNA): Public Record Office (PRO), Maps and Plans
ODNB	Oxford Dictionary of National Biography (on-line version)
OED	Oxford English Dictionary (on-line version)
OUP	Oxford University Press
PP	Parliamentary Papers
PRO	the Public Record Office
TNA	The National Archives
WLMS	Wordsworth Library manuscripts
WW	in references, William Wordsworth

Glossary

animadversion 'A criticism, comment, observation, or remark (typically implying censure)', OED

acre a measure of land containing 4840 square yards in statute measure and approximately equal to 0.4 Hectares

birch *Betula sp.*, but mainly *B. pubescens*, the main pioneer tree species which survives better than oak on poor or wet ground. Will spring when cut young and is used for coppice on a short rotation, and for poles

coppice the crop of poles sprung from a tree stump or stool, or to create the same

Cumberland an administrative county in England before 1974, now wholly in Cumbria

customary property or rights that are held of the lord of the manor according to the customs of the manor, rather than though statute or common law

fence a stock-proof boundary of any material, or to create the same

fine in a customary manor, a payment made to the lord by the admitted customary tenant when either the customary tenant changed or the lord died, by surrender and admittance. A general fine was paid by all the customary tenants when the lord died, though custom often required a fine only on the death of a general admitting lord. The amount of the fine was determined by custom, but arbitrary fines were limited to two years' market rent

greenhew in a customary manor, a payment for the right to cut live wood for fuel or fabrication, but not usually for sale

Guinea a unit of currency in England equal to twenty-one shillings

hedge boot the right of customary manorial tenants to wood for mending fences and gates

North Lancashire before 1974, a part of the administrative county of Lancashire, or Lancaster, now part of Cumbria

oak in Cumberland, the native tip-bearing sessile oak, *Quercus petraea*. This species is straighter and taller than the native pedunculate oak of the southern counties, *Quercus rubor*, which produced the large cruck timber for shipbuilding

penny (pl. pence) a unit of currency in England before 1971, being one twelfth of a shilling

landscape in this study the aspect or vision of the land as perceived or represented, but not the materiality of the land itself. Cultural landscape is perceived or represented as the combined work of nature and man, as distinct from natural landscape

larch the European larch, *Larix decidua*. A species not native to the British Isles, but common in the Alpine tree-line

lombardy poplar *Populus nigra 'Italica'* a columnar tall-growing tree introduced in the late eighteenth century and used as a wind break or screen, or to form avenues

modernity in this study, the modern age, including romanticism, and not simply the characteristics of the modernity

perch a measure of land being one fortieth of a rood

rood a measure of land being a quarter of an acre

scots pine or fir two common names for *Pinus sylvestris*, a species of pine native to Europe and Asia. Re-introduced into England following the union of the crowns

shilling a unit of currency in England before 1971, equal to one twentieth of a pound Sterling

singling the process of allowing a standard from an ex-coppice stool to grow on to be timber

springing from 'spring', verb. 'To allow (timber or ground) to send up shoots from the stools of felled trees' OED. Sprung oak timber stops increasing in size earlier than planted oak

Standard a coppice pole that has been allowed to grow on through one or more coppice cycles

stoven 'a stem or trunk of a tree' OED

thinning the removal of some young wood from a woodland to allow space for the remaining wood to grow on towards maturity

timber wood that is of a size suitable for logging for use in construction

weeding the removal of unwanted seedlings and shoots in a wood, sometimes as underwood

Westmorland an administrative county in England before 1974, now wholly in Cumbria

wood-pasture land which has been sprung or planted for timber, which has reached a sufficient size to allow grazing

years purchase where # is a number. The multiplier applied to the annual market rent of an estate to calculate its value as an investment. The number is the inverse of the prevailing interest rate as a fraction, or slightly higher

Differences from the unpublished thesis

p.1 Copyright notice added

p.7 Figure 5.8, change of source of figure and noted and permission acknowledged. Figure 5.9, permission acknowledged in form required
p.85 Figure 3.2, table 'Timber on the Keswick estate ...' replaced with value for Thorntwaite corrected from £240 to £58, and species subtotal values added

p.190 Figure 5.8 replaced with a published version with source and permission acknowledged in form required. Figure 5.9, source and permission acknowledged in form required

p.262 Figure 7.10, Figure upgraded to show more detail

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Chapter 1. Introduction

1-1. Purpose

The purpose of this study is to examine three new landowners of estates in the English Lakes in the period 1735–1845, to identify their responses to the evolving cultural construction of the English Lakes through acquisition, management and disposal.¹ During this period only landowners had the ability to intervene in estate management processes which were otherwise being increasingly directed towards improvement and economic optimisation. The landowners studied are the Royal Greenwich Hospital for Seamen, Lord William Gordon, and John Marshall of Leeds, all of whom had substantial estates around Derwentwater.

The English Lakes, as a district, was 'discovered' culturally through a publication of 1751, and was then continuously promoted through painting, poetry and prose.² By the 1790s the English Lakes had become the principal British destination for picturesque tourism.³ The creation of identity included a process of valorisation including not only the aesthetic assets, based on the perceived qualities of landscape, but also the creation of social assets in the representations of the inhabitants. At the turn of the nineteenth century the English Lakes became, and has remained, the acknowledged seat of English Romanticism through the work of the Lake Poets. The English Lakes was increasingly portrayed and valued for its peopled cultural landscape, rather than as a naturalistic landscape. The study considers the differentiation of the cultural identity of the English Lakes from, say, the industrialising districts, as a creative process within a context of modernity.

The study seeks to use the concept of materialising culture as the historically appropriate equivalent of present practice in promoting and advancing

¹ 1735, the Greenwich Hospital was granted the Derwentwater Estates; 1845, the death of John Marshall

² George Smith, 'An account of a journey to the black lead mines and the neighbouring mountains', *Gentleman's magazine*, Vol. xxi. 1751; Peter Bicknell, *The picturesque scenery of the Lake District, 1752-1855: a bibliographical study*, Winchester: St. Paul Bibliographies, 1990

³ Malcolm Andrews, *The search for the picturesque: landscape aesthetics and tourism in Britain, 1760-1800*, Aldershot, Scolar, 1989. Provides a comparative study

cultural heritage, generally now undertaken through public intervention. To support the study, a theoretical framework of value will be chosen or derived, which will be employed to analyse the responses of the landowners to the valorisation of the English Lakes, including its inhabitants.

The valorisation of the English Lakes was created through discourse, and then supported through the experience of tourism. This process will be established within the study to examine the responses of the three landowners to discourse, to direct personal influence and to personal experience of the English Lakes. The purpose is to establish the extent to which landowners responded in material ways to the cultural identity of the English Lakes, particularly in making culturally based rather than economically based decisions, which would normally be applied to investment property. Where possible and justifiable, general conclusions will be drawn from this study.

1-2. Previous work

While numerous studies have been made of the English Lakes through this period in many disciplines, in effect identifying and describing the cultural construction of the identity of the English Lakes, there have been none which attempt to identify the landowners' material responses to it, which might today be considered as the conservation or restoration of cultural heritage. The published work that is directly relevant to the materialisation of cultural value in the English Lakes will be considered in this section, while other related work will be considered in Chapter 2, which provides a contextualised valorisation of the English Lakes.

Walton in his study 'The Defence of Lakeland' considers that 'Wordsworth was the chief prophet of the conservation movement' but that his sentiments 'did not gain widespread acceptance until the last quarter of the nineteenth century' and that 'his views [from the guide text of 1810] made little immediate impact, running as they did directly counter to the prevailing currents of political

economy'.⁴ Before 1870 it is implied that the landowners who alone, excepting Parliament, had the ability to intervene, would follow the dictates of political economy on their tenanted or productive estates, and would apply the generally accepted English standards to their estates within the English Lakes. The presumption, that while the English Lakes had become special both in discourse and for tourism much earlier the behaviour of landowners in the first half of the nineteenth century was not generally influenced, will be tested in this thesis, in particular through a study of the estates of John Marshall, who was both a political economist and a close associate of Wordsworth.

Walton's explanation of the time gap between the words of a prophet of conservation from 1810, and formal defence to particular threats based on a developing national middle-class support for conservation from 1875, provides a rationale for the starting point of that work, but raises a number of questions which have stimulated this thesis. What, for example, is conservation in this man-made landscape; is it simply based on a set of aesthetic preferences, or does it implicitly or explicitly seek to retain or promote a way of life or ideology? What is the nature of the dialectic implied by the adversarial model that Walton identifies in the late nineteenth century; when and why does it originate; how are the constituencies generated, who are they and what are their interests?

Most importantly, did the 'prevailing currents of political economy' apply equally to Leeds and the English Lakes during the pre-Victorian period of *laissez-faire*, conforming to a universal economic structuralist's model, or did those with power of intervention in the English Lakes, the landowners, allow cultural values to influence decision making? At the very end of *The discovery of Britain*, Moir uses the English Lakes to look forward into a discovered or known Britain, describing the process which is to be evidenced in this thesis.⁵ 'The Lakes were

⁴ JD Marshall & JK Walton, *The lake counties from 1830 to the mid twentieth century*, Manchester, Manchester University Press, 1981, pp.205-6

⁵ Esther Moir, *The discovery of Britain: the English Tourists*, London, Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1964, pp.139-56

only setting the pattern [in the first half of the nineteenth century] which was to be followed elsewhere – stretches of country laid aside, as an escape for the town-weary, a reminder of that older world upon which an urban civilisation was relentlessly encroaching.⁶ That laying aside of land must result from decisions by its owners, materialising cultural values, because the tourist trade did not have sufficient economic power. Recently Ritvo has studied the Thirlmere debate in the context of a nascent environmentalism, and through comparative study has demonstrated a long-developed divergence of identities between Manchester and the Lake District.⁷ This involved Manchester becoming the example of industry, but also the Lake District becoming its antithesis. Langton makes a case for the proposition that, in the early stages of industrialisation, and roughly within the period of this study, the spatial differences in the nature and pace of development created a large degree of differentiation, where specialisation overrode the developing national common interest, and that ‘the distinctive social and cultural traits began to be recognised as characteristic of particular geographical regions’.⁸

Considering the eighteenth century, there is often a presumption, which is described by Walton though not necessarily endorsed, that ideas of a public ownership of cultural assets attached to private landed property awaited Wordsworth. The eighteenth century had seen a new appreciation of the aesthetics of English natural landscape, and of its celebration in the triple arts of poetry, painting and the landscape architecture. In the second half of the eighteenth century the appreciation of the aesthetics of English landscape was reflected in topographical writing and in the rise in tourism, but at the same time there had been substantial growth in private property, for example by enclosure, and in

⁶ Moir, *Discovery*, p.156.

⁷ Harriet Ritvo, *The dawn of green; Manchester, Thirlmere and modern environmentalism*, London, University of Chicago Press, 2009

⁸ John Langton, ‘The industrial revolution and the regional geography of England’, *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, New Series, Vol.9, No.2 (1984), pp.145-167, p.145

formalising its appearance through the economic improvement of the farmed landscape, including woodland. The romantic discontents arising from the interaction of modernity with natural or traditional cultural landscape and lifestyle, were consolidated by Wordsworth into a coherent body of didactic work, principally the *Guide* and the *Excursion*, remembering that the *Prelude* was not published in his lifetime.⁹ However, Wordsworth did not create these discontents, which had been developing in the context of the identity of the English Lakes for sixty years by 1810. No study has been made of how the valorisation of the English Lakes over this period might have had agency with landowners. Ousby in his chapter 'Rash assault' in *The Englishman's England* examines much of the material which this study will examine, and identifies threats that offended the dominant taste in the period, but Ousby does not go on to seek responses.¹⁰ The origins of tourism in the English Lakes have been studied by Nicholson in *The Lakers* from discursive and secondary historical sources, and this probably remains the most complete history which attempts to consider and balance the external and internal perspectives.¹¹ More recently, the external aspect of Nicholson's approach has been updated by Thompson, working from secondary sources.¹² In general academic historical studies of 'The Lake Counties' the early tourism and the cultural creation of the identity of English Lakes is slightly addressed, being more usually the domain of general thematic works and art history. Bouch and Jones hardly address the meaning of their title *The Lake Counties, 1500-1830*, with only a short descriptive passage.¹³ The late eighteenth century is consequently out of the period for Marshall and Walton, but a chapter

⁹ William Wordsworth, *The excursion, being a portion of the recluse, a poem*, London, Longman, 1814; William Wordsworth, *Guide to the Lakes*, ed. de Selincourt/Gill, Frances Lincoln, London, 2004; William Wordsworth, *The Prelude, 1799, 1805, 1850* ed. J Wordsworth, Abrams, & Gill, London, Norton, 1979

¹⁰ Ian Ousby, *The Englishman's England: taste travel and the rise of tourism*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press (CUP), 1990, pp.130-94

¹¹ Norman Nicholson, *The lakers: the adventures of the first travellers*, Milnthorpe, Cicerone Press, 1995

¹² Ian Thompson, *The English Lakes: a history*, London, Bloomsbury Publishing, 2010

¹³CML Bouch & GP Jones, *A short economic and social history of the Lake Counties, 1500-1830*, Manchester, Manchester University Press, 1961, pp.283-289

on the tourist trade and the holiday industry contains an empirical study starting from the 1830s, and the work on the defence of Lakeland has already been noted.¹⁴ The creation of the English Lakes fell between those two stools.

The responses of landowners in the English Lakes in the eighteenth century have received little attention. Perhaps the only explicit recognition came in an observation from Thomason and Woof, in an art-history study to accompany an exhibition based around the developing aesthetic values associated with Derwentwater. They suggest that:-

What emerges out of the story is an interest in the aesthetic conscience of the eighteenth century, ... Could it be that the sense of responsibility shared by the poets, commentators and artists finally impinged upon the landowners who were 'improving' their estates? The building of houses in a way that was sympathetic to the environment, the planting and felling of trees in a way that might enhance the landscape, the creation of roads and pathways so that thereby the visitor might the better enjoy the prospect, are all part of the eighteenth century dynamic.¹⁵

That statement poses the question to be answered by this study in the second half of the eighteenth century, in addition to the first half of the nineteenth, and which points to the choice of locality and owners.

1-3. Choice of locality and landowners

The principal locality will be Derwentwater and its environs, which was the locus of the discovery of the English Lakes, and the principal focus of discourse and debate through the second half of the eighteenth century. Throughout the period of study, Keswick remained the principal base from which to tour the Lakes. Derwentwater, or the Lake at Keswick, was the first objective of aesthetic interest. Even with the settlement of the Lake Poets from 1800, contemporary touristic literary interest was focussed mostly on Southey in Keswick, as Poet Laureate from 1813. Perhaps because of the primacy of Derwentwater, the eighteenth century discourse of the social value of the inhabitants was also

¹⁴ Marshall and Walton, *Lake counties*, pp.178-203

¹⁵ David Thomason & Robert Woof, *Derwentwater, the Vale of Elysium*, Grasmere, Trustees of Dove Cottage, 1986, Introduction

focussed on the tours undertaken from Keswick, through Borrowdale, Buttermere and Loweswater. Only with the coming of the railway to Windermere in 1847, did the quantitative focus of tourism shift to the south of the English Lakes, while Keswick waited until 1865 for the benefit from railway excursions.¹⁶

The three landowners selected each had a significant ownership of estates on Derwentwater in the period. Only John Marshall acquired estates elsewhere in the English Lakes. Taken together, the three studies effectively cover the history of Derwentwater lakeshore ownership through the formative period. The Greenwich Hospital, a public charity for naval seamen, was granted the confiscated Derwentwater Estates in 1735 and had a duty to maximise the economic return for the Hospital. This landowner, which will be considered as the London-based Court and Directors, was seriously criticised for the sale of the wood on the eastern shore and islands from the start of the discourse, and therefore had a potential conflict between its duty to the charity and a perceived lack of taste in management. In 1832 the Hospital sold the Keswick estate to John Marshall, providing an important process of disposal and acquisition which will be examined.

Lord William Gordon (1744-1823) purchased the western shores of Derwentwater from 1781, excluding other owners and creating a picturesque landscape which was retained in the family through the remainder of the period of study. Gordon had achieved notoriety in his youth, and his family was associated with the Gordon riots in 1780. As a member of an aristocratic family he could indulge his whims in spending the limited funds he obtained by marrying an heiress in 1781, but subject to how he wished to be seen by his peers. The purpose of his purchase and the method of management of the estate will be examined.

John Marshall (1765-1845) was a flax spinner from Leeds who made a fortune during the French Wars. His strong connection to the English Lakes must

¹⁶ Marshall and Walton, *Lake counties*, pp.178-203

be seen in the context of his relationship with the Wordsworths, created by his marriage to Jane Pollard in 1795. Being a capitalist, a manufacturer, a utilitarian and a political economist, his scope for agreement with Wordsworth was limited. Marshall's purchases in iconic lake shore locations commenced in 1811, and continued through the period to his death in 1845, by which time he and his sons had created an unprecedented estate of lake scenery, much of which became National Trust holdings.¹⁷

These three landowners were all new to the English Lakes, except that the Greenwich Hospital received its estates some fifteen years before the 'discovery'. None had their principal residences there, nor any history of estate ownership. Therefore the role of the discursive cultural construction is likely to be less compromised by other influences. Their lack of, or minimal, residence in the estates studied minimised the requirement to create a gentleman's private park, where cultural values might override economic values in any district. These landowners were, respectively, a public charity, a second-rank aristocrat and a major industrialist, who are neither representative of a class of estate purchasers nor typical individual purchasers. Each is significant in his own right.

None of the three landowners have been the subject of an academic study of their estate ownership in the English Lakes, nor have the Greenwich Hospital or Lord William Gordon been the subjects of any substantial study. John Marshall has been studied in the context of Marshall's of Leeds and his role development of the associated science and engineering.¹⁸ The lack of such studies has therefore left of the ownership and management of Derwentwater and its curtilage unstudied.

¹⁷ Bruce Thompson, *The Lake District and the National Trust*, Kendal, Titus Wilson, 1946

¹⁸ WG Rimmer, *Marshall's of Leeds, flax spinners 1788-1866*, Cambridge, CUP, 1960; Margaret C Jacob, 'Mechanical science on the factory floor: the early industrial revolution in Leeds', *History of Science* Vol. xlvi, (2007), pp.197-221

1-4. Approach

The English Lakes, or now the Lake District, has a very well developed and generally accepted cultural identity, which after two hundred years of growth was formalised and firmly fixed through the creation of the Lake District National Park in 1951. Understandably there is conformal influence, and a market, which encourages academic studies of the Lake District, in any discipline, to confirm and validate the settled heritage and its story. Studies which engage with and support the accepted cultural identity, confirming, building or filling gaps in knowledge, do not need to consider or make explicit their approach or perspective. Without such contemplation there is a risk that historiography may contain a subliminal teleology, and, for example, may conflate present and contemporary values into one correct view. Mythological roles associated with historical personalities can be untested; sometimes representations in the canonical discourse are taken as fact. In this Region of Romance, executed traitors such as the third Earl of Derwentwater can become heroes. The charitable Royal Greenwich Hospital for Seamen and Joseph Pocklington were and remain, respectively, cast as the villains of taste in landscape management and in building, as will be shown.

This present study will take neither an engaged supportive approach, nor an oppositional approach. No oppositional studies of the English Lakes have been found in the disciplines of history or historical geography, but in the thesis *The playground of England*, Welberry uses the title of Moir's chapter on the English Lakes to challenge the literary genealogy of the English Lakes.¹⁹ Welberry identifies the Wordsworth-Ruskin-Rawnsley-Potter sequence as the dominant canon in defining the 'English environmental tradition', supporting the establishment of the Lake District National Park as a conservationist enterprise. Welberry considers this enterprise 'a socio-geographical disaster, a pretty picture

¹⁹ Karen Welberry, 'The playground of England: a genealogy of the English Lakes from nursery to national park, 1793-1951', thesis, La Trobe University, Bundoora, Vic., 2000

purchased at the price of community wellbeing and concealing a much darker reality'.²⁰ Welberry identifies other authors, for example Hartley Coleridge, Harriet Martineau and Arthur Ransome, through whom other genealogical paths can be constructed which might promote use over conservation, and might be seen as 'an effective and popular alternative to the official conservationist enterprise'.²¹

Welberry's discontent with the 'English environmental tradition' is paralleled by Johnson's discontent with the 'English landscape tradition', criticised in *Ideas of Landscape*.²² Johnson argues that the practice of landscape archaeology in the historic period is ideologically underpinned by English Romanticism, and makes less use of theory than is the practice elsewhere. 'The strengths and weaknesses of current landscape archaeology of historic periods are shown to mirror the underlying discontents of Romanticism, for example in its politics and its empiricism,' by which Johnson does not criticise empiricism itself, but the subjective way in which empirical evidence is interpreted, lacking theory.²³ Johnson roots this romanticism in Wordsworth, and locates its consolidation in landscape archaeology and history in the work of Hoskins. Moir, Welberry and Johnson all express discontents which link to a role that the identity of the English Lakes plays in modernity, with Wordsworth as a pivotal or prophetic figure. As such, they are a few dissenters from the mainstream interest.

The intention of this thesis is to view historical process from a disengaged and external perspective, establishing, in chapter 2, the valorisation of the English Lakes from a contemporary viewpoint through the discourse of the class of people who created it. The definition of culture to be studied includes social as well as aesthetic assets, which combined in representations of a cultural

²⁰ Welberry, 'Playground', summary

²¹ Welberry, 'Playground', summary,

²² Matthew Johnson, *Ideas of landscape*, Oxford, Blackwell, 2006

²³ Johnson, *Ideas*, p.xii

landscape, in which the actual or implied way of life of the inhabitants became an important component. Therefore, as Johnson urges, the study will approach culture from a disengaged anthropological viewpoint, and will to employ a theoretical framework and a language that avoids the anachronism of 'conservation' or other present-day concepts or judgements. A basic distinction will be made between economic and cultural systems of value, which will guide the study and its analysis.

The study closest in approach and application is Darby's *Landscape and identity*, which contextualises and approaches the valorisation of the Lake District with an anthropological view of culture, to support a political study of public access debates and practices.²⁴ In *Improvement and Romance*, Womack presents another model of perspective in cultural history, in which the interplay between economic and cultural values in the Scottish Highlands and highlanders is examined through discourse from the perspective of the English, as the citizenry of North Britain was formed and earned their tartans in the later eighteenth century.²⁵ Townend has recently provided a model discursive study of how, through the Victorian period, the inhabitants of the Lake District were culturally reconstructed as Scandinavian.²⁶

1-5. Theoretical framework

There is no intention in this study to use theory in the sense of a theory to be proposed and tested as part of the study. Rather, the study will use theories of value, and the characteristics of cultural value, as a "toolkit" of engaged theory', as discussed for example by Clifford in *The predicament of culture*, with the purpose to interrogate and analyse cultural constructions.²⁷ The theory will

²⁴ Wendy Joy Darby, *Landscape and identity, geographies of nation and class in England*, Oxford, Berg, 2000

²⁵ Peter Womack, *Improvement and romance: constructing the myth of the Highlands*, London, Macmillan, 1989

²⁶ Matthew Townend, *The Vikings and Victorian Lakeland: the Norse medievalism of W.G. Collingwood and his contemporaries*, Kendal, Cumberland & Westmorland Antiquarian & Archaeological Society (CWAAS), 2009

²⁷ James Clifford, *The predicament of culture, twentieth century ethnography, literature and art*, London, Harvard University Press, 1988, p.23

provide a framework for the study and a foundation for the analysis, but not a rigid containment.

Moir's 'stretches of country laid aside ... a reminder of that older world', and led by the English Lakes, are within modernity, which is defined as 'a certain historical period to which a "modern" character is applied,' but they are excluded from the principle features of that modern character.²⁸ The 'Defence of Lakeland', which Walton evidences, can be seen as a defence of physical or abstract territory against the principle features of modernity; which can be variously characterised but might include industrialisation, urbanisation, capitalism, individualism (including emancipation from ties to land and custom), political economy, political democracy, faith in science and general enlightenment values.²⁹ If these and/or associated concepts constitute the thesis of modernity, then its antithesis is or contains romanticism, and the discontents of romanticism oppose the thesis.

Thesis and antithesis were and are partially sublated through a spatial process of occupation and separation of territories. If the thesis of modernity occupied territories such as Manchester, Leeds, and the agriculturally-improving districts, then romanticism's territory first required a cultural identity and a community of culture to defend it, and then required a base from which to promote romanticism and its politics. It is proposed that the creation of the cultural identity of the English Lakes was not a consequence of being a marginal district 'laid aside', but was a positive construction from the second half of the eighteenth century. From the 1790s this was overlaid with a social romanticism which found its fullest exposition in Wordsworth's publications. Such a purpose was explicit in the Wordsworth/Coleridge project to 'retire' to the English Lakes in 1800 to work on 'The Recluse', the unfinished larger work of philosophical poetry

²⁸ Thomas Moutner, *The penguin dictionary of philosophy*, London, Penguin Books, 2005, p.397

²⁹ Marshall and Walton, *Lake counties*, pp.204-219

which contained 'The Excursion'.³⁰ The term Regions of Romance is used in this study to express that positivity in the creation of identity.

If the cultural identity of the English Lakes contains a cultural construction overlaid on its physical land, water, and people, and if the construction is to be analysed in such a way that responses to components of it by landowners can be identified, then the concept needs to be unpacked and the systems of its operation defined in a model. The basic proposition is that the cultural construction was created through a process of valorisation which was driven by cultural values. If the materialisation of culture is to be distinguished from economic processes, then cultural values should be separate from the economic values which might be determined by political economy and the market. By identifying the nature and growth of cultural value, the study can then examine cases in which a landowner responds to it. For example, the landowner might keep an old stag-headed but picturesque tree which should be cut down for timber, or might choose or retain one favoured tenant, when another would provide a better economic return from the farm.

Theories of value exist in both philosophy, as axiology, and in economics, but it is by cultural economists that a language and a system has been developed for cultural value, which contrasts and compares with economic value. A study of candidate theories of value is contained in Throsby's *Economics and culture*.³¹ The theory of cultural value, applicable to this study, has been developed by Hutter and Throsby, driven by a need to have a defensible basis for supporting public intervention and spending on cultural heritage. Following the democratisation of public cultural funding away supporting high culture, the Heritage Lottery Fund in the United Kingdom needed an anthropological definition of culture to avoid making subjective, class-defined evaluations of heritage projects. A policy has been adopted which seeks to make the creation of cultural

³⁰ Stephen Gill, *William Wordsworth: a life*, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1969, pp.144-6

³¹ David Throsby, *Economics and culture*, Cambridge, CUP, 2001

value the objective of public policy and of public expenditure on cultural heritage projects. Public benefits are obtained by the proposed consequential growth of cultural value, while at the same time ensuring that the public spending reflects the overall demographic structure.³²

Cultural value can be used in a system that is analogous to economics, but which is separate from economics and unquantifiable. Cultural values reside in the minds of people and not in the cultural assets that are valued, which might be physical objects or abstract ideas. The overall value of a cultural asset is a function of the number of people who value it and the strength of their attachment, but cannot be measured. However, communities of culture are groups of people who shared cultural values, and so each cultural asset might have its cultural value demonstrated by the aggregate power of those who would 'defend' it against 'threat', or subscribe to its materialisation in some form.

For the English Lakes, the community of culture which created and owned the cultural construction of the lakes was the high status group which at first created and consumed the discourse of the English Lakes, and was then joined by the persons of 'rank and fashion' who toured. This community was essentially external, and did not include the internal local plebeian inhabitants, the existential insiders who were a part of the subject matter of the discourse. The discourse of painting, poetry, prose and topographical writing was the medium through which the cultural construction was stored, communicated and shared.

The term cultural capital has been established by the sociologist, Bourdieu, to identify the sum of the qualities of a cultured individual, which allows his taste, rather than his resources, to position him socially.³³ An individual's cultural capital is made up, at least in part, of natural, learned, or

³² John Holden, *Creating cultural value: how culture has become a tool of government policy*, London, Demos, 2004

³³ Pierre Bourdieu, *Distinction, a social critique of the judgement of taste*, London, Routledge, 2008

adopted cultural values. Shared values provide a strong qualification for inclusion in social groups, as well as a mechanism for exclusion. Exclusion might involve the pathologising of the aspirational Other, perhaps as a Philistine who attempts to create his cultural capital through buying cultural objects, confusing two separate systems of value. The display of cultural values, perhaps in acquiring and managing property in the valorised English Lakes, might be a means to gain acceptance within an exclusive social or cultural group. A change in 'correct' taste can provide a method of exclusion, as happened to the unfortunate Pocklington, as will be shown.

In addition to being separate from economic value, the cultural value used within this study must use the anthropological meaning of culture, because cultural value must embrace the way of life of the inhabitants. The two uses of the word culture according to Connor:-

crystallize out within a couple of years of each other in the nineteenth century, in the alternative definitions offered in Matthew Arnold's *Culture and Anarchy* (1869) and E B Tylor's *Primitive Culture* (1871). For Arnold, culture is defined as the "disinterested pursuit of perfection ... simply trying to see things as they are, in order to seize on the best and make it prevail".³⁴

Tylor, however, states that 'Culture or Civilization, taken in its wide ethnographical sense, is that complex whole which includes knowledge, belief, art, morals, law, custom, and any other capabilities and habits acquired by man as a member of society'.³⁵

Throsby's theory of cultural value has the necessary aesthetic and social components. It provides a number of abstract characteristics of cultural value which together are to comprise the complete set and which therefore provide a means of analysis. These are not taken from theoretical characterisations within anthropology, but are an original proposal. These characteristics are aesthetic, spiritual, social, historical, symbolic and authenticity value. He does not derive or

³⁴ Steven Connor, *Theory and cultural value*, Oxford, Blackwell, 1992, pp.231-2

³⁵ Jerry D Moore, *Visions of culture: an introduction to anthropological theories and theorists*, Lanham USA, Altamira Press, 2004, p.5

define these in general terms but by application to practical examples, such as an artwork or a heritage site, through which the abstract definition is intended to become clear.³⁶ Using Throsby as his reference, Holden creates the required general description of these characteristics, but he discards, without explanation, Throsby's sixth characteristic of authenticity. Authenticity is perhaps more a qualifier than a separate category, but it is a useful tool where the validity of discursive representations is tested by challenge, and by experience such as tourism.

The characteristics of cultural value proposed by Throsby, but adjusted and described by Holden, are:-

Aesthetic value; a highly problematic area of enquiry involving dispute not only about what is beautiful but also about who has the power and authority to take decisions about what is beautiful.

Spiritual value; addressing aspects of the religious, the numinous and the sublime.

Social value; places or things that tend to make connections between people and to reinforce a sense of unity and identity.

Historical value; a special relationship with the past; a concept resting on particular viewpoints of history.

Symbolic value; repositories of meaning.³⁷

When applied to a heritage site, Throsby's '*Authenticity value*' requires that 'The site is valued for its own sake because it is real, not false, and because it is unique. An important concomitant characteristic is integrity ...'.³⁸

These characteristics are not fully defined, nor totally separate and contiguous, but provide a practical and useful 'toolkit' for this study. The greatest problem is in the definition of aesthetic value and its separation from the wholly culturally created social, historic and symbolic value. The difficulty for Throsby is that there is no agreement on a definition of aesthetic appreciation, and particularly on whether aesthetic appreciation, say of a real or art landscape, is natural and, as Kant decided, independent of reason, language and learning, or whether aesthetic response is also engaged with culture and a developed taste.

³⁶ Throsby, *Economics and culture*, pp.28-9 & 84-5

³⁷ Holden, *Creating cultural Value*, p.35

³⁸ Throsby, *Economics and Culture*, p.85

Abrams places the origins of the general British growth in landscape aesthetics and art in the work of Addison, editor of *The Spectator*.³⁹ An appreciation of the natural qualities of mountainous scenery depended on that development of aesthetics at the start of the eighteenth century, which allowed landscape to be seen and assessed outside of the moral frame of reference. Thus freed from the controlling religious or moral context, nature and landscape may be considered as art subjects in their own right, rather than backgrounds for religious, historical or mythological subjects. Although the practice of aesthetics was developed in England, through painting, poetry and the art form of landscape architecture, the theory of aesthetics was developed through German idealist philosophy from the 1750s. In *Aesthetics and subjectivity* Bowie notes that 'The central new idea is that the beauty of nature need not have an ulterior function and can be its own purpose. Analogously, the rules of an art are seen as the self-legitimating products of human freedom, not as the result of the instrumental attempt to grasp objective necessities or natural regularities.'⁴⁰ Aesthetics therefore does not become free from the moral domain only to be captured by the mechanistic scientific domain of British philosophy, but during the eighteenth century becomes, through subjectivity and the internalisation of prospect, the domain of a new idealist and transcendental philosophy, underpinning English Romanticism.⁴¹

If aesthetic response were wholly natural, and not developed through culture, then it would be common to all and not a component of distinction through a refined taste. To be a cultural value, aesthetic value must have a cultural component, engaged with reason and shared with others through language, which renders a Kantian understanding unsuitable for this study. The

³⁹ MH Abrams, 'From Addison to Kant: modern aesthetics and the exemplary art', in Ralph Cohen, ed., *Studies in eighteenth century British art and aesthetics*, London, University of California Press, 1985, pp.16-48

⁴⁰ Andrew Bowie, *Aesthetics and subjectivity: from Kant to Nietzsche*, Manchester University Press, 2003, pp.4-5

⁴¹ See, for example, James AW Heffernan, *The re-creation of landscape: a study of Wordsworth, Coleridge, Constable and Turner*, London, University Press of New England, 1984, pp.103-136

aesthetic response to a tree may be natural or biological, but a greatly differing aesthetic response to an oak tree or a larch tree must have a cultural component. This study accepts the paradigm for landscape aesthetics, containing biological laws and cultural rules, proposed by Bourassa, in *Aesthetics and landscape*, which contains a good general analysis of the problems of defining aesthetic experience.⁴²

It follows that aesthetic appreciation, and therefore aesthetic cultural value is not wholly separable from other cultural values, and that images of landscape, whether real or art, can stimulate a learned aesthetic response, which responds to symbolism. A ruined cottage in a landscape can be aesthetically pleasing to a picturesque artist as an image which complies with the rules of composition, but it can also symbolise a broken family, with social cultural value, or be a ruin with historical cultural value. A correct taste requires an approved interpretation and refined sensibility.

The important conclusion is that various cultural values can be conveyed and shared through language or image, and that the study must focus on the values rather than the medium. As an inhabited cultural landscape, the English Lakes has acquired, as key part of the genealogy of its identity, an approved 'aspect of the country as affected by its inhabitants' which leads into the didactic 'changes, and rules of taste for preventing their bad effects', in the structure of Wordsworth's Guide as elucidated by Whyte.⁴³ From a socio-political perspective, the way of life written into the land by the inhabitants becomes an approved second nature which is to be preserved in future development. That preservation of the visions of cultural landscapes symbolises the social cultural values associated with the inhabitants.

⁴² Steven Bourassa, *The aesthetics of landscape*, London, Belhaven Press, 1991, Chapters 3-5

⁴³ Ian Whyte, 'Wordsworth's guide to the lakes and geographical tradition', *Armitt Library Journal*, 1/1998, pp.18-37

1-6. Structure

Chapter 2 will provide the contemporary background sufficient for the study of the three landowners, but not a complete characterisation of the English Lakes. Its purpose is to identify the general influences acting on landowners which might influence their ownership and management of estates. Particular influences, say through personal experience or direct influence by others, will be addressed in the landowner studies. The chapter will consider developing ideas of identity and public cultural ownership and will provide the necessary analysis of discourse within a general historical context. Its perspective will be contemporary with the landowners, using published material and relevant historiography.

Chapters 3 to 7 will examine three significant landowners who were new to the Lakes during the periods of the study, and whose ownerships overlapped considerably in space and time. They had neither significant previous connexion with the English Lakes nor significant previous landed property. So they might be responsive to the particular representations associated with the English Lakes, in their choice of estates or in their management of estates and tenants. None of these three have been previously studied in any depth in the context of their relationship with the English Lakes. Therefore it is necessary to establish the process of the creation of their estates and the manner of their management in some detail, to be able to draw any conclusions on their responses to cultural value. The general order of each study will be:- the landowner history, the land history, the acquisition, the management, and the disposal.

The primary purpose is to study the landowners, and to examine the historical record of the landowners and their actions for responses specific to the representations of the English Lakes and its inhabitants, to establish which, if any, cultural values had agency. A simple test of three levels of response will be used, awareness, interest and intervention. Awareness is indicated by some evidence that the landowner recognises that he owns land which is considered to have value outside of its productive purpose. Interest is indicated by evidence

that he shares and supports, perhaps in words and easy choices, the values associated with the English Lakes. Intervention is usually demonstrated by forgoing an economic benefit or incurring a cost without a return, in support of cultural values associated with the English Lakes. Only this third level of intervention is regarded as a materialisation of culture. Within Chapters 3 to 7, where possible, an analysis will be made of actual or possible motivations for purchases in the English Lakes of for a mode of management or intervention in the life of the community.

Chapter 8 provides an overall analysis and draws conclusions from the study.

Chapter 2. Discursive creation of the English Lakes

Introduction

This chapter provides a framework within which to examine the responses of the three landowners to the developing cultural identity of the English Lakes. The chapter will develop a contextualised statement of the cultural drivers which acted upon them, in terms of the cultural values involved. The focus will be on the general discourse that was created and shared, and not on the personal experiences of the landowners or the direct personal influences on them, which will be addressed in the individual chapters. Therefore, this chapter will use contemporary published material from 1700 to 1830, plus secondary sources, but generally not archival knowledge that was not generally available at the time. Figure 2-1 provides a general location map of the northern English Lakes from West's guide.¹

Much of the examination of the landowners will relate to the eighteenth century, and so an important task of this chapter is to start well before Wordsworth's publications. The starting point will be the growth of modern aesthetics from around 1700, establishing concepts and drivers which have the potential agency to influence landowners by mid century.

Section 2-1 considers the nature, purpose, development and application of the

identity of the English Lakes at the macro level, developing the term Regions of Romance and demonstrating that in such a culturally politicised district, mythology can provide more valuable truths than evidence-based historiography.

Section 2-2 examines, firstly, the origins of Wordsworth's identification of cultural property, and analyses it in terms of the relationship with the ownership of real property. Secondly, the owners of cultural assets and the mechanisms through which that ownership is obtained and exercised will be considered. Lastly threats to that ownership and the need for defence are assessed.

¹ Thomas West, *A guide to the lakes: ...*, London, 1778, map from the 3rd edition, 1784

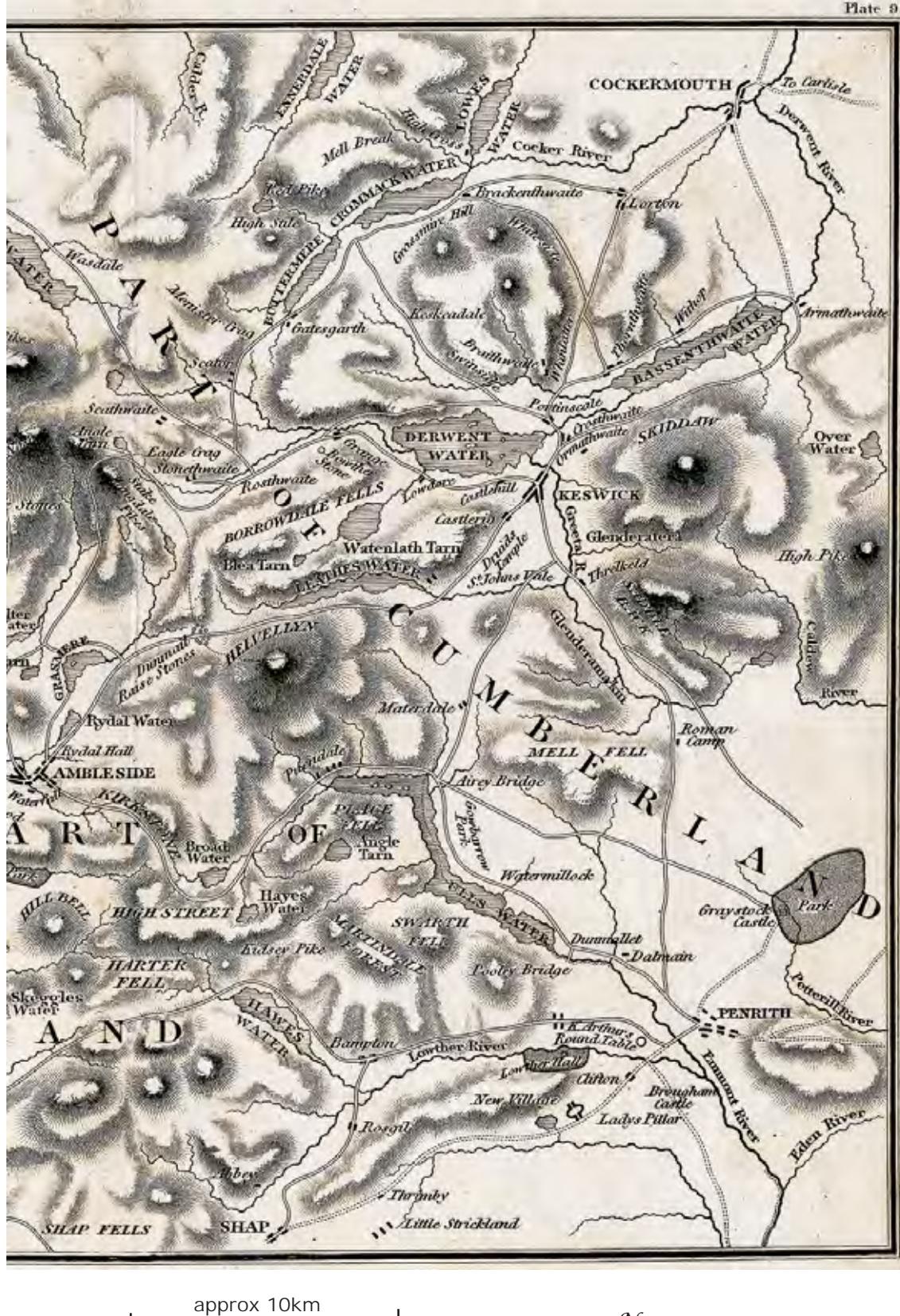


Figure 2-1. A general location map of the northern English Lakes, from Thomas West's *Guide to the Lakes*, 1778. Third edition, 1784

Section 2-3 considers briefly the general valorisation of the English Lakes, and examines the extent to which the choice of Derwentwater and the north-western lakes represents the whole in terms of the general valorisation.

Section 2-4 provides a more detailed examination of the cultural values in discourse which might influence the behaviour of the three landowners in managing their woodland and in building.

Section 2-5 addresses the social cultural value of the inhabitants in discourse, its context, the purposes of the discourse and the media through which it was conveyed.

2-1. Regions of Romance – a genealogy, identity and politics

This study seeks to characterise the identity of the English Lakes as understood by and having potential agency with land owners in the later eighteenth century. The identity as a romantic region is well understood in retrospect, but its materialisation outside of discourse has not been considered prior to the period of English romanticism, which is usually taken as the origin of agency.

The expression Regions of Romance, as used in the mid-eighteenth century, implied a fictitious narrative in which the events were far removed from real or contemporary life. For Richard Savage, these regions were in a past which had been romanticised, or falsified, as a history to meet the needs of the present; religious, political or other. Savage's regions were neither real places nor topographically described:-

In quest of these the muse shall first advance,
Bold, to explore the regions of romance;
Romance, call'd History – Lo! At once she skims
The visionary world of monkish whims;
Where fallacy, in legends, wildly shines,
And vengeance stares from violated shrines;²

Through the eighteenth century the term Regions of Romance was reused and reapplied to those unreal places or circumstances to which the mind

² 'On False Historians: a satire', in Samuel Johnson, *The works of Richard Savage* [1697/8-1743], Dublin, Whitestone, 1777, Vol.II, p.204

might travel, led by the creative power of the imagination, through which 'a man in a dungeon is capable of entertaining himself with scenes and landskips more beautiful than any that can be found in the whole compass of nature'.³ A gentleman poet of the late eighteenth century might strive to reach these regions, but in 1799 such escapism in young ladies was firmly discouraged in the instruction of Fanny Burney, who provided a helpful definition:-

Let me, therefore prepare for disappointment those who, in the perusal of these sheets, entertain the gentle expectation of being transported to the fantastic regions of romance, where Fiction is coloured by all the gay tints of luxurious imagination, where Reason is an outcast, and where the Sublimity of the Marvellous, rejects all aid from sober Probability.⁴

The published idea of real places being romantic or 'redolent or suggestive of romance; appealing to the imagination and feelings' is attributed by the *Oxford English Dictionary* to Addison, the joint editor of *The Spectator* and the acknowledged founder of English aesthetics.⁵ In 1705 Addison published his recent tours in Italy, noting that the setting of Cassis, near Marseille, 'is so Romantic a Scene, that it has always probably given occasion to such Chimerical Relations'.⁶ The romance was not in the place itself but in the response of the observer; the inherent qualities of a romantic place or scene were expected to stimulate the sensibilities and imagination of the observer. Writing up his 1772 tour, recalling Matlock, Gilpin described romantic sensibility and the requirement engage the creative imagination rather than just the associations of fancy:-

It is impossible to view such scenes as these without feeling the imagination take fire. Little fairy scenes, where the parts, tho trifling; are happily disposed; such, for instance, as the cascade-scene in the gardens at the Leasowes, please the fancy. But this is scenery of a different kind. Every object here, is sublime, and wonderful. Not only the eye is

³ Joseph Addison, 'On the pleasures of the imagination', *The Spectator*, No.411, 21 June 1712

⁴ Fanny Burney, *Evelina, or, a young lady's entrance into the world. In a series of letters*, 2nd ed., London, Lowndes, 1779, p.xiii

⁵ MH Abrams, *From Addison to Kant: modern aesthetics and the exemplary art* in Cohen, R ed. *Studies in eighteenth century British art and aesthetics*, University of California Press, London, 1985, pp.16-48

⁶ Joseph Addison, *Remarks on several parts of Italy, &c. in the years 1701, 1702, 1703*, London, 1705, p.12

pleased; but the imagination is filled. We are carried at once into the fields of fiction, and romance. Enthusiastic ideas take possession of us;⁷

Overlaid on the inherent qualities of a real romantic place was a cultural construction, formed from the accumulated and shared experiences and opinions of others, and built into the expectations and associations of the place of those observers who came later, or who simply experienced the place through art and discourse. In this way real places might acquire an identity as Regions of Romance. Gilpin came close to describing the English Lakes in such terms, in the observations of his 1772 tour; 'Of all the lakes in this romantic region, the lake we are now examining [Derwentwater], seems to be the most generally admired.'⁸ But it was Vincent Lunardi, experiencing a unique high-speed prospect as he flew by balloon between Liverpool and Edinburgh in September 1785, who first described the mountains of the English Lakes as almost within the Regions of Romance: -

As I proceeded Northward the fences and inclosures of lime-stone had at first rather a disagreeable effect; but this was soon amply recompensed by the delightful scenery which now struck my sight! Rising hills covered with short grass and aromatic herbage, which afforded pasturage to innumerable flocks of sheep; deep, but smiling vallies, cultivated by the hand of industry, and a distant range of almost Alpine mountains rising one behind the other, and mingling their blue summits with the clouds. I could almost have imagined myself in the regions of romance; in some of those situations so forcibly described by our countryman ARIOSTO The ruins of some time-mouldered castle, or decayed monastery, now and then chequering the scene, added some strength to the powers of fancy.⁹

While Gilpin was undoubtedly sincere, Lunardi was writing to promote his pioneering exploits, and by this time the almost-Alpine mountains were well known to tourists. Henry Skrine toured the English Lakes in 1787, but did not publish until 1795, when foreign travel was disrupted by war and when picturesque tourism was at its height: -

⁷ William Gilpin, *Observations, relative chiefly to picturesque beauty, made in the year 1772 ...*, London, Blamire, 1786, Vol.2, p.223

⁸ Gilpin, *Observations 1772*, Vol.1, p.183

⁹ Vincent Lunardi, *An account of five aerial voyages in Scotland ...*, London, 1786, p.3

we ... took refuge at a little inn at Pooley Bridge, beneath the foot at Dunmallet, from whence we returned to Penrith. We had now entirely left the regions of romance; and having passed the view which Penrith beacon commands, we traversed a range of dreary and heathy downs till we came within sight of Carlisle.¹⁰

Skrine's casual use of Regions of Romance, on leaving rather than on entering, and at a location approaching Penrith from Ullswater, confirms that romance was a well established component of the identity of an English Lakes, which now had geographical boundaries. That identity was owned by the external community of culture which created the discourse and by the numerous tourists, but not by the existential insider. In Andrews' view 'From the 1770s onward the lake scenery of Cumberland and Westmorland was a serious challenge to the aesthetic supremacy of the European Grand Tour.'¹¹ Andrews notes that by the mid 1790s Hester Piozzi could note in her unpublished tour that 'There is a *Rage for the Lakes*, we travel to them, we row upon them, we write about them'.¹²

Darby is clear that 'Throughout the eighteenth century, an Oxbridge-educated cultural elite was involved in an aesthetic debate which transformed the putative space of England's mountainous north into the place of the Lake District'.¹³ The process by which the English Lakes was created and became established as the Regions of Romance had necessary stages. Firstly, there must be a general appreciation of the aesthetics of natural landscape, described for example by Trevelyan as being finalised in the work of Wordsworth: -

But all through the period there had been growing up a conscious admiration of scenery, of Landscape in its broader outlines. It was reflected and stimulated by literature from the first appearance of Thompson's Seasons in 1726, onward through Cowper, till Wordsworth finally transformed and sublimated the theme.¹⁴

¹⁰ Henry Skrine, *Three successive tours in the North of England, and a great part of Scotland*, London, Bulmer, 1795, p.31

¹¹ Malcolm Andrews, *The search for the picturesque*, Aldershot, Scolar Press, 1989, p.153

¹² Andrews, *Search*, p.153

¹³ Wendy Joy Darby, *Landscape and identity: geographies of nation and class in England*, Oxford, Berg, 2000, p.51

¹⁴ GM Trevelyan, *English social history: a survey of six centuries. Chaucer to Queen Victoria*, Harmondsworth, Pelican, 1967, p.416

Secondly, the English Lakes had to be discovered and promoted in discourse. Bicknell, in his bibliography of picturesque works on the English Lakes, agrees that George Smith's 'journey to the black lead mines', published in the *Gentleman's Magazine* in 1751, was the work that drew the attention of others to the English Lakes.¹⁵ Bicknell omits the work as not picturesque and, being in a periodical, outside of his source media, but Smith's work clearly reached the largest audience. Thirdly, the discourse had to be confirmed and perpetuated by tourism and the systems that supported it. It is clear that tourism developed fully from 1770 to 1780, was focussed on Derwentwater and Keswick, and was formalised and dominated from 1778 for the next fifty years by West's *Guide*.¹⁶

The position of the English Lakes as a Region of Romance, with its identity including the seat of English Romanticism, is neither a case of being set aside from modernity, nor of being an anachronism within modernity. Romanticism has an active political role within modernity through academic and popular discourse, consistent with the politics of the Wordsworth-Ruskin-Potter literary canon that Welberry identifies.¹⁷ For Bate, in *Romantic ecology*, the re-discovery of Wordsworth as a 'Poet of Nature' is politically necessary and timely:-

A green reading of Wordsworth is a prime example: it has strong historical force, for if one historicises the idea of an ecological viewpoint – a respect for the earth and a scepticism as to the orthodoxy that economic growth and material production are the be-all and end-all of human society – one finds oneself squarely in the Romantic tradition; and it has strong contemporary force in that it brings Romanticism to bear on what are likely to be some of the most pressing political issues of the coming decade,¹⁸

The romantic identity of the English provides the location in which the past should be reinterpreted to meet the requirements of the present and future.

In *Romanticism at the end of history*, Christensen provides a series of political

¹⁵ George Smith, 'An account of a journey to the black lead mines and the neighbouring mountains', *Gentleman's magazine*, Vol. xxi. 1751; Peter Bicknell, *The picturesque scenery of the Lake District, 1752-1855: a bibliographical study*, Winchester, St. Paul Bibliographies, 1990, p.ix

¹⁶ West, *Guide*, 1778

¹⁷ Karen Welberry, 'The playground of England: a genealogy of the English Lakes from nursery to national park, 1793-1951', thesis, La Trobe University, Bundoora, Vic., 2000

¹⁸ Jonathan Bate, *Romantic ecology: Wordsworth and the environmental tradition*, London, Routledge, 1991, p.9

essays on romantic hope.¹⁹ His purpose in addressing the politics which he attributes to British romanticism is to disallow the historicisation of romanticism in its time, and to promote the discontents of romanticism into the present and future, as unfinished business. Christensen views the continued reassessment of historical British romanticism, in the context of the present, as an anachronism with a purpose:-

At one point in his writings on ideology and literature Raymond Williams wisely warns against what he calls ‘premature historicization.’ Until there is justice all historicization is premature. Until there is justice, the timely slogan of Romantic politics will not be ‘always historicize,’ but ‘now and then anachronize’.²⁰

Christensen’s imaginative studies include the attribution of political purpose to Coleridge’s *Morning Post* articles of 1802 on Mary of Buttermere, whose seduction by the false Hope was supposed by Christensen to parody the false hope of the Peace of Amiens. Christensen’s purpose in representing the romantic poets as politically conspiratorial is made clear. ‘To imagine the poets in this conspiratorial guise, ...is to activate, ...the power of anachronism as the potent icon of the past’s incapacity to coincide with itself, to seal itself off as period or epoch or episode with no ... consequences for our time. Anachronism is the herald of the future as yet unknown.’²¹ A problem with Christensen’s logic arises, because if an anachronism has purpose or agency in the present or future, even as a herald, then it is hardly an anachronism. The real anachronism is placed in the past by, for example, refusing to allow Wordsworth to be historicised in his time, because he is required as a prophet to give guidance, or be reinterpreted, on modern issues such as environmentalism. Because Christensen sets his work in the English Lakes he is not the ‘false historian’ that a modern Richard Savage might detect if the work were set in industrialising Leeds.

¹⁹ Jerome Christensen , *Romanticism at the end of history*, London, John Hopkins University Press, 2000

²⁰ Christensen, *Romanticism*, p.41

²¹ Christensen, *Romanticism*, p.3

The Regions of Romance are not anachronistic. Within them the defining characteristics of modernity are ectopic; that is, they are pathological through being in the wrong place, as a cotton mill would be in Grasmere. The Regions of Romance are not just areas set aside within modernity as refuges or remembrances of things past or lost; their very existence and identity, since the late eighteenth century, especially in the English Lakes, provided a base for a politics which could influence the landowners in this study.

2-2. Private property, public amenity, and threats

In the early eighteenth century, Addison had already developed or reflected a growing aesthetic appreciation of natural landscape, which was replacing or overlaying the moral reflection that was the approved response to landscape in the previous century. In 1712 Addison published in his *Spectator* the idea of a 'kind of Property' established in real landscapes by those who can appreciate and value a prospect.²² Fabricant notes that:-

Addison in his essays shows that he is duly impressed with prospects and aware of the power they can confer upon the viewer: describing the "man of Polite Imagination," for example, he contends that such a person "often feels a greater Satisfaction in the Prospects of Fields and meadows, than another does in the Possession. It gives him, indeed, a kind of Property in everything he sees, and makes the most rude uncultivated Parts of Nature administer to his Pleasures."²³

The origin of that concept of cultural property is more usually attributed to Wordsworth, who developed and applied Addison's idea to the English Lakes in his anonymous guide text of 1810, though only in 1822 was it available as a separate guide in his name.²⁴ Between Addison's generalised identification of 'a kind of Property' and Wordsworth's application of it to the English Lakes as 'a sort of national property' lies a full century, the second half of which contains the

²² Addison, 'Pleasures of imagination'

²³ Carole Fabricant, 'The aesthetics and politics of landscape in the eighteenth century', in Ralph Cohen, ed., *Studies in Eighteenth-Century British Art and Aesthetics*, London, University of California Press, 1985, p.56.

²⁴ Joseph Wilkinson, *Select views in Cumberland Westmorland and Lancashire*, London, Ackerman, 1810; William Wordsworth, *A description of the scenery of the lakes in the North of England. Third Edition, (now first published separately)* ... London, 1820 (1822)

cultural construction of the English Lakes, which became the substance of that kind of property, its cultural assets. Addison's ideas were published forty years before the 'discovery' of the English Lakes, and therefore available to interact with the rights of real property well before Wordsworth.

The concept was real and valuable in the eighteenth century, when economic and political power was vested in a very few large landowners, competing in displays of taste. It gave the man of polite imagination and classical education, perhaps a gentleman who had little property, or a writer, painter, poet, landscape architect or divine, dependent on the patronage of the aristocracy, a cultural capital that could be the basis of a social position or a living. He had a kind of investment in cultural assets and a benefit from landed property that may not be available to its owner, whether aristocrat or yeoman. The man with such cultural capital could be lord of that which he did not own, with an interest in sharing it through cultural products, but without the power to retain or improve the real property upon which he depended, except through influence. That tension, connected with a continuing debate on the nature, rights and responsibilities of landownership, provides a context for the study of landowners and the materialisation of cultural value in the English Lakes from 1751.

Wordsworth wished that new proprietors would have the skill and knowledge to prevent any deviations from 'simplicity and beauty'; -

In this wish the author will be joined by persons of pure taste throughout the whole island, who, by their visits (often repeated) to the Lakes in the North of England, testify that they deem the district a sort of national property, in which every man has a right and interest who has an eye to perceive and a heart to enjoy.²⁵

That wish applied Addison's concept to a particular district, and transferred individual cultural property into a communal property, through the word national. This communal property was claimed through the continued practice of tourism, for a carefully defined community of culture.

²⁵ Wordsworth, *Guide*, p.93

Wordsworth, like Addison, had no wish to interfere with legal rights to property, in part because the merits of the plebeian statesmen who had set the standards of simplicity and beauty resulted from 'the love of property, *landed* property, including the feelings of inheritance, home and personal and family independence'.²⁶ Addison and Wordsworth both limited the benefit from and participation in cultural ownership to the man of polite imagination, or the man who has an eye to perceive. Aesthetic appreciation was therefore culturally determined and socially restricted.

If the kind or sort of property that was created was in cultural assets owned by a particular type of mainly external people, then the threats that developed need to be examined as threats to the interests of those people, rather than as threats to the real property itself. The nature and timing of those perceived threats fed into the discourse, with the purpose of promoting and protecting cultural assets. Wordsworth's 'changes, and rules of taste for preventing their bad effects' was aimed at 'new proprietors', such as the landowners in this study, but was widely available only after 1822.²⁷ Sections 2-4 & 2-5 will consider the earlier discourse in the context of the three new owners.

Tourists presented opportunities and threats. They were, in this period, influential members of the political class and of the community of culture that valued the English Lakes and its growing identity. The sort of ownership that Wordsworth claimed had, as he recognised, been established as customary rights by the writing of the touring routes, the identification of the stations as markers, and the continuous and ritualistic walking and riding of the recommended tours, in a manner that parallels the perambulation of a manor boundary. Wordsworth justified the claim to a 'sort of national property' not through artists but through

²⁶ William & Dorothy Wordsworth, *The letters of William and Dorothy Wordsworth*, 8 vols, ed. de Selincourt, 2nd edition revised by Alan Hill, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1967-93, WW to Thomas Poole, 9 April 1801

²⁷ Wordsworth, *Guide*, p.77

the right sort of tourists, 'by their visits (oft repeated)'.²⁸ But the act of observation always affects that which is being observed. The young Shelley, looking for simplicity and beauty in Keswick in 1811, found that 'The debauched servants of the great families who resort contribute to the total extinction of morality. Keswick seems more like a suburb of London than a village of Cumberland'.²⁹ By this time Keswick was the town whose role was to cater for the tourists, whose patronage had re-created it to meet their needs. Keswick town was not part of cultural territory of the English Lakes, but had already taken on its modern role as a visitor centre.³⁰

Tourism, in the way it developed from the later eighteenth century, was consistent with the thesis of modernity, while the identity of English Lakes was the antithesis, their nexus being an unavoidable place of negotiation of ideologies. MacCannell provides a supportive theory of tourism within modernity; 'It is the middle class that systematically scavenges the earth for new experiences to be woven into a collective, touristic version of other peoples and places. This ability ... to coordinate the differentiations of the world into a single ideology is intimately linked to its capacity to subordinate other peoples to its values, industry and future designs'.³¹ Lui expresses this control through the rituals and expectations of the picturesque tour, claiming that 'The picturesque was the imaginary ground on which an originally feudal agrarian machinery of rural administration could be policed by a developing urban bureaucracy'.³²

With the commencement of tourism from approximately 1770, the role of the discourse had to change to guide and reflect the actual experience of its audience and customers touring in the English Lakes. But also it needed to

²⁸ Wordsworth, *Guide*, p.93

²⁹ Percy Bysshe Shelley to Elizabeth Hitchener, 1811, quoted in Cian Duffy, *Shelley and the revolutionary sublime*, Cambridge, CUP, 2005, p.88

³⁰ George Bott, *Keswick, the story of a lake district town*, Cumbria, 1994, describes the visitor facilities

³¹ Dean MacCannell, *The tourist; a new theory of the leisure class*, New York, Schocken Books, 1989, p.13

³² Alan Liu, *Wordsworth, the sense of history*, California, Stanford University Press, 1989, pp.95-115

mediate between the needs of the tourists to confirm their own identities and values through the experience, and the need to retain, position, and promote as authentic, a different set of values associated with place and people. Landowners had to take account of both the discourse and the immanence of the tourists.

The perceived threats to the landscape of the English Lakes, other than from new proprietors, came from the geographical expansion of capitalistic agricultural and manufacturing industry. Wordsworth expressed this definitively in *The Excursion* of 1814:-

Meanwhile at social Industry's command,
How quick, how vast an increase! From the germ
Of some poor hamlet, rapidly produced
Here a huge town, continuous and compact,
Hiding the face of earth for leagues – and there,
Where not a habitation stood before,
Abodes of men irregularly massed
Like trees in forests, -spread through spacious tracts,
O'er which the smoke of unremitting fires
Hangs permanent, and plentiful as wreaths
Of vapour glittering in the morning sun.
And, wheresoe'er the traveller turns his steps,
He sees the barren wilderness erased,
Or disappearing; triumph that proclaims
How much the mild Directress of the plough
Owes to allegiance with these new-born arts...³³

Wordsworth conveys the sense of an all-enveloping spread of both manufacturing industry and of the improved agriculture that was required to feed the increasing population. The creation of private property and space, with the corresponding reduction of public or communally used and owned space, accelerated in eighteenth century England.³⁴ The enclosure of open fields and particularly of the commons or wastes in the northern counties, together with the charges for the new privately owned turnpike roads, would have produced a change noticed by the man on horseback, used to going freely and directly where he pleased. In the later eighteenth century the growth of, say, Manchester or Leeds and the changes in land use and development which came with the growth

³³ William Wordsworth, *The excursion, being a portion of the recluse, a poem*, London, Longman, 1814, Book VIII, 117-131

³⁴ Tom Williamson, *The transformation of rural England; farming and the landscape 1700-1870*, Exeter, University of Exeter Press, 2002

of industry, were locally striking and noticed by travellers. This re-writing of the landscape also symbolised the growing power of capitalism in industry and the hegemony of capital over custom in the new planned landscape of the enclosed fields and commons. In each case these visible changes symbolised a degree of replacement of social relationships and communalism with the defined property rights and contractual relationships of a commercial and industrialising society; in aggregate a major part of the cultural revolution within modernity.³⁵

If enclosure and division of the commons was considered a threat to upland landscape and amenity, then it was a nineteenth century activity. 'A series of parliamentary acts ... were passed during and after the Napoleonic war years. Large areas of common moorland survived, especially in the Northern Pennines and the Lake District, but by the middle of the nineteenth century, the bulk of upland grazing had been converted, wholesale, into private property.'³⁶ More local detail is given by Whyte, but the coming change in the English Lakes was noticed through the early enclosures of the 1770s for planting commons at Bassenthwaite and Calgarth, near Ambleside, where Robert Watson, Bishop of Llandaff, earned his gold medal for planting larches.³⁷ Claife Heights on Windermere, was enclosed and planted by Curwen in 1798-9.³⁸ Enclosures of peripheral moorland in the English Lakes increased from 1801 and the Inclosure (Consolidation) Act.³⁹

Trevelyan's view that 'The manufacturing progress of eighteenth-century England, rapid as it was, did little to harm the amenities of the island in that fortunate era', can be accepted as applicable to the English Lakes.⁴⁰ However, his assertion that 'the taste for mountain scenery had grown *pari passu* with the

³⁵ Colin Jones & Dror Wahrman, eds., *The age of cultural revolutions: Britain and France, 1750-1830*, London, University of California Press, 2002, pp.1-16

³⁶ Williamson, *Transformation*, pp.128-9

³⁷ Ian Whyte, *Transforming fell and valley: landscape and parliamentary enclosure in North West England*, Lancaster, University of Lancaster, 2003; WE Tate, 'A hand list of English enclosure Acts and awards', *Transactions of the Cumberland & Westmorland Antiquarian & Archaeological Society (CWAAS) CW2*, 1943, pp.175-98

³⁸ Charles John Pell, 'Changing perceptions of larch in the Lake District since c.1780', dissertation, Lancaster University, 1994

³⁹ Statues at large, 41 Geo.3, c.109

⁴⁰ Trevelyan, *English social history*, p.407

'Industrial Revolution' points to the creation of the spatial differentiation of identities which is the foundation of this study.⁴¹ If manufacturing industry was any threat to aesthetics of the English Lakes, then it dated to the charcoal iron industry of the late eighteenth century, and then to the small water-powered cotton and flax spinning mills such as those in Keswick and Ambleside around 1800. Reviewing his concerns in *The Excursion* quoted above, Wordsworth noted in 1843 that steam power had spared the English Lakes from industrialisation; 'Happily, most happily, for these mountains, the mischief was diverted from the banks of their beautiful streams, and transferred to open and flat countries abounding in coal, where the agency of steam was found much more effectual for carrying on these demoralising works.'⁴²

The anticipation of change and a concern for the possible consequences, rather than the actual extent of change, is relevant to the English Lakes and the creation of its identity in the second half of the eighteenth century. The gentry were the travelling class and the readers of topographies and tours, and would notice the English Lakes as increasingly different as other English landscapes changed. Spatial differentiation and particularity were the essence of tourism and topographical writing. There was no fear of change in John Dalton's descriptive poem published in 1755, the first written work in Bicknell's bibliography, which differentiated between three territories in the poem, and a fourth in the preface, all within a small geographical compass.⁴³ The poem covered the wealth-creating industrialisation of coal mining at Whitehaven, the naturalistic beauty of the scenery of Derwentwater, and the taste of Sir James Lowther, enriched by those coal mines, in laying out his grounds. His taste was expressed by comparing, as Bicknell says, 'the picturesque beauties of Derwentwater and the Vale of Keswick

⁴¹ GM Trevalyan, *An autobiography and other essays*, London, 1949, p.101

⁴² William Wordsworth, *The prose works of William Wordsworth*, ed., Grosart, Cirencester, Echo Library, 2005, p.426

⁴³ John Dalton, *A descriptive poem, addressed to two ladies, at their return from viewing the mines near Whitehaven ...*, London, 1755

with the Sylvan charms of their home at Lowther'.⁴⁴ While agricultural improvement did not have a place in the poem itself, Dalton's preface, written for the poem's publication, led with an appreciation of his pleasure in seeing both agricultural and industrial improvement:-

in a visit paid to his native country after a long absence. This pleasure was ... much heightened by an advantageous comparison of its present state with that, in which he had left it. When we behold rich improvements of a wild and uncultivated soil, in their state of maturity, without having observed their rise and progress, we are struck with wonder and astonishment to see the face of Nature totally changed. It carries an air of enchantment and romance:
...it is still surpassed by that arising from the extraordinary increase of a trading Town [Whitehaven], and new plantations of Houses and Men.⁴⁵

However, the work could not be allowed to express any concern about the proximity of all these elements, being essentially a praise-poem to the oversight of Sir James Lowther, 'a natural opportunity of expressing his just esteem for a truly respectable family, ...whose Interest appears to be inseparably connected with That of his native country, and to which It already owes the most considerable advantages.'⁴⁶

An example of this spatial and creative differentiation can be seen in the tour in 1769 of Arthur Young.⁴⁷ Young's tour, primarily an agricultural survey in the context of improvement, contained the first true picturesque tour of the Vale of Keswick and other lakes. Immediately following a note-form listing of the agriculture of Keswick in his standard format, Young announced 'Now, Sir, for the glory of *Keswick*, - its Lake, so famous all over *England*.' On reaching Cockshut-hill, Young changed his approach, style and subject matter to provide an extended aesthetic appreciation of the Vale in the form of a recommended tour.⁴⁸ It is as if Young himself had been transformed by the scene, his imagination

⁴⁴ Bicknell, *Bibliography*, p.22

⁴⁵ Dalton, *Descriptive poem*, pp.iii-iv

⁴⁶ Dalton, *Descriptive poem*, p.v

⁴⁷ Arthur Young, *A six months tour through the North of England*. London, Strahan, 1770, 4 Vols.

⁴⁸ Young, *Tour*, Vol.3, p.141 and following

refreshed, and all economic values banished from this aesthetic domain, as he entered the Regions of Romance.

Adam Walker was a prominent natural philosopher and lecturer who had risen from a poor childhood in Patterdale.⁴⁹ Like Young at that time, Walker was a committed reformer and improver, being a member of the Society for Constitutional Information in 1783 and a founding member of the Society of Friends of the People in 1792.⁵⁰ Walker's tour letter of 1791 contained an appreciation of the industrialisation of Manchester and its hinterland, identifying him as a man of modernity:-

Manchester is a well-built town – doubled in size the last thirty years – more than doubled in the number of its inhabitants – and enriched by the Cotton Manufactury beyond the powers of calculation! – To such perfection ...

To see barren hills and vallies laugh and sing under the influence of an auspicious trade, must give the benevolent heart the most agreeable sensations. Villages swarming with strong healthy and beautiful children, well fed, ... handsome country houses on every hill, ...⁵¹

What was missing from Walker's pedestrian tour when he reached the English Lakes was any discussion of change that might be beneficial to the inhabitants of his native land, such as agricultural, industrial or personal improvement. Walker, like Young, was transformed in the Regions of Romance.

The last threat was change itself. All change involves risk and engenders a debate about who is empowered to change that real property or its inhabitants, which embody or symbolise the cultural value which supports the identity and the interests of its stakeholders. The kind of property in cultural assets was held communally and change was negotiated informally through discourse and experience. The change to be repelled in the English Lakes was the spread of

⁴⁹ El Carlyle, 'Walker, Adam (1730/31–1821)', rev. Anita McConnell, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography (ODNB)*, OUP, 2004

⁵⁰ *Tracts published and distributed gratis by the society for constitutional information ...*, London, Richardson, 1783, p.viii; 'Proceedings of the society of friends of the people in the year 1792', in Christopher Wyvill, *Political papers ...*, York, 1802, Vol.III, p.128

⁵¹ Adam Walker (a gentleman), *A tour from London to the Lakes ... made in the summer of 1791*, London, 1792, pp.31-32

modernity's thesis, and tourists, being the necessary modern observers, were not authorised to create change, especially by contaminating the inhabitants with modern ideas or aspirations. The avoidance of change also preserved authenticity, or the requirement that the actual experience of tourism matched the expectations created through representations in discourse. Landowners who made any changes to prospects, whether for ornament or improvement, ran the risk of adverse criticism.

2-3. Valorisation of the English Lakes; the role of Derwentwater

The following sections will consider the valorisation of the English Lakes as applicable to the landowners studied. In addition to published discourse, landowners could be influenced by personal experience and by direct influence from others. This study cannot provide a full characterisation of the valorisation of the English Lakes overall, but will be specific to necessary times and places. It will, however, be historically contextualised, using secondary sources and contemporary discursive sources. The investigation will be addressed by topic, rather than by landowner, in the chronological order of the appearance of that topic as an issue in discourse.

This study focuses principally on the landownership of the shores of Derwentwater throughout the period, with the addition of the north-western lakes of Loweswater, Buttermere and Crummock in the first half of the nineteenth century. The position and importance of Derwentwater in the creation and content of discourse will first be established, followed by an identification of the potential agency of that discourse with landowners. It is recognised that other lakes and other owners were also the subjects of discourse and interventionist pressure during this period, but this study does not set out to undertake a full or statistically representative comparative investigation.

The valorisation of the English Lakes has been studied by a number of researchers in different disciplines and from different perspectives, but only Darby has studied it explicitly as a valorisation in the context of a study in

materialising culture.⁵² To provide a foundation for a study of the politics of access in the nineteenth century, Darby takes an anthropological definition of culture and provides a general contextualisation of the valorisation of the English Lakes through her chapters 'landscapes of culture' and 'landscapes of nation'.⁵³ Darby's study 'outlines how a cultural elite's perception of England's mountainous north shifted from empty space to culturally freighted place. It contextualises this change within the dual spheres of British Nationalism and the picturesque aesthetic'.⁵⁴ This study will also have to take account of the English/Scottish/British dynamic.

Considering the discourse of that valorisation, Bicknell's bibliography *The picturesque scenery of the Lake District* provides a complete chronological listing and description of all such works through the study period, including paintings, descriptions, tours, guides, place poetry and selected maps.⁵⁵ This work is the principal list of primary sources for the aesthetic dimension of this study, but it does not include work published in periodicals, nor the work of the Lake Poets. Also in 1982, Bicknell and Woof published *The discovery of the Lake District 1750-1810* as the accompaniment to a Grasmere exhibition of paintings and images, providing a context for Wordsworth and a narrative on the development of painting relevant to this study.⁵⁶ The subsequent and more comprehensive *Discovery of the Lake District* by Murdoch, accompanying an exhibition at the Victoria and Albert Museum, traces painting from Bellers, and provides a canon of paintings linking art history explicitly into the 'English environmental tradition' of the Wordsworth-Ruskin-Potter literary canon criticised by Welberry.⁵⁷ 'Exhibitions of this type embody the Museum as a vehicle for polemic. [The exhibition] takes one aspect of a theme ... the British landscape and its fate. ...the point is made

⁵² Darby, *Identity*

⁵³ Darby, *Identity*, pp.49-100

⁵⁴ Darby, *Identity*, p.50

⁵⁵ Bicknell, *Bibliography*

⁵⁶ Peter Bicknell & Robert Woof, *The discovery of the Lake District 1750-18: a context for Wordsworth*, Grasmere: Trustees of Dove Cottage, 1982

⁵⁷ John Murdoch, ed., *The Discovery of the Lake District: a northern Arcadia and its uses*, London, Victoria & Albert Museum, 1984

more forcefully by homing in on one legendary section of our countryside which has been celebrated by pen and brush for over two hundred years'.⁵⁸ The academic discourse of the art history is engaged with the politics and ownership of the Regions of Romance.

Considering the case of Derwentwater, Thomason and Woof's publication entitled *Derwentwater, the Vale of Elysium; an eighteenth century story*, accompanied a further exhibition at Grasmere in 1986.⁵⁹ It presents the Derwentwater component of the overall story of discovery through painting and published texts, but also within a local historical context. This work provides the main stimulus for this present study of landowners, and it also easily demonstrates that, in and beyond the eighteenth century, the story of the English Lakes was the story of Derwentwater, and of Keswick as the centre of tourism. Only with the Kendal and Windermere Railway, and the consequent creation of the town of Windermere from the late 1840s, did two equal centres of tourism develop.⁶⁰ A confirmation of the early importance of Derwentwater can be made from the discourse. George Smith's original 'Journey to the black lead mines' took him from Keswick through Borrowdale to Honister. His article was accompanied by the first map of the English Lakes, Figure 2-2, centred on the Derwent Fells and including Derwentwater and the north-western lakes only.⁶¹ In the years of discovery before significant road improvement and tourism, 1751-1769, the creative publications of the 'men of polite imagination', Bellers, Dalton, Thomas Smith and Brown produced paintings and texts that were wholly or primarily concerned with Derwentwater and its setting.⁶²

⁵⁸ Murdoch *Discovery*, Forward by Roy Strong

⁵⁹ David Thomason & Robert Woof, *Derwentwater, the vale of Elysium; an eighteenth century story*, Grasmere, The Trustees of Dove Cottage, 1986

⁶⁰ JD Marshall & JK Walton, *The lake counties from 1830 to the mid twentieth century*, Manchester, Manchester University Press, 1981, p.177-203

⁶¹ Smith, 'Journey', pp.52-3

⁶² Bicknell, *Bibliography*, pp.21-4

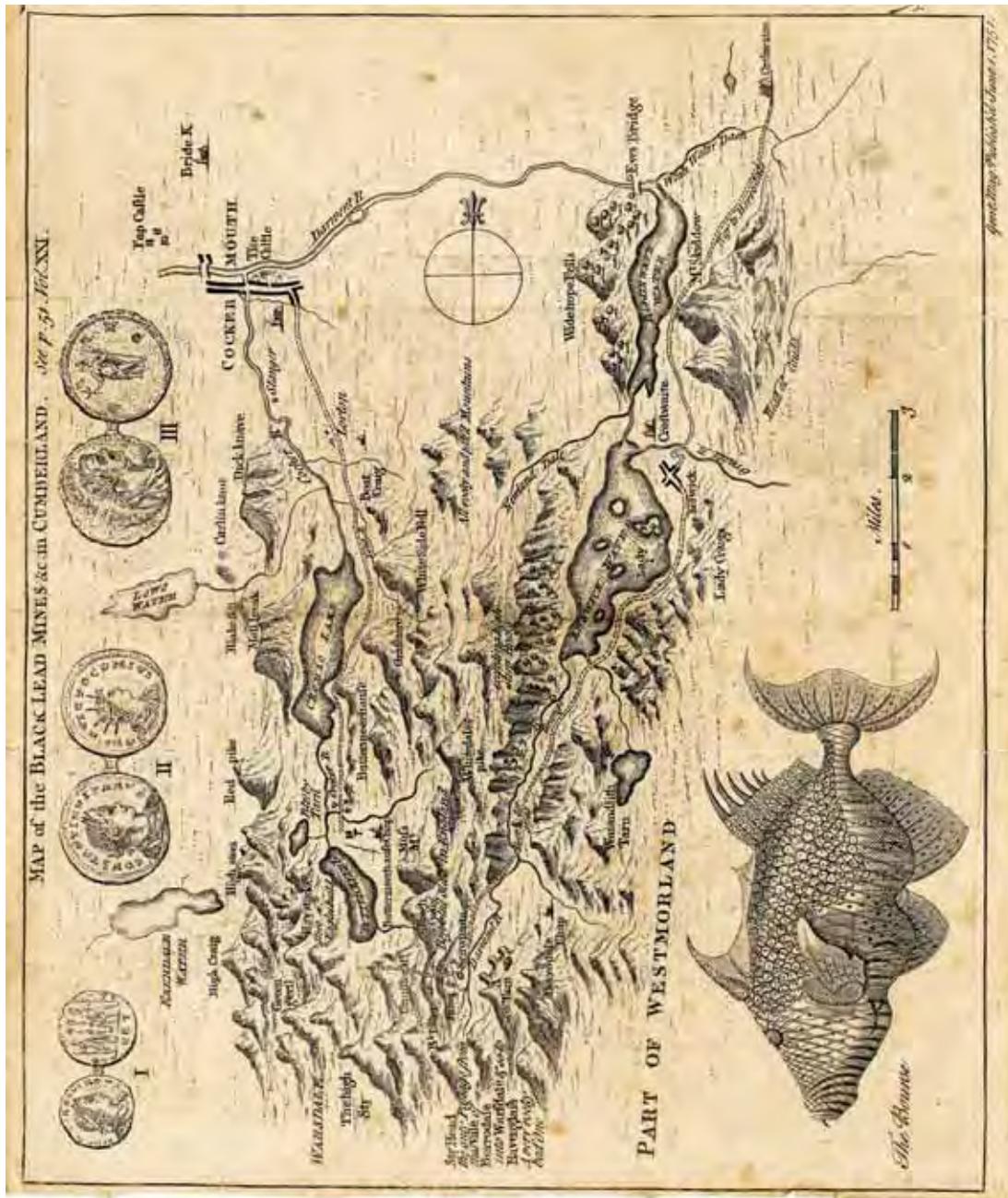


Figure 2-2. George Smith's map accompanying his article on the 'Journey to the black lead mines', the *Gentleman's Magazine*, 1751

The superiority of Derwentwater lay in its amphitheatrical prospects, a word created later by Mrs Radcliffe.⁶³ In *The discovery of the Lake District* Murdoch describes Bellers' first view of Derwentwater; 'Surrounded by wooded hills and oaks of the Arcadian myths, the lake had something of the appearance of the lakes outside Rome in the Alban Hills. It exemplified a type of landscape that was circular, and included the onlooker's own viewpoint as in an amphitheatre'.⁶⁴ Within that early discourse was the original conflict on the management of those woods as ornament or timber, which created the dominant debate in this present study of landowners.

Similarly, tourism developed in the 1770s, the first published practical tour being Arthur Young's circuit of Derwentwater.⁶⁵ During that decade Keswick and its accommodation improved. 'The town has been much improved of late, the inns, which before were dirty and incommodious, are now quite the reverse'.⁶⁶ Thomas West consolidated Keswick's position by formalising the recommended tours from Keswick in his guide of 1778, confirming Ambleside as the secondary focus.⁶⁷ Through the 1780s, Keswick's position in tourism could support the regattas and museums described by Hankinson, which had no serious competitors.⁶⁸ As picturesque tourism reached the heights of popularity and accessibility in the 1790s, James Plumptre's comic opera of 1798, *The Lakers*, set in Keswick and by Derwentwater, provided a satire on the fashion of picturesque tourism which relied on Derwentwater's fame.⁶⁹ In 1812, Dr Syntax chose the same well known lake and town for his search for the picturesque and for his settled living.⁷⁰

⁶³ Ann Radcliffe, *A journey made in the summer of 1794, through Holland [etc.]: to which are added observations during a tour to the Lakes ...*, London, 1795, Vol.2, pp.334-5

⁶⁴ Murdoch, *Discovery*, p.12

⁶⁵ Young, *Tour*, Vol.3, p.141 and following

⁶⁶ J Busby, 'Description of Keswick Lake, in Cumberland' , *Gentleman's Magazine*, Vol.47, 1777, p.487

⁶⁷ West, *Guide*, 1778, pp.201-3

⁶⁸ Alan Hankinson, *The regatta men*, Milnthorpe, Cicerone Press, 1988.

⁶⁹ James Plumptre, *The Lakers: a comic opera in three acts*, London, Clarke, 1798

⁷⁰ William Combe & Thomas Rowlandson, *The tour of Doctor Syntax in search of the picturesque, a poem*, 2nd ed., London 1812, pp.110&272

Derwentwater was not the earliest setting for the discourse on the conflicts concerning style and setting of residences. Mr English's house of 1774, which became John Christian Curwen's, on the re-named Belle Isle on Windermere, preceded Joseph Pocklington's on Vicars Island by some five years. But the debates on taste in building were fought out on Derwentwater in the discourse of *The Picturesque*, comparing Pocklington's houses with that of Lord William Gordon. Lastly, the debates about the qualities of the local inhabitants, to be addressed in Section 2-5, did not have their origins in Keswick people, but rather in Borrowdale, both before Gray and through his writing.

2-4. Applicable cultural value in discourse; woods and buildings

The focus of this study must be on whether, through discourse, experience, and direct influence, the three landowners were encouraged to manage their estates in favour of prospects, both for the benefit of the consumer of discourse and the experience of tourists. The practical debate was on wood, as the most significant area of human intervention in upland rural landscape. Oak wood could be dramatically removed, but only restored over a lifetime. Through the study period, wood must form the primary topic for the application of Darby's perspectives of landscapes of culture and landscapes of nation, the two meeting in the perspective of English Romanticism.

The appreciation of wood in the landscape involved a mix of changing cultural values, particularly in attitudes towards the oak and its symbolism of Englishness. Oak is the principal successor tree in the English Lakes, and the native Cumberland species is the sessile oak (*Quercus petraea*) rather than the pedunculate oak (*Quercus rubor*), which provided the larger navy timber from the southern royal forests. This fine distinction of species was of little importance to most observers, compared with the difference between the native oak and the alien Scots pine, or fir (*Pinus sylvestris*), or the Alpine larch (*Larix decidua*). The nationalism implicit in the naming of the English Lakes and their position of the seat of English Romanticism is obvious, but it has to be stressed in the context of

the continual wars with other European countries up to 1815, and of the changing relationship with Scotland, or North Britain as a term which denied a Scottish identity. In *Travels to terra incognita* Rackwitz provides a comprehensive record of the experience of English visitors to Scotland up to 1800, noting that 'many travellers observed a sudden change in the appearance of the countryside, the villages and their inhabitants when crossing the Anglo-Scottish border. ... some of these observations can be dismissed as pure propaganda ...'.⁷¹

While the taste for mountain scenery developed in the Alps on the Grand Tour, the taste in classical landscape models was applied to a specifically English Arcadia. Only with the settled peace from 1815, and the resolution of the social unrest that followed it, could the Lake District safely become a little Switzerland of larches, or its inhabitants re-discovered as ethnic Scandinavians.⁷² Before this, the species of trees in the English Lakes was as important, symbolically, as their extent or disposition. Tree species was a cultural component in forming a correct aesthetic response.

The essence of the conflict on the management of wood was in the expectation that woods previously managed to optimise economic benefit should now be managed in such a way as to reflect their new position as 'public' aesthetic assets. George Smith noted that the woods on the Derwentwater Islands were 'in felling' in 1749, but made no criticism of this normal harvesting.⁷³ The change in expectations, as a response to the loss of the woods, was illustrated by the change from Bellers' idealisation of Derwentwater, seen from Crow Park in 1752 in Figure 2-3, to Thomas Smith's dramatic image of 1761 in Figure 2-4 from the same viewpoint, showing the lake shorn of its oaks.⁷⁴

⁷¹ Martin Rackwitz, *Travels to terra incognita: the Scottish Highlands and Hebrides in early modern travellers' accounts, c. 1600-1800*, Munster, Waxmann, 2007, p.453

⁷² Matthew Townend, *The Vikings and Victorian Lakeland: the Norse medievalism of W.G. Collingwood and his contemporaries*, CWAAS extra series, Vol. XXXIV, 2009

⁷³ Smith, 'Journey', p.52

⁷⁴ William Bellers, *A view of Derwent-water towards Borrodale. A lake Near Keswick in England*, 10 October 1752; Thomas Smith, *A view of Darwentwater &c from Crow-Park, 1761*

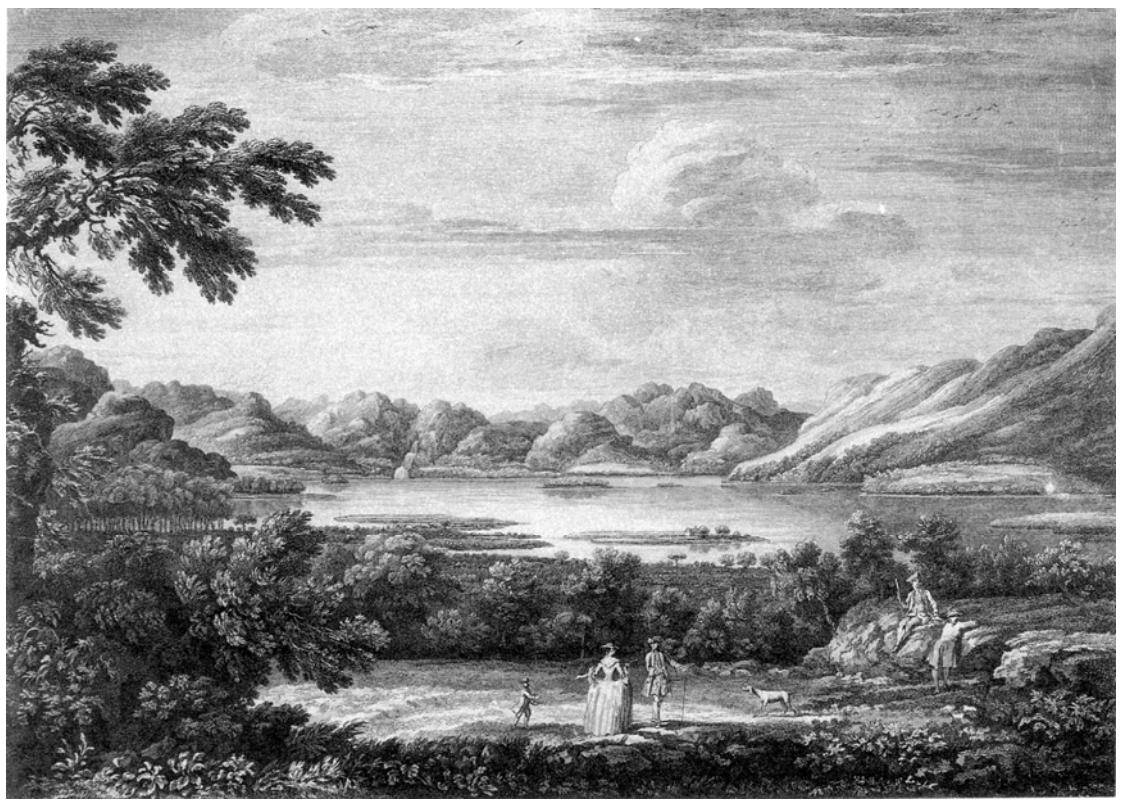


Figure 2-3. Derwentwater from Crow Park, William Bellers, 1752

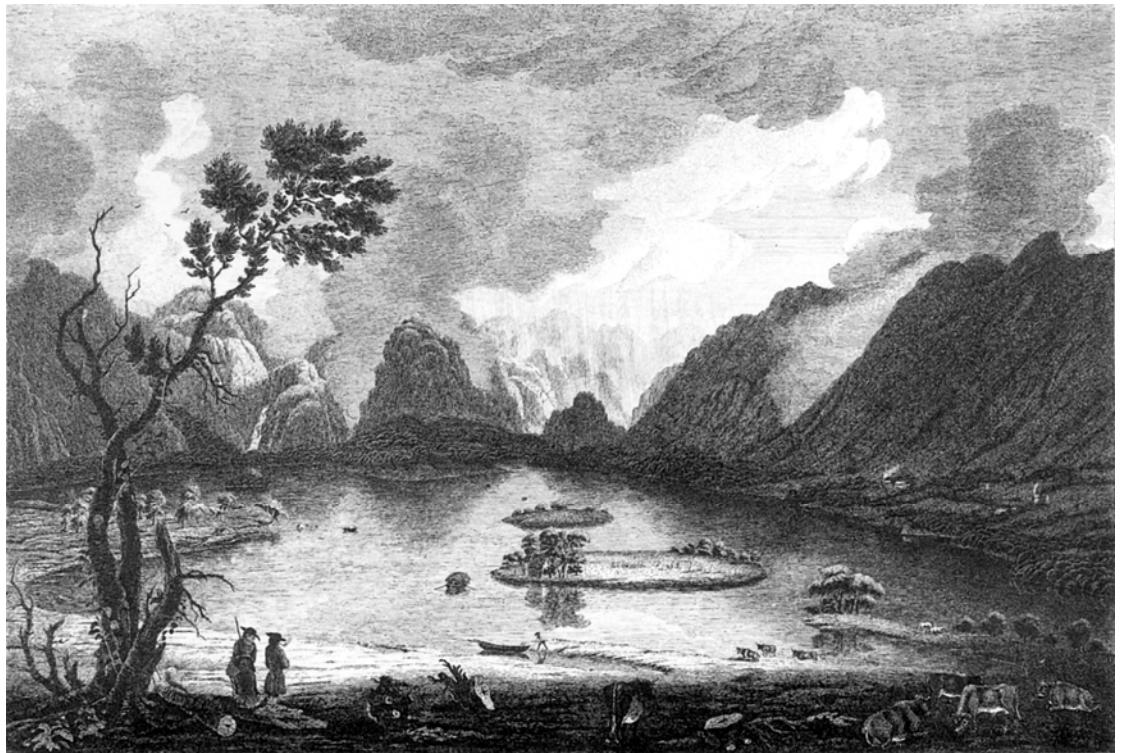


Figure 2-4. Derwentwater from Crow Park, Thomas Smith, 1761

Murdoch considers that 'Smith's *Derwentwater* shows almost incidentally the effects of cutting timber. ... when the idea of Derwentwater with its oaks as an Arcadian landscape became formed within the culture, the sense of outrage and of beauty as vulnerable and transient, was already fundamental to the appreciation of the landscape'.⁷⁵ However, the effect of the felling, with foreground logs, stumps and a shattered framing tree, appears to be more purposeful than incidental, and should not be interpreted solely in the context of the present day politics of land-use, nor simply as art history in which the transition to picturesque representation requires that 'Arcadian tranquillity has been blown away by a strong gust of the sublime'.⁷⁶

Between the two images lies the text of ruination which was made explicit in the publication in 1755 of Dalton's praise poem to Sir James Lowther:-

For if he goes thither with an imagination glowing warm with classical enthusiasm, and expects to find the sylvan shrines of the rural divinities wholly undisturbed and unprofaned, he will be much mistaken. Instead of that, he must prepare to be shocked at some late violations of those sacred woods and groves, which had, for ages, shaded the sides of the surrounding mountains, and ... the shores and promontories of that lovely lake.⁷⁷

The consequences for Dalton were all the more severe because he had praised his patron's taste in adopting a naturalistic approach to his grounds of his estate at Lowther:-

*This Lowther's Noble Planter knew.
And kept it in his constant view.
So sweetly wild his woods are strewn,
Nature mistakes them for her own,*⁷⁸

The comparison had been with the naturalistic model of Derwentwater, but the planting model had been destroyed.

The general adoption of naturalism as the theme for private grounds, and the identification of Derwentwater as a real English Arcadian model, tied the spaces together, in that landscape architecture had a cultural investment in its

⁷⁵ Murdoch, *Discovery*, p.12

⁷⁶ Bicknell, *Bibliography*, p.1

⁷⁷ Dalton, *Descriptive poem*, pp.vii-viii

⁷⁸ Dalton, *Descriptive poem*, p.34

'natural' models. Studies of the development of the English Lakes in the arts have their examples in painting and poetry, because art objects and texts survive to serve a present major academic discipline. From the discipline of history, the art whose cultural values were intended to apply to landowners at the time, in the public space that was Derwentwater, was landscape architecture, the third and most exclusive of the triple arts of the eighteenth century.⁷⁹ This is more obviously the case from the start of tourism, around 1770, when those who saw the real Derwentwater also saw the numerous landscaped gardens of the aristocracy and the very wealthy, and would apply to both the same critical judgement, based on the fashion led then by Lancelot 'Capability' Brown.

The identity of the landowner who had sold the Derwentwater woods for timber was known to be the Greenwich Hospital, the one landowner in this study which did not choose to purchase the estate and had no flexibility to deviate from economic optimisation, setting up a conflict. The other two landowners chose to enter the well established Regions of Romance, and had the warning of the Greenwich Hospital's experience. The cumulative mythology of the Hospital in discourse provides an exemplar of Christensen's desire 'to activate, ...the power of anachronism as the potent icon of the past's incapacity to coincide with itself, to seal itself off as period or epoch or episode with no ... consequences for our time'.⁸⁰ Lindop, in his literary guide asserts that 'The commissioners sold the oaks and they were cut down in 1751. There was much local opposition, partly on aesthetic grounds – perhaps the first occasion on which there was public protest over damage to the environment,'.⁸¹ The date may come from the publication of George Smith's article, rather than the date of his observation in 1749, but Lindop's story provides the source of cutting date and local protests for Thompson's recent history of the English Lakes,

⁷⁹ John Dixon Hunt, *Gardens and the picturesque: studies in the history of landscape architecture*, London MIT Press 1997, chapter 4; Stephanie Ross, *What gardens mean*, London, University of Chicago Press, 1998

⁸⁰ Christensen, *Romanticism*, p.3

⁸¹ Grevel Lindop, *A literary guide to the Lake District*, Chatto & Windus, 1993, p.147

compiled from secondary sources.⁸² Thomason and Woof, presumably from archival research, note that the Hospital was empowered to sell the oaks earlier but that the sale was long delayed by ‘the mutual suspicion which prevailed between the Hospital’s agents and the West Cumberland timber merchants’.⁸³

West’s definitive guide of 1778 fixed the role of the Greenwich Hospital:-

STATION II. The next celebrated station, is at a small distance. CROW-PARK, till of late a grove of oaks of immemorial growth, whose fall the bard of LOWES WATER, bemoans in humble plaintive numbers thus,

That ancient wood, where beasts did safely rest,
And where the crow long time had built her nest,
Now falls, a destin’d prey, to savage hands,
Being doom’d, alas! To visit distant lands.⁸⁴

Oak is slow to regenerate, and it was improbable that, having committed the original sin, the Greenwich Hospital could ever again be welcome in the garden. Crosthwaite’s popular maps of Derwentwater, from the 1780s, showed only ‘the estate formerly Lord Derwentwater’s’, who in comparison became a romanticised hero, both for his care of his oaks and his tenants.⁸⁵

Through the later eighteenth century, the practice of planting new wood for timber became increasingly a patriotic expectation, replenishing stocks for shipbuilding, showing the confidence to invest in a future in which descendants would benefit, and generally improving the economic production of poor land. It was no longer sufficient to criticise the Greenwich Hospital for optimising their income. In his survey of the Lakes of 1787, James Clarke provided a text which criticised the narrow aesthetic interest of the picturesque tourists, and he promoted agricultural and social improvement.⁸⁶ His criticism of the Greenwich Hospital, by name, now added a failure in its duty to obtain fair value; ‘thus this

⁸² Ian Thompson, *The English Lakes, a history*, London, Bloomsbury Publishing, 2010, p.56

⁸³ Thomason & Woof, *Derwentwater*, No.16

⁸⁴ West, *Guide*, 1778, p.90, quoting from Thomas Cowper, Curate of Loweswater, ‘A Poetical Prospect of Keswick’, 1752. (Unpublished until 1875)

⁸⁵ Peter Crosthwaite, *An accurate map of the matchless lake of Derwentwater*, Keswick, 1783

⁸⁶ James Clarke, *A Survey of the Lakes of Cumberland, Westmorland, and Lancashire ...*, London, 1787

valuable wood was almost given away'.⁸⁷ In managing woodland, and increasing the area planted with species that thrived best, landowners now had to be seen to optimise both the economic productivity and the aesthetics of wooded landscape. As noted above, introductions of new species, and particularly the larch, had symbolism that caused unpredictable responses, especially during the French wars.

The transition of taste through the picturesque to the romantic can be placed in the context of the negotiation between Darby's landscapes of culture and landscapes of nation. Hussey, the first art historian of the picturesque, recognised that 'the picturesque interregnum between classic and romantic art was necessary in order to enable the imagination to form the habit of feeling through the eyes'.⁸⁸ In *Aesthetics and subjectivity* Bowie notes that 'The central new idea is that the beauty of nature need not have an ulterior function and can be its own purpose. Analogously, the rules of an art are seen as the self-legitimating products of human freedom, not as the result of the instrumental attempt to grasp objective necessities or natural regularities'.⁸⁹ In the early picturesque, the landscape could now be the subject of a painting, rather than simply a background, making the art form more accessible because its appreciation was not a test of a classical and theological education.

The development of a practice of the picturesque in art and landscape architecture can be associated with the work and publications of William Gilpin, whose recommended practice to the tourist 'was "that of not merely describing; but of adapting the description of natural scenery to the principles of artificial landscape".'⁹⁰ Gilpin laid down a challenge to the owners or potential owners of the unique public English garden model that Derwentwater had become, by

⁸⁷ James Clarke, *Survey*, p.63

⁸⁸ Hussey, Christopher, *The picturesque, studies in a point of view*, London, Cass, 1983, p.4

⁸⁹ Andrew Bowie, *Aesthetics and subjectivity: from Kant to Nietzsche*, Manchester, Manchester University Press, 2003, pp.4-5

⁹⁰ Malcolm Andrews, 'Gilpin, William (1724-1804)', Oxford Dictionary of National Biography (*ODNB*), 2004, quoting Gilpin's observations on the River Wye (1782)

proposing a grand scheme of intervention to create a sequence of picturesque prospects in its circuit. In his second tour of 1776 he promoted an overall management plan for Derwentwater. 'A circuit round the lake, naturally suggests the visionary idea of improving it. If the whole lake ... belonged to one person, a nobler scene for improvement could not well be conceived. ... It might be rendered *more accessible* – it might be *cleared of deformities* – it might be *planted*, -and it might be *decorated*'.⁹¹ Gilpin's scheme envisaged a good carriage road 'but such a road as would form both a pleasing line in itself; and shew the beauties of the lake to the best advantage'.⁹² He saw plantations being finally shaped by the axe and the scene decorated by building, to the extent that the whole lake scenery would be designed according to picturesque theory, as a park might be.

In the development of the picturesque in landscape architecture towards romanticism, as applied in expectation to the Derwentwater owners, the process would incorporate the ideas of Gilpin into the work of Repton, which could be adopted as high taste by the rising middle classes after the death of Lancelot Brown in 1783. Daniels states that:-

Brown and his style came under increasing censure by conservative moralists. They were alarmed at the scale of Brownian parks and their disconnection from the humbler side of the English countryside. In an age of sharpening social disaffection, such parks represented too indelicate a display of wealth and prestige.⁹³

The transition from Brown to Gilpin/Repton can be seen in the case of Joseph Pocklington and the discursive response to building on his island. This provides a context in changing cultural values within which to examine Lord William Gordon in Chapter 5. Brown's history of Pocklington, *A man of no taste whatsoever*, applies the received retrospective judgement, rather than

⁹¹ William Gilpin, *Observations, relative chiefly to picturesque beauty, made in the year 1776 ...*, London, 1789, p.162

⁹² Gilpin, *Observations in 1776*, p.162

⁹³ Steven Daniels, *Fields of vision*, Cambridge, Polity Press, 1993, p.83

recognising the changing contemporary opinions.⁹⁴ Pocklington had purchased Vicars Island in 1778 at about the same time that West had seen it, West noting it as 'a third [island] with a hut upon it, stript of its ornamental trees, by the unfeeling hand of avarice'.⁹⁵ In the second edition of 1780, West's editor, Cockin, added a note; 'This third is Vicar's Island, which if our author had seen since it was purchased, built and improved, by J Pocklington Esq, he would have described it with pleasure, as we have reason to hope, if this ingenious gentleman live to finish his well-laid plans, this island will be the most beautiful spot in the whole compass of the tour'.⁹⁶ In the editions of 1784, 1789 and 1793 it was judged to have become 'one of the most beautiful spots'.⁹⁷

Pocklington, his island and its entertainments staged with Peter Crosthwaite, were appreciated and supported by many gentlemen at the time, especially for the regattas through the 1780s. Thomas Newte saw Pocklington's completed island in 1785 and considered it 'laid out with much taste'⁹⁸. This general appreciation is missed by the numerous retrospective judgements, except by Thomason and Woof who note that 'In the later 1790s, after Pocklington had departed, it became fashionable to denounce his 'improvements' as tasteless and to heap scorn on his mock forts, his regattas and battles'.⁹⁹

Pocklington's island house, dominating Derwentwater, mimicked the aristocratic model of Lancelot 'Capability' Brown, in which the house, set on a shaven lawn, was to dominate the surrounding land and to provide the principal viewpoint. Only after 1789, when the authoritative Gilpin pronounced Pocklington's works 'miserable, and tasteless ornaments' could Gilpin's followers criticise and condemn.¹⁰⁰ Following the publication of Richard Payne Knight's

⁹⁴ Margery Brown, *A man of no taste whatsoever, Joseph Pocklington 1736-1817*, Milton Keynes, Author House, 2010

⁹⁵ West, *Guide*, 1778, p.114

⁹⁶ West, *Guide*, 1780, p.110

⁹⁷ West, *Guide*, 1784, p.109; West, *Guide*, 1789, p.110; West, *Guide*, 1793, p.111

⁹⁸ Thomas Newte, *A tour in England and Scotland, in 1785. By an English gentleman*, London 1788, p.41

⁹⁹ Thomason & Woof, *Derwentwater*, No.60

¹⁰⁰ Gilpin, *Observations in 1776*, p.172

poem 'The Landscape' and Uvedale Price's 'Essay on the picturesque' a writer such as Mrs Murray, touring in 1794-6, could assert that 'Mr Pocklington's slime may be traced in every part of Keswick Vale'.¹⁰¹ This insulted him by comparing him with 'Capability' Brown who, according to Knight and Price 'crawls like a snail all over the grounds, and leaves his accursed slime behind him wherever he goes'.¹⁰² Johnson Grant, who toured in 1797, considered Pocklington 'a man whose money is in the inverse ratio to his taste, of which latter he is not blessed with one scruple'.¹⁰³ West's guide removed its endorsement in 1796, but after Pocklington's island had been sold and planted and renamed Derwent Isle by General Peachy, the island was 'beautifully laid out in pleasure-grounds, surrounding a handsome house', which remained exactly as Pocklington had built it.¹⁰⁴

2-5. Applicable cultural value in discourse; the representation of the inhabitants

This study intends to examine the responses of the landowners to the social cultural value attributed to the inhabitants within discourse, primarily that which valorised the 'statesman' and his communities from the 1790s, in the context of developing socio-politics. Consequently, there is little expectation of responses by Lord William Gordon or by the Greenwich Hospital in the eighteenth century. The main period of interest is therefore the early nineteenth century, through the Napoleonic wars and the social stress that followed. If the identity of the English Lakes was principally composed from the two component themes of landscapes of culture and landscapes of nation, then the new focus on the inhabitants, and on the 'statesman' in particular, is consistent with an increasing emphasis on nation,

¹⁰¹ RP Knight, *The landscape, a didactic poem in three books, addressed to Uvedale Price, Esq.*, London 1794; Uvedale Price, *An essay on the picturesque, as compared with the sublime and the beautiful ...*, London, 1794; Sarah Murray, *A companion, and useful guide to the beauties of Scotland, to the Lakes of Westmoreland, Cumberland and Lancashire*, London, 1799, pp.21-2

¹⁰² Price, *Essay*, 2nd ed., 1796, p.366

¹⁰³ A Gentleman (Johnson Grant) in William Mavor, *The British Tourists; or a traveller's pocket companion, through England Wales Scotland and Ireland*, London, 1798, p.278

¹⁰⁴ West, *Guide*, 1796, p.110; Leigh's *Guide to the lakes and mountains of Cumberland, Westmoreland and Lancashire*, London, Samuel Leigh, 1830, p.67

and with the English Lakes as a 'sort of national property' with a socio-political relevance to nation.

In 1794 the unfavourable report on Cumberland for the Board of Agriculture strongly criticised the productivity of customary tenants and of the improvable commons, blaming the retention of the feudalism in customary tenancies for the lack of development.¹⁰⁵ They promoted improvement, leases and enclosure, and in the report on Westmorland, they supported the extensive planting which had been demonstrated by Robert Watson, Bishop of Llandaff, on allotments at Calgarth, Cartmel Fell (in Lancashire) and elsewhere.¹⁰⁶ The following reactive debate, which picked up the preceding discourse on the character and manners of the inhabitants, had focussed on defending the 'statesmen', who owned and farmed their own land. These were either customary tenants of the lord of the manor, who owned their property subject to the customs of the manor and could sell it by bargain and sale, or were freeholders, as manors were enfranchised and the more productive commons were enclosed and divided. The necessary ties of a 'statesman' to land and community, which exceeded those required by a simple lease, were associated with a stable community and its ability to self-regulate, and to pay its dues from the economic surplus with a minimum of gentry supervision. The 'statesman'-led community was increasingly a memory from 1790 to 1830, but the discourse and the politics was then at its strongest. The principles contained in this last stronghold of an older form of tenure were promoted as a model of social cohesion and control which was seen as lost or at risk elsewhere in England.

Prior to the valorisation of the 'statesman' as such, the discourse had noted the qualities of the local inhabitants of the more sequestered parts of the English Lakes as self-sufficient, self-reliant, hard working, satisfied with a little,

¹⁰⁵ John Bailey & George Culley, *General view of the agriculture of the County of Cumberland with observations on the means of improvement*, London, 1794

¹⁰⁶ Andrew Pringle, *General view of the agriculture of the County of Westmoreland with observations on the means of improvement*, London, 1794

resistant to change, and attached to land, family and community. They were seen as uncorrupted by the socio-economic changes elsewhere in England, but such characteristics were often applied more widely, for example to the people north of Lancaster by Mrs Radcliffe; 'We were continually remarking, between Lancaster and Keswick, that severe as the winter might be in these districts, from the early symptoms of it then apparent, the conduct of the people would render it scarcely unpleasant to take the same journey in the depths of December'.¹⁰⁷ The representation provides an example of Pollard's 'positive view' of people from marginal lands, in this case mountainous peripheral land.¹⁰⁸ There was also a contemporary belief that there was a causal link between mountains and character, by development from the well known and influential theories in Montesquieu's *Spirit of the Laws*, published in English 1752, translated from the French of the original Geneva publication of 1748.¹⁰⁹ This became the basis, across Europe, of the study of man's relationship to climate and terrain, and the political structures and laws which were most suited to particular peoples, using classical and contemporary works and evidence. Montesquieu specifically addressed the qualities of people inhabiting a mountainous terrain. In Book XVIII., *Of Laws in the Relation They Bear to the Nature of the Soil*, he proposed that the lack of productivity of mountainous lands reduced the need for those lands to be defended. Therefore moderate governments were appropriate, republics rather than monarchies, and a spirit of liberty could prevail. In England, Montesquieu's work formed a basis for the theory of Dr Falconer of 1781, which developed the geographical determinism by causally linking types of physical and climatic environment with actual physiological characteristics.¹¹⁰ However, in the introduction to James Clarke's *Survey of the Lakes*, Isaac Ritson emphasised

¹⁰⁷ Radcliffe, *Journey*, Vol.2, pp.308-312

¹⁰⁸ Sidney Pollard, *Marginal Europe the contribution of marginal lands since the middle ages*, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1997, Chapters, 3&4

¹⁰⁹ Montesquieu, *The spirit of the laws* London, 1752

¹¹⁰ William Falconer, *Remarks on the influence of climate, situation, nature of country, population, nature of food, and way of life, on the disposition and temper, manners and behaviour, intellects, laws and customs, form of government, and religion of mankind*, London, 1781

circumstance as being productive of character, rather than terrain, and stressed the history of the border as having an important legacy in the local culture and character of border communities and people.¹¹¹

In 1792, prior to the Board of Agriculture's reports, Joseph Budworth's portraits of the community and society were particularly effective, applying the generally attributed qualities to the people of Buttermere as individual characters, and contrasting the simplicity of Sally of Buttermere with the degenerate Queen of Patterdale.¹¹² But through the 1790s, the most influential portraits of the relationships between the character and manners of local communities and their agricultural circumstances and practices were supplied by the agricultural writer, John Housman. Housman was engaged to supply the agricultural notes under his own name, for Hutchinson's History of Cumberland, and Housman supplied also much comment on the character and manners of the people.¹¹³ After attempting, subsequently, to obtain a position in creating the Board of Agriculture's reports, Housman was successful in obtaining the national survey work for Eden's major work of 1797 on the poor of England and Wales, though Housman was not named.¹¹⁴ That tour, and the knowledge and experience gained, formed the basis of a series of articles in the *Monthly Magazine* and for his guide and his topography of 1800.¹¹⁵ His topography in particular, finding or assuming a high

¹¹¹ James Clark, *Survey*, introduction; Eric Birley, 'The sources of Clarke's survey of the lakes' *Transactions CWAAS CW2*, 1954, pp.273-5

¹¹² A Rambler, [Joseph Budworth], *A fortnight's ramble in the Lakes in Westmoreland, Lancashire and Cumberland*, London, 1792, Chapters VIII & IX, pp.188-204

¹¹³ William Hutchinson, *The history of the County of Cumberland and some places adjacent ...*, Carlisle, F Jollie, Vol.1, 1794, p.501

¹¹⁴ Frederick Morton Eden, *The state of the poor: or, an history of the labouring classes in England, from the conquest to the present period; ... together with parochial reports ...*, London, 1797, Vol.1, pp.ii-iv

¹¹⁵ John Housman, *A descriptive tour, and guide to the lakes, caves, mountains, and other natural curiosities, in Cumberland, Westmoreland, Lancashire, and a part of the West Riding of Yorkshire*. Carlisle, F. Jollie, 1800; John Housman, *A topographical description of Cumberland, Westmoreland, Lancashire, and a part of the West Riding of Yorkshire ...*, Carlisle, F. Jollie, 1800

J.H. [John Housman], 'Agricultural and commercial tour of England', *The monthly magazine and British register for 1796*, No.XI, December 1796. [Vol.2, July to December 1796, p.862; to Vol.7, January to July 1799 p.460.] After the first issue identified as John Housman or Houseman, and titled 'Tour of England'

level of social differentiation, reinforced the attribution of a particular and positive character to the mountain communities of the English Lakes.¹¹⁶

The 'statesman' was a term introduced into discourse by the Board of Agriculture surveyors to differentiate the small owner occupier from the more general yeoman farmer, but it was a local term from at least 1780, as noted in Thomas Bernard's unpublished holiday tour, a record not available to JD Marshall in his study of the derivation and use of the term.¹¹⁷ The socio-political promotion of the 'statesman' can be seen in the second edition of *Lyrical Ballads*, available in 1801, in which the poem 'Michael' provides the model of a loss of all or parts of tenements, or dilution of their equity in small farms by taking mortgages.¹¹⁸ The theme was developed more plainly in the *Guide* text of 1810.¹¹⁹ While Wordsworth's work did not find a large audience through that period, his name and poetry was directly connected with a description of the Borrowdale 'statesman' in a more popular tour by Richard Warner, published in 1802, commencing:-

Here, in the midst of these secluded scenes, formed by the involutions of the mountains, uncorrupted by the society of the world, lives one of the most independent, most moral, and most respectable characters – the estatesman, as he is called in the language of the country.¹²⁰

But by the time that the representations of the 'statesman' could hope to have a practical influence in socio-politics, with peace after 1815, the authentic examples were harder to find in the English Lakes.

Much of the relevant historiography is concerned with testing the accuracy of the discursive representations of the 'statesman' and their communities, and primarily with the fact and mechanisms of their numerical

¹¹⁶ Housman *Tour and Guide*, pp.67-71

¹¹⁷ Thomas Bernard, *Pleasure and pain (1780-1818)*, ed. J Bernard Baker, London, John Murray, 1930, pp.17,20&21; JD Marshall, 'Statesmen' in Cumbria: the vicissitudes of an expression', *Transactions CWAAS CW2*, 1972, pp.249-273, p.259

¹¹⁸ William Wordsworth, *Lyrical Ballads, with other poems in two volumes*, London, Longman, 1800

¹¹⁹ Wordsworth, *Guide*, pp.74-5

¹²⁰ Richard Warner, *A tour through the northern counties of England, and the borders of Scotland*, London, 1802, p.102

decline.¹²¹ This study does not seek to confirm or qualify that work, but merely to examine the effects of those representations on three landowners. Investigating social structure, Winchester and Healey have examined and provided a justification for Wordsworth's claim that 'the land they had walked over and tilled, had for more than five hundred years been possessed by their name and blood'.¹²² Similarly, the community stewardship by the upper yeomanry, increasingly holding more of the land by the later eighteenth century, is well attested.¹²³ At the end of the eighteenth century, the residual small-owner 'republic' survived mainly in tenancies, with their communal rights and obligations, within the residual customary manors of the English border counties. Winchester demonstrates that the distinctive cultural landscape of the English Lakes, with its patterns of organically grown closes, or ancient rather than planned landscape, is closely related to the retention of customary forms of land tenure.¹²⁴ The retention of that particular form of tenure was achieved by centuries of continuous development and defence of customary rights by the manorial tenants, as lord and tenant competed for the economic surplus of the estates.¹²⁵ The observed character and manners of the agriculturalist of the English Lakes must in some part be a consequence of the circumstance of continued conflict within the necessary rituals of retained custom.

¹²¹ JV Beckett, 'The decline of the small landowner in eighteenth and nineteenth century England: some regional considerations', *Agricultural History Review*, 1982, Vol.30(2), pp.97-111; David Uttley, 'The decline of the Cumbrian 'Yeomen' revisited', *Transactions CWAAS CW3*, 2008, pp.127-146; ID Whyte, 'The customary tenants of Watermillock c. 1760-1840: continuity and change in a Lake District township', *Transactions CWAAS CW3*, 2009, pp.161-174; Jonathan Healy, 'Agrarian social structure in the central Lake District, c. 1574-1830: the fall of the "mountain republic"?' *Northern History* XLIV: 2, September 2007, pp.73-91

¹²² Wordsworth, *Guide*, p.74; Angus JL Winchester, 'Wordsworth's pure commonwealth, Yeoman dynasties in the English Lake District c. 1450-1750', *Armit Library Journal*, 1/1998, pp.86-113

¹²³ Winchester, 'Dynasties', pp.90-100; Healey, 'Agrarian social structure', p.84-5

¹²⁴ Angus JL Winchester, 'Regional identity in the Lake Counties: land tenure and the Cumbrian landscape', *Northern History*, XLII: March 2005, pp.29-38.

¹²⁵ CE Searle, 'Custom, class conflict and agrarian capitalism: the Cumbrian customary economy in the eighteenth century', *Past and Present* 110 (1986), pp.106-33; Nicky Gregson, 'Tawney revisited: custom and the emergence of capitalist class relations in north-east Cumbria, 1600-1830', *Economic History Review*, 2nd series, xlvi, 1(1989), pp.18-42

The historiography of the 'statesman' usually has a perspective in the present, and rarely examines the discourse as a component of the contemporary political debate about the place of the peasantry in English society, at a time of industrialisation. That debate concerned the risks and benefits of increased autonomy, mobility, education and enfranchisement, which were either in progress or anticipated. From the 1790s the identity of the English Lakes was strong enough for it to be portrayed and used, not least by the Lake Poets, as the exemplar of the traditional English yeoman and his way of life.

This study views the valorisation of the 'statesman', of his perceived qualities and way of life, as being a manifestation of the conservative, traditional, or socio-romantic position to be set against the alternative position promoting reform and the improvement and emancipation of the individual. That alternative discourse of improvement had its territory elsewhere, and saw the inhabitants of the English Lakes as backward, unproductive and lacking ambition. John Briggs, in 'Letters from the Lakes' in his *Lonsdale magazine* of 1821, wrote in the guise of a family touring from Preston.¹²⁶ Having contemplated exactly how less ignorant the people of Borrowdale were compared with a century ago, he offers:-

"The real explanation," said the young man, "is, that Borrowdale is to the north, what Ireland is to the kingdom in general. If any person can invent a ridiculous story, it is immediately charged to the account of poor Borrowdale. ... In short Borrowdale is the Ireland of the Lakes".¹²⁷

But in this negative discourse there were probably only two significant precedents, the reports for the Board of Agriculture mentioned above and James Clarke's short-lived text of his survey of the Lakes of 1787. As a Freemason and supporter of the improvement of agriculture and its practitioners, Clarke did not take the picturesque view. 'The rocks and mountains about Buttermere are truly awful and romantic; but the same kind of views may be seen where the roads are

¹²⁶ John Briggs, 'Letters from the Lakes', *The Lonsdale Magazine, or provincial repository for the year 1821*, Kirkby Lonsdale, Foster, 1821

¹²⁷ John Briggs, *The remains of John Briggs*, Kirkby Lonsdale, Foster, 1825, pp.117-8

better, and the villages are more inhabited'.¹²⁸ Clarke was first to publish the application of traditional tales of the wise men of Gotham to the inhabitants of Borrowdale; 'The people of Borrowdale have been, on account of the old commonplace joke of walling in the cuckow, called Borrowdale *Gowks*; the word *gowk* being the Scottish name for a cuckow'.¹²⁹

While the promoters of the social relations within the English Lakes presented a positive view of the 'statesman', they also attacked the detrimental effects of industrialisation that they saw elsewhere. Southey, writing in Keswick in 1807 in his disguise an imaginary touring Spaniard, described Manchester and its inhabitants in a negative way:-

Imagine this multitude [80,000] crowded together in narrow streets, the houses all built of brick and blackened with smoke; frequent buildings among them as large as convents, without their antiquity, without their beauty, without their holiness; where you hear from within, as you pass along, the everlasting din of machinery; and where the bell rings it is to call wretches to their work instead of to their prayer, ... Imagine this, and you have the materials for a picture of Manchester.¹³⁰

The argument for the settled owner-occupier as the ideal basis of a nation, who would either be working on his land for family and community, or defending it from attacks of various sorts, was not new. Williams identifies in Thomas More's *Utopia*, of 1512, an ideal society which promotes the same interests:-

The natural ideal is then the recreation of a race of small owners, and this is projected in the island of Utopia. Once again the myth of a primitive happier state is drawn upon ... But in the island republic it is not quite to be all things in common. It is to be, rather, a small-owner republic, with laws to regulate and protect but also to compel labour. ... an idealisation, based on a temporary situation and on a deep desire for stability, served to cover and evade the actual and bitter contradictions of the time.¹³¹

However, the transforming difference from the sixteenth century was the rise of manufacturing industry, and the consequent risk to social stability and cohesion

¹²⁸ Clarke, *Survey*, p.86

¹²⁹ Clarke, *Survey*, p.75

¹³⁰ Robert Southey, *Letters from England: by Don Manuel Espriella. Translated from the Spanish*, London, Longman 1807, Letter XXXIX

¹³¹ Raymond Williams, *The country and the city*, New York, OUP, 1973, pp.44-5

from removing the ties of labour to land, to nature, and to traditional agricultural ways of life and systems of control, as seen in and promoted through the 'statesman's' community.

The wish to compel labour, obviously a patrician concern at a time of a serious rise in the cost of poor relief, was in tune with the example of the 'statesman'. He was seen to labour with his family on his own land, and, as seen through Eden's report of 1797 on the poor, kept the poor rates at an exemplary low level.¹³² Family labour maximised the available economic surplus and minimised the reduction in equity through taking mortgages. In English Romanticism, through Wordsworth's poetry, a life of labour on the land was seen as a relationship with nature, as distinct from landscape, which provided a natural discipline and offered redemption through the hardships suffered. In Barrell's view, 'The idea of rural life that is thus naturalised is not a simple one – it is not an idea, simply of the importance of rural labour and of the necessity of its being performed, but of the dignity of that labour as inseparable from the poverty of those who perform it.'¹³³ Such a way of life, when self-sufficient and locationally stable, as in the communities of the English Lakes, amounted to a correct second nature. Wordsworth's idea of man's second nature, developing through the 1790s from a radical to a Burkean conservative perspective, has been analysed by Chandler.¹³⁴

Wordsworth's guide text in on the way of life of the Dalesmen was developed from Gray's vision of Grasmere, seen in 1769, in which the scene, described without people, represents 'happy poverty'.¹³⁵ In his guide, throughout its editions, Wordsworth adjusted the text which described the Dalesmen to point

¹³² Eden, *The poor*, Cumberland: Vol.II, pp.45-108, Westmorland: Vol.III, pp.750-781

¹³³ John Barrell, 'The golden age of labour' in Richard Mabey, ed., *Second nature*, London, Cape, 1984, p.189

¹³⁴ James K Chandler, *Wordsworth's second nature: a study of the poetry and politics* Chicago, University of Chicago Press, c1984

¹³⁵ Mason, *Gray*, p.122

to around 1770.¹³⁶ In 1769 the rural life depicted in Gray's 'Elegy' of 1751, could still be represented in the sequestered valleys of the English Lakes. In *The Romantics*, Prickett notes that 'The year 1751 [publication of the 'elegy'] was perhaps the last moment in English history when a major author could so unquestioningly assume the permanent shape of rural life, and, simultaneously, so phrase it as to ensure its eventual transformation.'¹³⁷ The problem for those who wished to promote the values of the passing way of life later in the century, was that the examples were fewer, and the values harder to authenticate. The social values of the inhabitants must increasingly be conveyed through symbolism in cultural landscape, and its representations in text.

In art and poetry from the 1790s there was an increasing need to portray or symbolise social values in a positive way. In 'William Gilpin and the black-lead mine' Copley proposes that the picturesque, pre-romanticism view was concerned only with aesthetics, and that the connection of the image with the underlying socio-economic aspects of a scene were not relevant.¹³⁸ In its treatment of rustic people as ragged objects, picturesque art could not portray the social values that increasingly needed to be seen in the peasantry, as Barrell illustrates in *The dark side of landscape*.¹³⁹ As the identity of the English Lakes was required to emphasise the landscape of social culture, representations of landscape, nature, and people became increasingly loaded with cultural values other than those of picturesque aesthetics, especially through the works of the Lake Poets. For Wordsworth in 1803, a yew tree in Lorton, easily associated with medieval English archers, could also symbolise the present English nation, and its resilience to internal and external threats: '-a living thing/Produced too slowly

¹³⁶ Wordsworth, *Guide*, pp.74&171

¹³⁷ Stephen Pickett, ed., *The Romantics*, London, Methuen & Co., 1981, p.8

¹³⁸ Stephen Copley, 'William Gilpin and the black-lead mine', in Stephen Copley and Peter Garside, eds., *The Politics of the picturesque : Literature, landscape, and aesthetics since 1770*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press (CUP), 1994, pp.42-61

¹³⁹ John Barrell, *The dark side of landscape: the rural poor in English painting 1730-1840*, Cambridge, CUP, 1980

ever to decay;/Of form and aspect too magnificent/To be destroyed'.¹⁴⁰ In 1800, Wordsworth's overtly socio-political poems, 'The Brothers' and 'Michael', promoting the yeoman's way of life in the English Lakes, could still be based on recognisable characters. By 1816 Southey would need oak trees, never larches, to symbolise the lost English statesmen in his treatise on the poor:-

The small farmer, or ... the yeoman, had his roots in the soil, - this was the right English tree in which our heart of oak was matured. ... But old tenants have been cut down with as little remorse and as little discrimination as old timber, - and the moral scene is in consequence as lamentably injured as the landscape.¹⁴¹

Considering the new landowner, with responsibility for leasehold or manorial tenants, the test of responsiveness to the representations of the inhabitants should lie in a preference for the old feudalistic relationship rather than a purely rent-focussed relationship, where farmers were seen and treated as agricultural capitalists. But with increasingly limited opportunities to support the older system in reality, there was also the opportunity either to keep or remove the symbols of the old way of life in landscape. 'The Cumbrian landscape, it may be argued, is the tangible expression of a distinctive agrarian society, centred on small yeoman proprietors ...'.¹⁴² Wordsworth's guide distinguished between the face of the country formed by nature and the face of the country formed by its inhabitants, and instructed new owners to preserve or imitate the latter as, effectively, an approved second nature written in landscape. It is that preservation of cultural landscape, symbolising and memorialising a way of life that no longer inhabits it, which is a foundation of modern ideas of conservation of cultural heritage.

Conclusion

A context and historiography for the studies of the three landowners has been established, as basis for analysis. The discourse of aesthetics was sufficiently

¹⁴⁰ William Wordsworth, *Poems 1815* (facsimile), Oxford, Woodstock, 1989, pp.303-4

¹⁴¹ Robert Southey, 'The Poor', (1816), in Robert Southey, *Essays*, ed. JMB, Tunbridge Wells, 1853, p.198

¹⁴² Winchester, 'Regional Identity', pp.29-30

developed by the mid-eighteenth century to provide a basis for the valorisation of the English Lakes, creating a cultural identity that could influence landowners from the time of the discovery of the English Lakes.

Addison had developed and published the idea of the man of polite imagination having a kind of property in prospects, including wilderness, well before the English Lakes were discovered. The property in the cultural assets of English Lakes became verbalised and shared through discourse from the discovery in 1751.

From 1770 the fact of tourism, through its ritual practices and its discourse, had the dual effect of overlaying new customary rights for tourists to enjoy that cultural property on top of the increasingly private rights of the owners, while at the same time fixing the English Lakes within the Regions of Romance, within a context of modernity. Wordsworth's claim to a 'sort of national property' was explicitly justified by tourism.

The threat to the identity of the English Lakes through the landscape change of agricultural improvement was little of practical importance until the very end of the eighteenth century, when the French wars made the cultivation of marginal land viable and patriotic. The anticipated threat of manufacturing industry was removed later by the move from water to steam power. But, starting from 1750, the English Lakes developed a romantic identity that was increasingly differentiated from the land-use practices of capitalistic agriculture and manufacturing, which could place expectations on landowners to conform to that identity.

An analysis of the valorisation of the English Lakes has been created in terms of landscapes of culture and landscapes of nation. However, its content has been matched only to the three landowners to be considered, and primarily around Derwentwater. It has been established that Derwentwater, in this context, can represent the discovery of the English Lakes and early tourism, but the valorisation has been particularised to meet the needs of a study of the three

new landowners. This must raise questions of circularity of argument, which others must judge.

In the eighteenth century, the principal cultural assets in dispute with landowners were the aesthetics of woodland, and the judgements formed through the current values of landscape architecture. Landscapes of nation informed the aesthetic debate on species of trees. The debates on building around the lake coincided with the change in taste from the neoclassical to the picturesque, through the 1780s.

From the 1790s the theme of landscapes of nation assumed increasing importance, and the discourse of the inhabitants was developed into the socio-political discourse of the 'statesmen'. The influence of such a discourse on landowners is more complex than that of woodland or buildings, because the discourse was expected to influence the national debate, not least through the works of the Lake Poets. This was not primarily a defence of the way of life in the English Lakes, but rather the use of its leading identity within the Region of Romance, to promote externally the values it represented. This continuing active role as the antithesis of industrial modernity justifies, for some, the demand that the period should not be historicised, or sealed off in its own time.

The required response of a landowner to the social cultural values contained in the promoted way of life would be in retaining custom, communalism and the interdependence of landowner and tenant, and not to turn manorial tenants into capitalistic farmers. Because the way of life promoted was in practice evanescent, its retention could increasingly only be retained through text and through symbolism in the landscape. A landowner could respond to and promote those social cultural values by conserving, restoring or imitating the cultural landscape which symbolised that way of life.

Chapter 3. The Greenwich Hospital and the aesthetics of woodland

1735-1801¹

Introduction

The Royal Hospital for Seamen at Greenwich (the Greenwich Hospital or the Hospital) was the charity which benefited from the rents and profits of the confiscated estates of the Earl of Derwentwater (the Derwentwater Estates), and later owned those estates outright, as the Northern Estates. The grant was made in 1735 and held intact for nearly one hundred years, until the part of the property including Keswick and Thornthwaite was sold in 1832 to John Marshall, whose ownership will be considered in Chapter 7. The Greenwich Hospital was an owner whose primary objective in managing the estates was to provide part of the revenues for building and running the hospital at Greenwich. From 1763, out-pensions of £7 per annum were also introduced, and these gradually increased in importance.² From 1829 the responsibility for out-pensioners was removed, together with certain revenues, leaving the Northern Estates as the principal source of revenue for the Hospital.

The Hospital had no other landed estates, outside of Greenwich, and as a new but distant owner, its systems of management were established just before the discovery of the English Lakes. It provides an opportunity to study the response of a royal charity to that discovery, during the period of creation of the cultural construction of the English Lakes. The Northern Estates were mostly in Northumberland, with smaller holdings in Cumberland and Durham. They were managed by a single set of agents to a common policy, which provides an opportunity to seek special treatment of the property at Keswick, responding to the growing discourse.

¹ Note that values are rounded to the nearest pound and areas to the nearest acre in this chapter, except when the fractions are significant, important to the discussion or in quotations

² <http://www.portcities.org.uk/london/server/show/ConNarrative.148/chapterId/3034/The-Royal-Hospital-for-Seamen-Greenwich-A-Refuge-for-All.html> accessed 20 June 2011

The Hospital became an unwilling villain in the cultural construction of the English Lakes, because it harvested the mature wood on its Keswick estate at the time at which the aesthetic value of Derwentwater was being created. It became the cautionary example, in discourse, of the ‘unfeeling hand of avarice’.³ It is not possible to see the creation of cultural value as one process followed by the responses of the Hospital. The relationship was more iterative, but this circumstance provides a unique opportunity to examine the distance between discourse and fact.

Very little study of the Greenwich Hospital or of its Northern Estates has been made previously, outside of the lead mining at Alston. Thompson has made a short factual study of the Hospital’s woods at Keswick in the eighteenth Century, and Thomason has examined the management of those woods as part of a study of the exploitation of the woods of Borrowdale.⁴

This chapter considers the Greenwich Hospital and its management of its estates up to 1801, when a change in receiver coincided with a change of management policy aimed at improving the estates. During this period, the development of an aesthetic appreciation of its woods by the Greenwich Hospital is the theme to be examined, and responses to social cultural value in the inhabitants of the English Lakes would not be expected.

Section 3-1 considers the Hospital as the owner of the Northern Estates from 1735 to 1739, during which it formed its policy objectives and system of management before the discovery of the English Lakes.

Section 3.2 examines the process of the sale, felling, and regeneration of the wood at Keswick from 1739 to 1769, which followed the decision of the Hospital to pay off encumbrances, in part by harvesting the timber on the estates. This

³ Thomas West, *A guide to the lakes: ...*, London, 1778, p.114

⁴ BL Thompson, ‘The Greenwich Hospital woods at Keswick in the eighteenth century’, *Transactions Cumberland & Westmorland Antiquarian & Archaeological Society (CWAAS) CW2*, 1975, pp.293-9; David Thomason, ‘Man’s impact on the woodlands of Borrowdale’, *dissertation, Lancaster University, 1994*, [There is no connection between this David Thomason and the David Thomason who was joint author of *Derwentwater: the Vale of Elysium: an eighteenth-century story*.]

period covers the discovery of the English Lakes and the criticism of the Hospital in discourse,

Section 3.3 describes the development of policy on woodland on the Northern Estates, and the implementation of that policy from 1770 to 1801. In this period of touring, the Keswick Estate and its management came under scrutiny of influential visitors, and the leadership of Lord Sandwich. In England generally, the interest in planting and the practice of forestry developed.

3-1. The Greenwich Hospital and its Northern Estates; taking charge and establishing policy, 1735-9

The Royal Hospital for Seamen at Greenwich was created as a charity by William and Mary, under a founding charter of 1694, which gave as its purpose 'the relief and support of Seamen serving on board the Ships and Vessels belonging to the Navy Royall ... who by reason of Age, Wounds or other disabilities shall be uncapable of further service ... and unable to maintain themselves'.⁵ The work to transform the existing buildings into a hospital was commenced in 1696 under the Grand Committee, and completed in 1751.⁶

During this period the legal responsibilities of the trustees were exercised through the General Court of the Hospital, chaired by the First Lord of the Admiralty. The Commissioners met approximately twice a year. The management of the Greenwich Hospital was the responsibility of the 24 Directors, with a quorum of five, meeting weekly at first in Salter's Hall and then at the Hospital. The Directors, chaired by the Governor of the Hospital, or the Lieutenant Governor as substitute, were responsible to the General Court. The General Court and the Directors will be considered as the landowners in this study.

⁵ <http://www.portcities.org.uk/london/server/show/ConNarrative.148/chapterId/3034/The-Royal-Hospital-for-Seamen-Greenwich-A-Refuge-for-All.html> accessed 20 June 2011

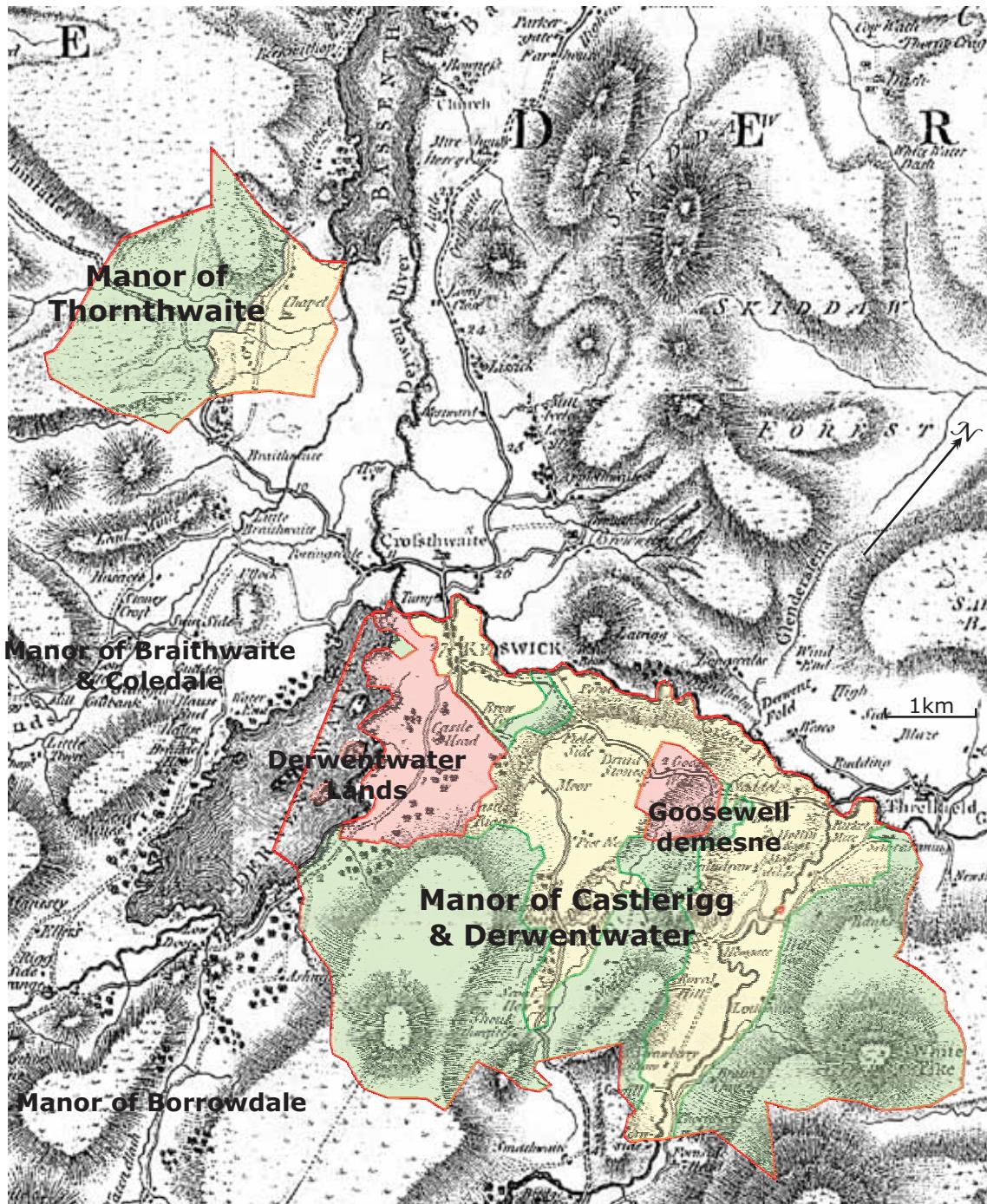
⁶ The National Archives (TNA): Public Record Office (PRO), records of the Admiralty (ADM), ADM67/1, Grand Committee

On 15 May, 1735 an Act granted 'parts of the rents of the Derwentwater Estates, and the future profits of those estates, towards finishing the building and then towards the general expenses of the hospital'.⁷ The Derwentwater Estates were the estates confiscated from James, second Earl of Derwentwater who had been executed in 1716 for rebellion. His seat had been at Dilston in Northumberland, and his estates mostly in Northumberland and Cumberland. The ownership of the estates was kept in the King's name, which limited the powers of the commissioners to dispose of or add to the estates. Over time the Derwentwater Estates became known as the Northern Estates of the Greenwich Hospital, and to prevent confusion with the name of the lake, the term Northern Estates will be used hereafter, except in quotations.

The Northern Estates, as granted in 1735, contained agricultural land and buildings, lordships including the associated mineral and timber rights, revenues from lead and coal mine leases, and half of Derwentwater. The land and water that could be let totalled 38,000 acres, as established by survey in 1736, on which the following description is based.⁸ In Cumberland the two valuable components were the manorial mineral rights and lead mines of Alston, and 975 acres of well-wooded estate land at Keswick. The estates in Cumberland included the manors of Alston, Castlerigg & Derwentwater and Thornthwaite. The property in Cumberland described above, in what was to become the English Lakes, will be termed the Keswick Estate, and is shown in Figure 3.1. This excludes Alston. Castlerigg & Derwentwater contained the 975 acres of estate land and property, the 464 acres of the eastern half of Derwentwater, the rents and duties of the customary and freehold tenants of the manor, and the balance of approximately 10,000 acres of the manor as commons. The bulk of the estate land adjoined the western shore of Derwentwater, the remainder being the pastoral demesne farms at Goosewell

⁷ ADM67/259, pp.83-4, contains a summary of the legal history.

⁸ ADM79/12



This map is based on the Hodskinson and Donald map of Cumberland, surveyed in 1771. The turnpike roads shown were made from 1760. The manors of which the Hospital was Lord are shaded green. The demense lands and water within the manors are shaded brown. Vicar's Island was not in the Hospital's manor.

Pink: demesne lands, Yellow: other enclosed lands, Green: unenclosed common

Figure 3-1. Location map for the Keswick Estate of the Greenwich Hospital

and Ullock Closes, Lords and Rampsholme Islands on Derwentwater, the corn mills of Keswick and Wanthwaite, and several properties in the town of Keswick, within the manor bounded on the North by the River Greta. All wood in the manor of Castlerigg & Derwentwater belonged to the Hospital, subject to the rights of customary tenants to underwood and house boot. The manor of Thorntwaite was smaller and paid customary rentals and fines, plus the lease and duty ore from a small lead mine at Beckstones.

When the Court of the Greenwich Hospital met on 29 May 1735, to take control of its newly granted Northern Estates, the main issues were managing the estates to optimise the revenue, and removing the encumbrances that took a large part of the revenue.⁹ The Northern Estates was managed by gentlemen Receivers as commission agents, located at Farnacres on the Ravensworth Castle at Gateshead, Durham. The Receivers were professional gentlemen, competent in all aspects of estate management and in the mining of lead and coal, and able to provide sureties for the large sums of money that they held. During 1735 the Directors appointed and mandated new receivers, Robert Ellison, who soon resigned, Nicholas Walton and Hugh Boag.¹⁰ Initially the Receivers' poundage was 12d in the pound on gross receipts, for an estate requiring its condition and revenues to be rebuilt, but later 6d in the pound.¹¹ From their poundage, the Receivers were to nominate and pay the necessary court-keepers and bailiffs, though arrangements varied later.

The General Court found that the yearly rental was £5990, but that £2285 of costs and encumbrances reduced the net rental to £3705.¹² Furthermore, many rents were uncollected, estates were out of lease, and unlet mines could yield a further £2000 annually.¹³ In addition to improving management, the Directors needed inspections, surveys and valuations of its

⁹ ADM67/260, pp.1-3

¹⁰ ADM67/260, pp. 38-40; ADM67/260, p.83

¹¹ ADM67/260, p.39

¹² ADM67/260, pp.1-2

¹³ ADM67/260, pp.2-3

new property. The Receivers personally inspected and reported the estates. Their report on the Keswick Estate of 24 January 1735/6, to William Corbett, Secretary of the Hospital, judged that:-

The whole of the Demesne Lands by Estimation may be about 600 Acres & cannot we think be much advanced, the Land it Selfe being verry poor & no Lime to be had, but at a verry great expence, & the hedges are all in bad Repaire.

There is here most Beautifull Oakes [*Quercus petraea*] Ash [*Fraxinus excelsior*] & Birch [*Betula sp.*] Timber, about 10 Acres of which is all Oakes, near to 60 foot high, & many of em Straight & without a branch [Loning Head or Crow Park], but besides this we compute that there may be near 200 Acre of Woody Land, upon which is fine Oakes, Ash & Birch, but are there as well as on the 10 Acres all Small Timber, but seems to be at its full growth, the whole may be worth £5000.

This Timber is Commodiously Situated for Trade, being situate on the Side of the abovementioned Lake, the River Greta & Bassett Water about 8 Miles, & then will be only about 8 Miles Land Carriage to the Sea [from Ouse Bridge].

Keswick Moothall is in very bad Repaire, ... The Shamells in the Market place are also necessary to be repaired;¹⁴

On 17 November 1735 the Directors resolved to engage Isaac Thompson to undertake a survey of its estates, to be presented in the form of maps and a field book of the 'Estates, Inngrounds and Commons', though the survey of the commons was later cancelled due to the cost involved.¹⁵ Isaac Thompson's survey was completed in 1736 and the report signed on 23 July 1737.¹⁶ Of the Keswick Estate's 975 acres of demesne land, some 250 acres were wood or wood-pasture. The land represented 2.6 per cent out of a total estate of 38,000 acres. No demesne land was listed in Thorntwaite. Thompson made no valuation, but the receivers, in September 1736, computed valuations against which to judge offers for new 21 year leases from May Day 1737.¹⁷ This survey showed that out of a current rental of £6328, the Keswick Estate contributed £281, or 4.4 per cent of the total, and might be advanced to £340, or only 4.1 per cent of the improved rental. The value of the Keswick Estate lay in its timber, later confirmed in a valuation reported by the Receivers on 16

¹⁴ ADM66/105, p.38

¹⁵ ADM67/260, p.40

¹⁶ TNA: PRO, Maps and Plans (MP) MPII.1-40, gives the plans of the estates; ADM79/12, is the report of the survey

¹⁷ ADM79/1, rental survey

December 1737.¹⁸ The timber fit for cutting on the Northern Estates was valued at £9953, and of that the Keswick Estate contributed £4875, or 49 per cent. Loaning Head, or Crow Park, was alone valued at £2119, or 21 per cent of the whole of the Northern Estates. Thorntwaite and Alston had no mature timber identified, but the improving wood at Thorntwaite was valued at £58. The total improving wood on the Northern Estates was valued at £3105, of which only £15 was at Keswick, confirming that the woods at Keswick were fully mature timber. Figure 3-2 illustrates the estate land on Derwentwater in 1736, from Isaac Thompson's plan and survey and from the survey of timber. Figure 3-3 provides a comparative illustration for 1774. This key area will be called the Derwentwater Lands in this study.

At its first meeting the General Court noted that the capital encumbrances totalled £28,900, requiring annual interest, at five and six per cent, of £1504.¹⁹ The court and directors considered how to reduce that expense by sale of property or assets from the Northern Estates. By 14 February 1735/6 the Hospital had received an offer to purchase the Keswick Estate from an un-named gentleman, at thirty years purchase. The Receivers considered that it would be in the interest of the Hospital to sell this remote property if it would bring £14,500, including wood and the Thorntwaite lead mine.²⁰

On 17 March 1735/6 the Directors ordered that a decision on sale would be 'postponed, till a time is fixed for the disposal of such part of the Derwentwater Estates, as shall be judged necessary to clear of the incumbrances'.²¹ On 10 July 1736 the Receivers offered their advice on sales to pay off the encumbrances:-

¹⁸ ADM66/106, pp.53-9

¹⁹ ADM67/260, p.1

²⁰ ADM66/105, pp. 76-7

²¹ ADM67/260, p.74

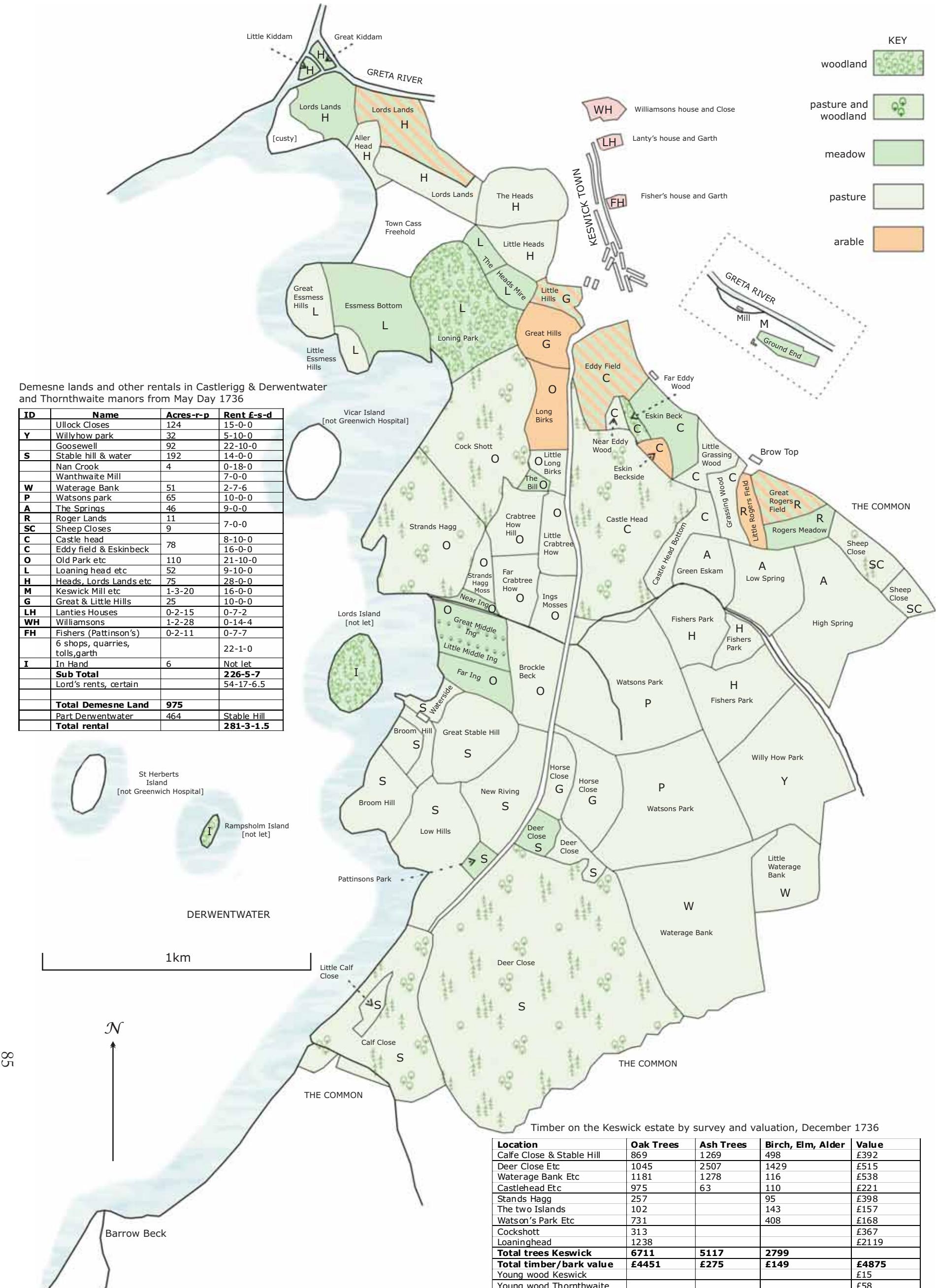
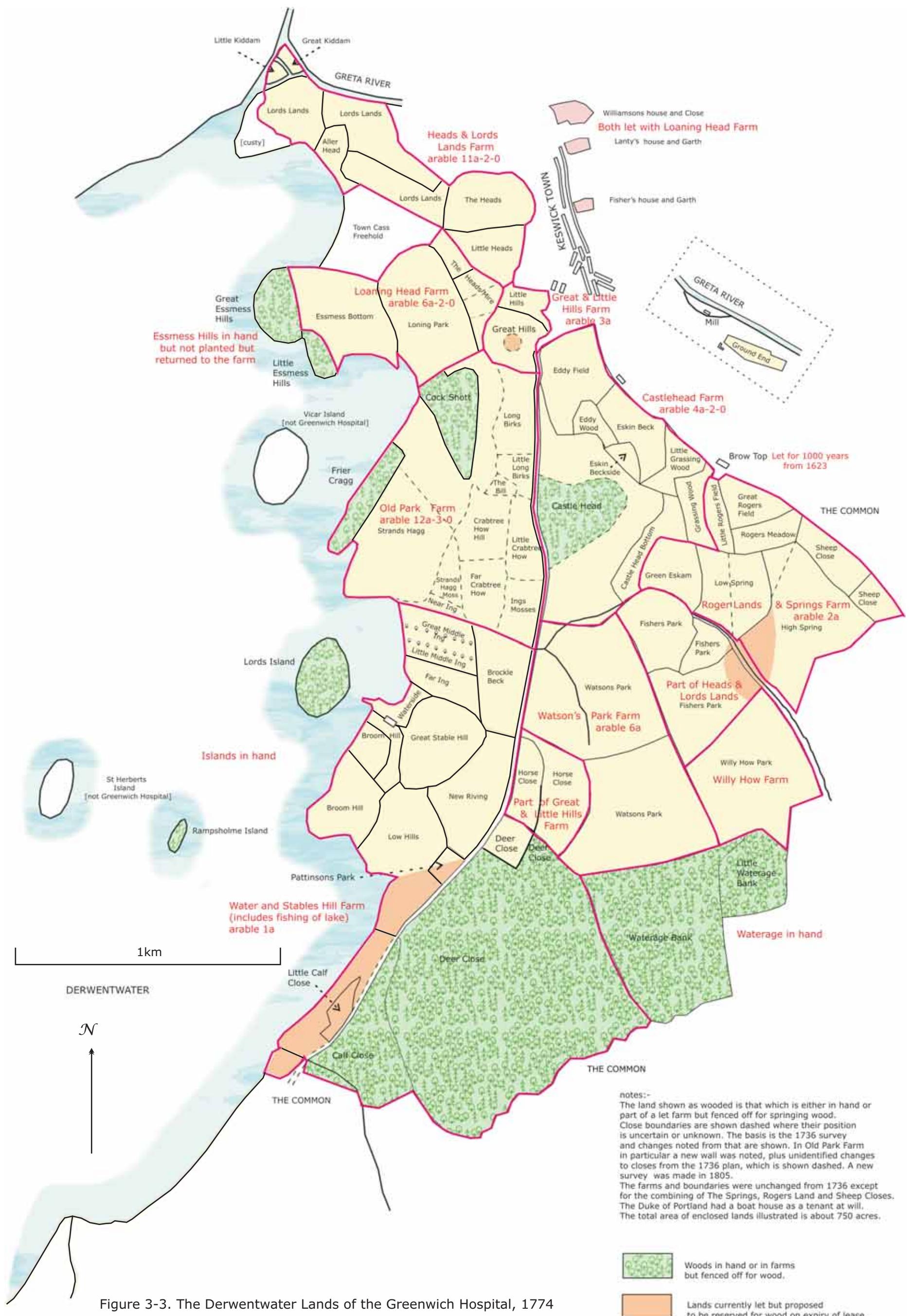


Figure 3-2. The Derwentwater Lands of the Greenwich Hospital, 1736



The Estates proper to be sold are Castleridge Derwentwater and Thornwaite Mannors, Newlands [in Northumberland], & Whittonstall Mannors, and the woods upon the estates of Dilston Thornbrough Coastley & Langley Barrony which will we apprehend raise a Sum, Sufficient to pay off Such Incumbrances as are now charged on the Estate.

Dilston Wood we before wrote you may raise £800, or £1000. Coastley and its apputenancies about £2000 & Thornbrough about £200 and we think near £1000 in Langley Barrony, so that in the whole woods that are fit to be Cut & Sold may be supposed to raise about £4000, Exclusive of Keswick & Newlands which we will sell along with the Estates.

The demesne land at Keswick cannot advance much, nay we doubt scarce at all...²²

The sale of this property would remove annual interest on encumbrances of £1504, but the property yielded an income of only £702, therefore offering an annual improvement of £802.²³

On 22 July 1736 the Court considered the Attorney General's advice on introducing a Bill to enable a general fine to be taken on the death of the King. The customary tenants had resisted a fine for the death of James Radcliffe, who had died an unnatural death, or for his son, who died an infant.²⁴ The opportunity was taken to insert a clause which would fully empower the Hospital, which held the property in trust, to sell wood or lands to discharge the encumbrances.²⁵ On 26 January 1736/7 the Directors asked the Attorney General to consider, also, the legality of the Hospital's borrowing money at a lower rate of interest, to pay off the encumbrances at 5 and 6 per cent, thus avoiding the need to sell lands.²⁶ The Hospital now had three options, the sale of lands, the sale of wood, and the raising of low interest loans.

Following a full survey and valuation of the wood on the Northern Estates, the sale was considered on 28 December 1737.²⁷ The total value was

²² ADM66/105, p.142

²³ ADM66/105, p.142

²⁴ ADM67/260, p.112

²⁵ Statutes at large, 11, Geo.II, C.30

²⁶ ADM67/260, pp.161-2

²⁷ ADM67/260, p.217

£13,050 7s, of which £9953 5s was in wood fit to cut, 'the greatest part of which is of full growth and will suffer by standing'.²⁸ On 2 February 1737/8 the General Court considered the timber valuation as well as the Receivers' proposal to raise the whole £28,900 through the sale of the Keswick Estate plus Newlands and Whittonstall in Northumberland, with the balance made up by timber sales elsewhere.²⁹ Negotiations were then pursued with the holders of the encumbrances and on 11 October 1738 the Directors agreed to borrow £25,900 from the Bank of England at 4 per cent from next Lady Day, to pay off encumbrances.³⁰

The process of decision making by which the Hospital decided to sell all the timber and retain the Keswick Estate is not in the records examined, but the King's Warrant from the Court of Exchequer, dated 27 March 1739, authorised the sale of 'all the timber fit for cutting', at an anticipated £9953, for the purpose of removing encumbrances.³¹ Having borrowed £25,900 at 4 per cent to pay off encumbrances, the Hospital need not sell assets that were producing a return greater than 4 per cent, which the Keswick Estate could do. The timber was fully mature and was not increasing, but reducing in value. Therefore the timber worth £9953 as a mature crop must be sold to pay back a large part of the loan, and the woodlands could be sprung or planted so that their value would again increase, in the normal way. The Receivers would have to manage a distant and complex estate which would contribute little to their poundage, and they would always prefer the hospital to sell the Keswick Estate, but the decision made was in the best interest of the Hospital.

²⁸ ADM67/10, p.73

²⁹ ADM66/106, pp.64-6

³⁰ ADM67/260, p.261

³¹ ADM67/261, p.10

3-2. Sale and Regeneration; the woods on the Northern Estates, 1739-

69

Chapter 2 has examined the discourse in which the growth of aesthetic value of the Derwentwater scenery was primarily judged by comparison with the idealised landscapes which were the models for the landscaping of the grounds of the aristocracy. The sale of timber by the Hospital was decided and approved in 1739, and the criticism of its actions in discourse commenced in 1755, and lasted throughout its ownership. The peak of criticism was reached in James Clarke's *Survey of the Lakes* of 1787, in which tropes and apparent local knowledge were combined to accuse the Hospital not only of prioritising monetary gain, but also of failing to achieve fair value, through its corruption:-

Crow-Park ... was covered with wood thirty-five years ago [1751]: the trees were all oak, about 17 yards high, of a most proportionate thickness, and so equal in height, that when in full leaf their tops appearing so close and smooth as a bowling-green; ...

This ... was sold ...AD1749, to a Mr Marthas, or Mathews, of Greenwich for £7000: It was advertised to be sold in London by inch of candle; but these trusty guardians of the public treasure, the governors, contrived to exclude every bidder except their minion Mr Mathews; ... thus this valuable wood was almost literally given away. The purchaser had ten years allowed to cut down the timber and accordingly employed one Joseph Dawson to cut it for him. Dawson begun his work on the 1st May 1749 the merchants of Whitehaven thought themselves so injured by the manner in which Mathew's purchase was smuggled to him that they brought their action against the governors of the Hospital, but were nonsuited.³²

There is no record of the Greenwich Hospital defending its actions publically, and an examination of the recorded facts provides a useful test of discourse and may help to understand the Hospital's response to discourse.

Clarke's description of Crow Park before felling is fully supported by the reports and surveys given above from 1735-7. The oak woodland on the estate had regenerated from an effective clearance by the German lessees of the mines royal, from the 1560s until the early seventeenth century. The wood on

³² James Clarke, *A Survey of the Lakes of Cumberland, Westmorland, and Lancashire ...*, London, 1787, p.63

Crow Park had been purchased by the miners in 1585.³³ One hundred years after clearance, Thomas Denton noted: 'By Derwent-water side there grows the loveliest grove of large oak trees, all of an equal height & bigness, each tree being worth 5*l*/i at the least; the whole wood being worth a 1,000*l*/i.'³⁴ The aesthetic qualities of the view eastwards from the lake, noted by other writers, are also confirmed by the plan and surveys reproduced in Figure 3.2, providing a pastoral scene containing much mature wood-pasture and negligible visible arable. The close called Crow Park, or Loning Head, was the only large dedicated woodland. Such land use is also indicated by the history of the estate, in that the land was the ancient parkland of the Derwentwaters.

The King's warrant having been given, the sale was managed not by the Hospital or its Receivers, but by the Court of Exchequer, who made an order by 8 December for the cutting and selling.³⁵ On 24 May 1740 the Receivers were asked to mark the trees, and on 17 December 1740 the Directors heard that 'The advertisement for the sale of timber and wood on the Derwentwater Estate was published ten days ago in the London Gazette, and particulars of the several quantities of the wood mark'd to be sold are left with the Master to be viewed by such persons as shall think fit to bid.'³⁶ The Receivers advertised the sale in the Newcastle newspapers on 17 December, for timber 'To be sold before Charles Taylor Esq. Deputy to his Majesty's Remembrancer in the Court of Exchequer pursuant to an order of the said Court'.³⁷

James Clarke's story of a sale in London is correct, though the date is wrong and the Hospital was misrepresented, in that control was taken from them and they spent seven years attempting to get fair value for the Hospital.

³³ WG Collingwood, *Elizabethan Keswick*, Whitehaven, Michael Moon, 1987, p.180. December 1585 – 'Bought from Lady K. Radcliffe a wood called Lonhet [Loanhead or Loning Head, now Crow Park] and Esmes [Esmess now called Isthmus] in which are oaks, ashes and birches, £24'

³⁴ Thomas Denton, *A perambulation of Cumberland 1687-1688*, Angus JL Winchester & Mary Wane Eds., Surtees Society & CWAAS, 2003, pp.136-7

³⁵ ADM67/261, pp.10,14,21

³⁶ ADM67/261, pp.48,63

³⁷ ADM67/261, p.64; ADM66/106, p.379

The Court of Exchequer had no expertise in managing sales to the wood merchants in the North of England, and expected to sell in one lot, though bids were received for the Cumberland and Northumberland timber separately. The Receivers had no authority to alter the terms of sale, but could advise on value. Offers for the timber in Cumberland were £2000 short of valuation in March 1740/1.³⁸ Writing on 22 March for help in soliciting bids to Thomas Simpson, who had distributed advertisements, the Receivers noted that for the Derwentwater woods, 'The Deputy Remembrancer has declared Mr Speedings [John Spedding] the best bidder at £4100 – which is near £1000 under the valuation ... would it not therefore be proper to give them two lines acquainting them that you apprehend further offers will be made?'.³⁹ Writing on the same day to John Pearson, their bailiff at Keswick, they asked that Spedding should be advised that the 'addition of a large sum' was required. 'I wish Mr Speedings ... would do it, as they will undoubtedly have their present proposal set aside in the shape it is.'⁴⁰

At this time John Spedding of Whitehaven was steward to Sir James Lowther; and Spedding's brother, Carlisle Spedding, was steward of the Whitehaven coal-mines under John. In 1737 they and Thomas Patrickson had borrowed £630 from Lowther to set up a timber and brewing company. 'The company expanded during the 1740s as Whitehaven's trade grew and its shipping requirements increased, although Spedding made his interest over to his son James (1719-1759) in 1748'.⁴¹ John Spedding led the bid for the Keswick timber by the wood merchants of Whitehaven, which identifies the local bidders noted by James Clarke.

³⁸ ADM67/261, p.71

³⁹ ADM66/106, p.416

⁴⁰ ADM66/106, p.417

⁴¹ John Beckett, 'Estate management' in Chartres, John Chartes & David Hey, eds, *English Rural Society, 1500-1800: Essays in honour of Joan Thirsk*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press (CUP), 1990, p.68

Having received a reply from Thomas Simpson, the Receivers wrote regretting that the wood mongers were acting in combination. Simpson was requested to advise Spedding that they would not recommend a sale of the Keswick Woods below £4800.⁴² Throughout the spring and summer of 1741 the Receivers attempted to improve the bids in both Cumberland and Northumberland. On 11 July they reported that they would, 'use our endeavours to come at the truth of the combination ...'.⁴³ For each county only one real bidder existed, and because fair value was not offered, no sale was made.

It was on 4 November 1741 that the Directors had to consider the only protest against their plans on aesthetic grounds. The 'Principal Gentleman of the County of Northumberland' had written to the Lords of the Admiralty on 12 October 'requesting that some trees on the Derwentwater Estate, in & about the town of Meldon of inconsiderable value, may not be sold, but left standing as an ornament to the country'.⁴⁴ The Receivers advised that the gentlemen 'wish to have the principal part left for ornament. ... the value seventy or eighty pounds.' Extracts of the Receivers' letters were sent to be laid before the Lords of the Admiralty, without a recommendation.⁴⁵ The outcome in 1741 is not recorded, but the trees had already been marked and been bid for. The trees stood until the sale in 1747, from which they were not spared. Neither the Receivers nor the Directors noted any representations on behalf of the Keswick timber.

Following a request from the Directors on 17 January 1745/6 the Receivers reported on 5 February that they had: -

advertised the sale of timber from time to time ... applied to all the Wood Buyers in the Northern Countys that they know but in vain; for that they who formerly offer'd to be Purchasers & were bidders in the Exchequer complain greatly of the Expense they were at on such Biddings And in regard to the Condition of the Woods, they are now decaying and consequently of less value, than when the valuation was

⁴² ADM66/106, p.428

⁴³ ADM66/107, p.10

⁴⁴ ADM67/261, p.97

⁴⁵ ADM66/107, p.41; ADM67/261, p.103

made [in 1737]; and that they apprehend if they had Power, it would be best sold in small parcels in the Country;⁴⁶

On 21 May 1746 the Hospital solicitor, Mr Radley, who had managed the relationship with the Court of Exchequer, reported that a sale in the Country would not be agreed.⁴⁷ On 25 February 1746/7 and Mr Radley was asked to place the state of proceedings to Mr Legge.⁴⁸ Henry Bilson Legge (1708-1764) was a member of the Admiralty Board and of the Treasury Board, and at this time worked on naval affairs in the Commons.⁴⁹

Legge's intervention was effective, and led to a scheme though which an intermediary would purchase the timber in one lot from the Court of Exchequer, and would then resell to local wood merchants in smaller lots. On 16 February 1747/8 the Directors confirmed their agreement to the order which enabled the 'Timber to be sold to Mr Martyr'.⁵⁰ The price was not noted but was later recorded by the Receivers as a £9,900 sale price to Mr Joseph Martyr; that is just £50 below the 1737 valuation, but over £900 above the 1746 revision.⁵¹ Felling was to be completed by Old May Day 1760, but on 24 October 1757 the Directors agreed to extend the date to May Day 1762.⁵² By 26 May 1748, Martyr had paid the first £495 to the Court of Exchequer, and could commence felling.⁵³

The purchaser was 'Mr Joseph Martyr of Greenwich'.⁵⁴ Joseph Martyr of East Greenwich ran a substantial joinery and carpentry business.⁵⁵ He was not a servant of the Hospital, as James Clarke suggested, but may well have had contractual relationships with the Hospital and/or with the adjacent Royal

⁴⁶ ADM67/261, p.192

⁴⁷ ADM67/261, p.196

⁴⁸ ADM67/261, p.204

⁴⁹ PJ Kulisheck, 'Legge, Henry Bilson (1708–1764)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography (ODNB)*, Oxford University Press (OUP), 2004

⁵⁰ ADM67/261, p.216

⁵¹ ADM65/78, letter 26 January 1774.

⁵² ADM67/262, p.86

⁵³ ADM67/261, p.218

⁵⁴ ADM66/92, p.346

⁵⁵ TNA: PRO probate records (Prob), Prob/11/855, Joseph Martyr, joiner of East Greenwich, d.1760

Dockyards at Deptford. In his will Joseph Martyr of East Greenwich left £800 to his nephew and son-in-law, Richard Wray, who 'now acts as my agent in the North of England'.⁵⁶ Following the purchase of timber, the estate included several leasehold properties, one of which can be identified as one of the Hospital's farms at Fourstones, in Langley Barony, known as Martyr's Farm.⁵⁷

Martyr came to terms with James Spedding and partners for the Cumberland timber, because they were 'the manufacturers of Keswick Woods, under Mr Martyr, the Purchaser', when applying to take the tenancy of Castlehead Farm in September 1750 as a base for continuing operations.⁵⁸ Whitehaven shipbuilding would have provided the obvious market for the Keswick timber, and Martyr would have needed co-operation there. Felling in Keswick commenced in 1748, because on 24 September the Directors asked the Receivers to assist Martyr, whose timber was being interrupted in its conveyance on 'Derwentwater River'.⁵⁹

James Clarke's account of the Hospital's refusal to sell to the Whitehaven merchants was correct, but the Hospital received the fair value from Martyr, £9,900 in 1747, rather than £7,000 in 1749, as claimed by Clarke, and felling started by September 1748, not 1749. Clarke would not have known the facts of the arrangements between the Hospital and Joseph Martyr, and between Martyr and the Whitehaven merchants, led by James Spedding, who purchased Armathwaite at the foot of Bassenthwaite at that time. By 1787, when Clarke wrote his survey, Armathwaite had been held by two further generations of Speddings, as country gentlemen unconnected with Whitehaven trade. Clarke's account appears to contain a translation of the historical facts into a form favourable to the later Spedding interest, and detrimental to that of the Hospital.

⁵⁶ Prob/11/855

⁵⁷ ADM67/262, p.77

⁵⁸ ADM67/262, p.5

⁵⁹ ADM67/261, p.221

Aesthetic considerations played no part in the sale of the woods on the Keswick Estate and no representations were received by the Directors, but from 1755 the discourse of the English Lakes included strong criticism of the Hospital's management. The Hospital's General Court and Directors would have been well aware of such criticism, and might be expected to respond in its future management, that is in allowing the woods to regenerate through springing and planting.

The general policy on regeneration in the Northern Estates was established before the start of the critical discourse. On 15 Feb 1748/9 the Directors ordered that the Receivers 'do hedge off the lands for springing, where the timber has been and shall be cut down, as they shall judge, and not answer for tillage improvement, as they propose'.⁶⁰ This important policy guidance favoured tillage, and provided the justification for leaving Loning Head, or Crow Park, and Cockshot with the tenants. However, it also enabled the Receivers to exclude grazing animals from other former wood-pasture land and to forego the rental in favour of a longer term investment in wood, whereby the profits could be realised only by later cropping, or sale of the estate. Springing was supplemented with planting where necessary, in a process described by Thomason, who identifies the practical difficulties of excluding the local inhabitants and their stock.⁶¹ It is clear from later surveys that in general the Hospital grew timber, rather than coppice rotations with standards. One coppice crop might be taken, leaving a standard for timber. This approach demonstrated that the Hospital would manage for the long term, and together with the letting of 21 year leases, confirmed the Hospital as an improving owner. For some twenty years there would be costs incurred through the abatement in rental caused by fencing land for springing wood, all lands in Keswick except islands being previously let. With the felling of the interspersed trees on the other

⁶⁰ ADM67/261, p.228

⁶¹ Thomason, 'Borrowdale', pp.27-31

leased lands, wood would be less dispersed than before. The choice of timber, rather than coppice, had benefits in producing ornamental timber, but no such motivation can be evidenced.

It is apparent that through the 1750s the decisions on springing and planting were taken on economic grounds, but there is in the Directors' minutes a level of detailed supervision of the actions in the Derwentwater Lands which is not matched elsewhere in the Northern Estates. On 18 April 1753 the Directors 'Ordered that the Lords Island at Keswick be planted with acorns and beech [*Fagus sylvatica*] trees. Ordered that as much of Castlehead Wood as is proper to be fenced off for springing. Ordered that Waterage Bank Wood, & Deer Close Wood be fenced & Hained for springing as fast as they are cleared taking care to leave a sufficient quantity to the westward for the use of the tenants for hedge boot.'⁶² Lords Island was already in hand and ungrazed, and so the replanting, probably in addition to springing, represented continuity. Castlehead Wood and Waterage Bank/Deer Close were now taken in hand as high rocky land that unsuited to tillage. The Beech introduced to Lords Island was follow by 1758 by more general plantings of this species alien to Cumberland, for example in Waterage Bank, the saplings coming from Newcastle.⁶³ But all the cleared woodland and wood pasture along the lakeshore was left with the tenants of Loning Head, Old Park and Stables Hill farms, the stumps to be grazed or grubbed up according to the tenants' wishes.

By 6 September 1760 the Hospital had instigated a change in the management of the Derwentwater Lands which appears to respond to the criticism in discourse. 'Ordered that the receivers do sow some Scotch Fir seed on the rocky parts of Keswick & also plant some other trees of different sorts in Waterage Bank, Calf Close and Deer Close, and that they do hedge off & plant Cockshott Hill that part being more fit for wood, than herbage, as propose in

⁶² ADM67/262, p.42

⁶³ Thompson, 'Greenwich Hospital Woods', p.294

their said letter'.⁶⁴ The Scotch Fir (Scots pine, *Pinus Sylvestris*) would perhaps in time provide some income from the higher parts of Waterage bank and Deer close, where oak would not grow, but that sowing and the mixed species to be planted must have had some ornamental effect. The wood-pasture called Cockshott Hill, on the lakeshore adjacent to Crow Park, had been left with the tenant when cleared, but in 1760 that decision was reversed and the rental foregone. The changes are shown on Figures 3-2 and 3-3. Cockshot Hill now required the expense of fencing, sowing and planting rather than springing, and provides the first clear change of policy to plant the lakeshore, though there was no further action before 1770. In 1769 Gray described Cockshut Hill as 'covered with young trees, both sown and planted, oak, spruce [*Pinus abies*], scotch fir, &c, all which thrive wonderfully, but for West in 1778 it was 'a motley mixture of young wood'.⁶⁵

It can be seen that through the period from 1750 to 1760, the Hospital moved from a general policy of allowing the woods on the Northern Estates to be regenerated only where the land could not be let for tillage, to a position where the Keswick woods were being given special attention by the Directors. In 1760 the first small scale intervention was made at Cockshott Hill to take land for a new plantation of mixed species near the lakeshore.

3-3. Planting policy and Lord Sandwich, 1770-1801

The 1770s was the decade of the growth of tourism around Derwentwater, facilitated by the Cockermouth, Keswick and Kendal turnpike road and encouraged initially by Arthur Young's first recommended tour of 1770.⁶⁶ West's picturesque touring guide, of 1778, formalised and standardised the tours which were already being taken by many gentlemen and university vacationers,

⁶⁴ ADM67/262, p.113

⁶⁵ William Mason, *The poems of Mr Gray. To which are prefixed memoirs of his life and writings*, York, 1775, p.117; West, *Guide*, p.89

⁶⁶ Arthur Young, *A sixth months tour through the North of England ...*, Vol 3, 1770, pp.141-56

confirming Keswick as the principal focus of touring.⁶⁷ The works of the Hospital were no longer known simply from the writing and painting of a few, but experienced at first hand by many influential people. Thus, from the 1770s, though its past misdeeds were well established in discourse, the Hospital had an opportunity to influence opinion directly by its current visible works. It might be judged on how it planted and managed its young wood.

The taking of Cockshott Hill in 1760 for planting has been discussed above, but it was not until the 1770s that more systematic interventionist measures to plant the Derwentwater shoreline can be inferred from the records. The changes are illustrated in Figures 3-2 and 3-3. On 6 June 1770 the Directors agreed that the receivers 'be directed to cause Fryer Cragg, a piece of ground part of the Old farm at Keswick, which from its situation they look upon as proper to be planted, to be fenced off for that purpose and planted accordingly, paying the tenant 7s 6d per annum being the sum for which they say it can be had, during the remainder of the lease'.⁶⁸ This small strip of lake shore land, of 2a-2r-21p, was part of two existing closes and would surely not have attracted the Receivers' and Directors' attention, to been taken from a farm in lease and planted, were it not along the Derwentwater lakeshore. Also in 1770 the Receivers had proposed to take two other lake shore closes, the Great and Little Essmess Hills, for planting when the lease expired.⁶⁹ Their proposal to fence the land, take a crop of oats and then 'sow with Acorns and other types of Seeds' was approved on 6 June 1772 with authority 'to fence off and apply to the purpose of growing Wood the two Promontories called the Great & Little Essmess which are part of the Loaning head farm and extend into the Derwentwater ...'.⁷⁰ The land was taken at Michaelmas 1772 and prepared for planting, compensation being paid to the tenant up to the expiry of the lease

⁶⁷ West, *Guide* 1778, pp.201-3

⁶⁸ ADM67/263, p.264

⁶⁹ ADM65/78, Receivers to Board 27 May 1772, refers to letter of 18 September 1770

⁷⁰ ADM65/78, Receivers to Board 27 May 1772; ADM67/263, p.321

on Lady Day 1773.⁷¹ Meanwhile, a local gentleman, John Robley, had bid £20 more than the under bidders for the new leases on the farms of Castlehead, Loaning Head and Watson's Park, but had objected to the removal of Essmess Hills, and to other conditions. The Directors insisted on that separation, and the three farms were let to the under-bidders.⁷² The eight acres of the two existing closes of Great and Little Essmess Hills, which were adjacent to Crow Park/Loaning Head, stand out as a small case where, as with Cockshot hill in 1760 and Fryer Cragg in 1770, special arrangements had been made to take a piece of the Derwentwater lake shore for planting. In the event, the Essmess Hills were later found unsuitable for wood and were re-let until the 1790s, when again they were taken for planting.

In January 1771 the fourth Earl of Sandwich, John Montagu, became First Lord of the Admiralty for the third time, and he stayed in that post until March 1782.⁷³ Lord Sandwich normally chaired the General Court of the Greenwich Hospital and took a serious interest in the policy, direction and management of the Northern Estates. Lord Sandwich's other, and rather more important, responsibilities included the reform of the naval dockyards and the connected growth and provision of timber for naval shipbuilding:-

In 1771 Lord Sandwich took up 'what he rightly regarded as the great work of his life, the reform of the dockyards. ... At the heart of these [schemes] were the linked problems of timber and shipbuilding. ... Within three or four years of taking office he had achieved his target of timber stocks sufficient to allow everything to season properly before it was used.'⁷⁴

Looking back over the period in 1779:-

His Lordship then contrasted the present state of preparation to what it was on his coming into office, when no timber could be procured on any terms; when the ships, upon paper, were ... being built with green timber at the end of the last war. This, he said, was merely the effect of a monopoly of the timber merchants, and the great demand occasioned by the consumption of the East-India company. He promoted a bill for restraining the number of tons to be contracted for annually by that

⁷¹ ADM70/13 p.155

⁷² ADM67/263, pp.344-6

⁷³ NAM Roger, 'Montagu, John, fourth Earl of Sandwich (1718-1792)', *ODNB*, OUP, 2004

⁷⁴ Roger, 'Montagu'

company, ... and he contracted for foreign timber, which answered extremely well; the consequence of which was, that the monopoly was broken, the waste of timber of native growth was put a stop to ...⁷⁵

If the Northern Estates in general, and the Derwentwater Lands in particular, tended to favour the growth of timber in the 1770s, then it might be due to the mutually supportive future needs of the nation, the Admiralty, and its seamen, for the wooden walls of England, now copper plated. The aesthetics of Derwentwater might just benefit from far more important policies, rather than being a driver of decision making. However, the large naval oak came from the pedunculate species of the Royal Forests, not from the sessile oak of the Derwentwater Lands.

The establishment of a formal policy on increasing woodland on the Northern Estates is first apparent from a long letter from the Receivers to the Directors dated 26 January 1774:-

The Board of Directors by their Minute of 12th June 1773, communicate to us, their desire of rather increasing rather than diminishing the Wood upon the Derwentwater Estate; and therefore recommend it to the Receivers, to take into their serious consideration, the most effectual means of promoting the growth of Timber in the said Estate; and ... to lay the same before the Board.⁷⁶

The original minutes of 12 June 1773 have no such record, nor a discussion of the subject.⁷⁷ It may have resulted from a personal initiative by Lord Sandwich. Guidance had not been given on the scale of planting anticipated or how the policy was to affect the interest of the Hospital, for example in balancing long and short term revenues. The Receivers spelt out their current policy, justifying it economically:-

...viz. a constant attention to the keeping the [sic] Woods in proper order by thinning, or weeding ...; and when any piece of Ground appears of such a quality, as to be more likely to turn to account in the growth of timber than fit for cultivation, as to Corn, Meadow or Pasture, the Receivers have occasionally recommended it to the Hospital to be hedged off, Planted with Wood, and separated from the farm to which it belonged; allowance being made to the Tenant for the loss of ground, by agreement, for the remainder of the Term; and at the next letting to

⁷⁵ *The Parliamentary Register, Vol. XIV*, Parliamentary Debates 1779, pp. 269-70

⁷⁶ ADM65/78, 26 Jan 1774

⁷⁷ ADM67/23, pp.250-3

advertise the Farm exclusive of the Ground so hedged off; and as there has been no instance yet occurred, but that such Farm on re-letting has given more Rent, exclusive of the Ground so hedged off, than it did before; this is an indication, that this way of Planting has never been carried to such a length as to occasion a decrease of the Rental of the Hospital's Estate.⁷⁸

Additionally, the Receivers had suggested that 'Planting of Wood may be carried into the more improved Grounds, by cutting off the corners of Inclosures, in convenient places. And planting such Shreds and Screeds of Lands, as lie the least convenient for cultivations by the farmer'. They stated that the remaining woods, worth £3105 in 1737, were now worth 'at least £24,000: besides the sum of £2537 11s 8½d had accrued to the Hospital, since the year 1737, from the Weedings of the improving Woods, exclusive of all expenses; and exclusive of wood not brought to account [used on the estate or by customary rights of tenants]'. The Receivers asked the Directors to guide them 'in what degree it will be expedient to carry out their wishes ... by new plantations'.⁷⁹

The sale of timber at Shaw Wood, at Newton Hall, near Alnwick, Northumberland, had been approved by the Directors in November 1771. It had been partly cut, raising £730 against a total estimate of £800. The whole, except for three rocky acres, was to be felled and ploughed, and the Receivers had already been congratulated by the Board that their work 'had turned to so good an account'.⁸⁰ They asked for the Directors' further instructions. Clearly the Receivers wished to know how far they should go in compromising rental income, and Shaw Wood would provide a test.

On 5 February 1774, the Directors considered the Receivers' report on 'the best way of carrying into execution the Board's wishes in respect of promoting the Growth of Timber on the Derwentwater Estate'.⁸¹ They proposed

⁷⁸ ADM65/78, 26 Jan 1774

⁷⁹ ADM65/78, 26 Jan 1774

⁸⁰ ADM67/263, clearance approved 23 Nov 1771, p.305; Congratulations, 6th June 1772, p.322

⁸¹ ADM67/263, p.383

to the General Court a visitation of the whole estate that summer, by some of the Directors or Commissioners, accompanied by 'some other person or persons who may be properly qualified to judge and make a report to them on the spot, of the state and condition of the said estate ... relating to its agriculture, woods, mines, housing etc, without any reason to cast doubt on the Receivers', Nicholas Walton and John Smeaton FRS (1724-1792).⁸² The instruction to grow more timber, perhaps a personal initiative by Lord Sandwich, was to be considered within a formal review of estate management.

The Directors, James Stuart and Thomas Hicks undertook the first visitation with the Receivers and Mr Brownton, the appointed surveyor.⁸³ At each location they would meet the officials, bailiffs, moor master, and others as appropriate, and Brownton made a formal survey of the property.⁸⁴ Keswick was judged 'the proper part of the Estate to begin upon', though it had low economic value, and five days were spent in the inspection of Castlerigg & Derwentwater and Thornthwaite, before moving on to Alston Moor. The tour lasted into September. After arrival on 25 July 1774, their report was started with a statement which demonstrated that they appreciated the value of Derwentwater's aesthetic, as viewed from the lake:-

... in the afternoon went upon the Lake & took a cursory view of the Lord's Isle & Rampsholme both belonging to Greenwich Hospital. These Islands together contain 6a Or 17p and are, particularly the former, very beautifully cover'd with wood which appears to be in a thriving state. It consists chiefly of fir, ash etc. with some pretty Oaks. On the Lord's Island are still to be traced the Ruins of the Mansion House, formerly belonging to the Radcliffe family.⁸⁵

Starting the main survey, they found that fences had been altered significantly without leave of the Hospital and that in Keswick, as elsewhere, there were serious abuses of the right of hedgeboot, by which large quantities of wood had been removed but rarely used for the appropriate purpose, perhaps sold. In

⁸² ADM67/263, pp.35-8; AW Skempton, 'Smeaton, John (1724-1792)', *ODNB*, OUP, 2004

⁸³ ADM79/57, p.13

⁸⁴ ADM79/15, is Mr Brownton's survey report

⁸⁵ ADM79/57, pp.13-4

Keswick, the bailiff, Edward Nicholson, was found to be 'old and ignorant of his duties', and recommended for discharge, which the Directors later agreed.⁸⁶ Thompson lists some of the extensive work that Nicholson had undertaken on the woods up to 1773; his failure was in protecting the woods from the people of Keswick.⁸⁷

Brownton's survey and valuation showed that the rental of the manor of Castlerigg & Derwentwater, at £466, compared with a valuation of £692, 48 per cent higher, which was general for the Northern Estates and formed the target rental for future lettings. Brownton's notes identified less than five per cent of the Keswick Estate as arable. The rental of the Keswick Estate now represented 3.9 per cent of the Northern Estates, compared with 4.4 per cent of £6,328 in 1736. The value of all wood on the Keswick Estate was £2,141, some 9 per cent of the total of £24,000. Shorn of its mature wood, the Keswick Estate was an even smaller part of the economic value of the Northern Estates. Taking the land value at 25 years purchase, the Keswick Estate was now worth £20,000, or 6 per cent of the total £325,000.

Figure 3-3 reconstructs the Derwentwater Lands in 1774 from Brownton's survey, identifying the farms and arable use in 1777. Table 3-1 itemises the growth in woodland on the Keswick Estate from 1774. The woods in hand are identified, together with those lands taken, or intended to be taken. No mature woodland was noted, all timber being described as young. The survey indicated that 187 acres of land had been taken from farms for growing wood since felling, and summarised the position of the land currently in hand for wood as follows:-

A great part of Deer Close is a steep Scarp Rock, on which nothing of value will grow, but all the other, except the Essmess Hills which are not yet planted, are full of young timber in a thriving state, except some few vacancies which should be filled up; and will turn to very good account, if weeded, pruned, and fenced properly.⁸⁸

⁸⁶ ADM79/57, p.2; ADM67/263, p.435

⁸⁷ BL Thompson, 'Woods at Keswick', pp.295-6

⁸⁸ ADM79/57, p.24

At Keswick the Directors proposed to take seventeen acres from Water and Stables Hill farm when the lease expired in 1787, planting thirteen acres of woodland along the lakeshore at the south of the estate, below the Borrowdale road. Secondly, a part of Springs and Roger Lands was to be fenced, and by 1791 eleven acres had been taken.⁸⁹ A small plantation suggested for Great Hills was never implemented. On the demesne farms of Goosewell and Ullock Closes, adjacent to Castlerigg Common and not a part of the Dewentwater prospect, extensive but unquantified planting was proposed, but not undertaken until 1817. However, the surveyor recommended that two Essmess Hills closes on the lake shore, which had been taken but not yet planted, were not suited for planting. The proposed planting totalled approximately fifty acres, less eight acres for Essmess Hills closes. This net increase of 42 acres would have reserved approximately 235 acres for woodland in hand from the 975 acres in total, approximately restoring the 250 acres listed as wood land in 1736.

The Directors read and agreed the report on 8 March and 12 April 1775. They required the bailiffs at Langley and Keswick to be removed and replaced with more vigilant persons who would protect the woods from abuse. They approved the Receivers' sending to tenants warning copies of extracts from 'the late Act of Parliament for encouraging the cultivation and the better protection of trees.'⁹⁰ They noted that the Essmess Hills closes were more suitable for a meadow, and they were re-let with the farm.

The interest in developing and maintaining woodland was not confined to Keswick, and nor was there any significant compromise of economic value to promote aesthetic value of woodland. At Shaw Wood at Newton Hall,

⁸⁹ ADM76/60, Survey of woods and fences

⁹⁰ ADM67/262, Directors 3 June 1775

Name	1774	1791	1805	1817	1832
	Acres-r-p	a-r-p	a-r-p		
Castlehead	15-3-0	16 <i>8a of Castlehead field wanted</i>	25-1-33	19-2-34	19-3-2
Cockshot	11-2-8	12	12-1-10	12-3-30	12-3-9
Friar Crag	2-0-26	2-2-0	2-2-21	2-2-21	2-2-21
Essmess Hills	7-3-15	Let with Loaning Head farm	8-2-14 Isthmus-hills	8-2-14	8-2-14
Lords Island	6-0-17	6	6-1-30	6-1-30	6-1-30
Rampsholme Island		0-2-0	0-2-24	0-2-24	0-2-24
Deer Close	85-1-37	142 (previously overstated)	142-1-30	142-1-30	142-1-30
Calf Close	13-2-18				
Waterage Bank	50-2-4				
Total woodland	193-0-5				
High Spring		11	10-0-3	4-2-4 3-3-10	5-3-38 3-3-10
<i>Pattisons park wanted</i>	1-1-33	[14-2-15 missing from total]	14-3-35	13-2-22	14-3-35
<i>Little calf wanted</i>	2				
<i>Calf close wanted</i>	10-0-32				
Total in hand	204-2-15				
		<i>50 acres of Watsons park wanted</i>	49-2-11	50-0-7	50-0-7
		Dawsons plantation & waste	0-2-22	2-1-4	Used by tourists
Total in hand		273-2-23			
		Watsons park North	1-3-31	1-3-31	
		Willie Park North	2-3-18	2-3-28	
		Willie Park South	2-0-30	2-0-30	
<i>Ullock closes wanted</i>		Ullock Closes Plantn	26-0-20	26-0-20	
		Hospital plantation	341-0-0		
Total in hand			641-3-09		
			Sheep close	4-3-14	
			Plantation	1-0-13	
			Horse field	6-1-33	
Total in hand				653-3-33	

Sources:- numerous sources within TNA/PRO/ADM – see text Chapters 3&4

Table 3-1. Growth of land reserved for woodland in the Keswick Estate, 1774-1832

Northumberland, where the Receivers had asked for guidance, the report noted that timber on the twenty acres of woodland had raised £730, and recommended that the rest, mostly mature sprung oak, should be sold as planned for an estimated £600.⁹¹ The rocky three acres were to be replanted as planned, but the rest used for tillage. A new plantation of three acres of oak and elm (*Ulmus minor*) would be made on a commons allotment nearby, responding to the policy of increasing woodland without compromising the economic interest of the Hospital.

With the planting plan established, Lord Sandwich intervened personally to appoint a new Receiver who would manage the wood on the whole Northern Estates. The Receivers generally held their position for life, and Nicholas Walton Junior had taken over from his father in 1759, providing continuity of management from Farnacres. In 1764 John Smeaton had been appointed 'with the support of the Earl of Egremont and Robert Weston' the main partner in the Eddystone Lighthouse, which Smeaton had rebuilt in stone.⁹² Smeaton's contribution was valuable in all matters of civil engineering and mine drainage, notably 'the lead-mine drainage adit known as Nent Force Level', which was an economically important development for the Northern Estates.⁹³

On 26 July 1777 the General Court met under the chairmanship of Lord Sandwich and considered the request of John Smeaton to resign as a Receiver on 21 November, due to his inability to provide sufficient time for both his duties to the Hospital's, and to 'the Business of his profession as a Civil Engineer':⁹⁴

The Earl of Sandwich, ... proposed ... Mr John Crichloe Turner, late of Huntingdon, as a proper person to succeed Mr Smeaton as one of the Receivers ..., and the Secretary read to the court a letter from Mr Lancelot Brown, so well known for his superior skill and knowledge in

⁹¹ ADM79/57, pp.113-4

⁹² AW Skempton, *John Smeaton FRS*, London, Thomas Telford, 1981, p.20

⁹³ Skempton, *Smeaton*, p.20

⁹⁴ ADM67/11, p.231

surveying out of Ground, recommending the said Mr Turner also. ... Resolved that Mr Turner be appointed to succeed Mr Smeaton accordingly.⁹⁵

Lord Sandwich was well known for dispensing patronage. Lacking wealth, his influence and control of other parties required the systematic acquisition and application of patronage.⁹⁶ His proprietary and autocratic approach is relevant to the management of the Hospital and its Northern Estates through the 1770s. It led to the trial of Captain Baillie, the Lieutenant Governor of the Hospital who often chaired the Directors, for an alleged libellous publication of 1778, denouncing mismanagement.⁹⁷ Among the allegations was the appointment by Lord Sandwich of 'landsmen' such as Turner, rather than seamen, to positions in the gift of the Hospital. Turner, an attorney and bankruptcy agent, was lately Mayor of Huntingdon, and had acted as election agent for Lord Sandwich there.

Lancelot 'Capability' Brown, originally from Northumberland but now with property at Fenstanton near Huntingdon, was a close friend of Lord Sandwich. What Brown offered Sandwich is unclear, though advice on the grounds of Hinchingbroke at Huntingdon might be expected, but Sandwich obliged Brown by allowing his son, Lancelot Brown, to keep warm the parliamentary seat for Huntingdon until it was needed by a more important protégé.⁹⁸ 'In 1771 Brown was made High Sheriff of Huntingdonshire, probably through the good offices of the Earl of Sandwich, who furthered Brown's second son in his naval career.'⁹⁹

In the appointment of Turner to replace the engineer Smeaton, the intervention of Lancelot Brown, whose reputation was in the laying out of

⁹⁵ ADM67/11, p.233-4

⁹⁶ Rodger, 'Montagu'

⁹⁷ Thomas Baillie, *The case of the Royal Hospital for seamen at Greenwich*, London, Baillie, 1778

⁹⁸ Lewis Namier, *The history of Parliament: The House of Commons, 1754-1790*: 1. Survey, Constituencies, appendices, London History of Parliament Trust, 1964, appendices, pp.122-3

⁹⁹ *Capability Brown and the Northern Landscape*, Tyne & Wear County Council Museums, 1983, p.35

ornamental grounds rather than management of productive land, confirms that by the late 1770s aesthetic considerations were considered important to the future management of the Northern Estates. Capability Brown was himself a native of Northumberland and had undertaken a number of commissions in the North of England, including Alnwick, Temple Newsham, and designs for Lowther; his opinion being beyond challenge and his society and intervention much sought after. There could be no better name than Brown's to endorse the Hospital's policy, perhaps hoping to change public perceptions of the Hospital.

Under Turner, until 1801, the planting policy of the Hospital became increasingly in tune with the needs of the picturesque tourists as both tourism and the Keswick woods developed, in harmony with the West-Gilpin aesthetic model. On 28 November 1777, the Receivers supplied a detailed listing of land fenced or to be fenced for wood totalling 1,365 acres, of which 185 acres were in the Keswick Estate adjacent to or in Derwentwater.¹⁰⁰ Corrections in measurements are apparent in a letter of 1786 from the Receivers to John Wren, their bailiff in Keswick, which shows that shows that a further three acres, including a nursery, had been added to the Cockshott plantation, but that the total was 184 acres.¹⁰¹ As 21 year farm leases expired in the Keswick Estate, the plan was worked through. The planting policy was pursued with determination. The seventeen acres on Derwentwater, let with Water and Stables Hill Farm, were taken by the Receivers on re-letting 1787. The land was first staked and then walled off, by order of the Receivers' instructions to the bailiff, Mr Wren.¹⁰² The fishing and boating rights were also taken in hand by the Greenwich Hospital, removed from the Stables Hill lease. Rowland Stephenson Esq., a major figure in Keswick tourism, attempted to retake the farm on the old basis which he had inherited from Governor Edward Stephenson, but failed to

¹⁰⁰ ADM66/12, Letter receivers to Wren 30 October 1786

¹⁰¹ ADM66/12, Letter receivers to Wren 28 March 1786

¹⁰² ADM66/121, letter receivers to Wren, 30 October 1786

secure the new lease.¹⁰³ In 1786, the two islands were let to Lord William Gordon as pleasure grounds for 21 years at two guineas per annum, which will be addressed in Chapter 5.¹⁰⁴

In 1791 the Hospital was presented with a detailed report of all the new plantings and fencing that had been undertaken on the Northern Estates since 1777, when John Turner was appointed.¹⁰⁵ The survey of woods identified, for each wood, the value of both mature and improving woodland, plus the date, quantity and species of plantings, confirming that the policy was to grow timber. The Keswick Estate contained no wood ready for cutting, but had improving wood to the value of £5,110, or now some fifteen per cent of the value of £34,424 standing on the Northern Estates. This compared with £1917 or nine per cent of the £24,000 estimated in 1773. The woods on the Keswick Estate were rapidly increasing as a proportion of the whole, and were not under threat of cutting.

Mixed species were now being planted on the Northern Estates, but this reflected a general national trend. On the Keswick Estate, between 170 and 1791 the Receivers added over 20,000 trees of oak (34 per cent), larch (24 per cent), ash (13 per cent), Scots pine (12 per cent) elm (6 per cent), beech (5 per cent), Lombardy poplar (*Populus nigra 'Italica'*, 4 per cent), willow (*Salix sp.* 2 per cent). These would have some ornamental qualities. Outside of the Keswick Estate, the mix included birch (4 per cent) plus very small numbers of species not used on Keswick estate.¹⁰⁶ It is notable that the native, slow-maturing, hardwood oak was the tree of choice to plant on the Keswick Estate, at 34 per cent, but not elsewhere, at 3 per cent, though the large plantation of larch and Scots pine on Corbridge Common distorts the comparison. Larch had been planted on Rampholme Island in 1789, and in total six thousand larches had

¹⁰³ ADM66/121, letter receivers to Stephenson, 4 November 1786

¹⁰⁴ ADM76/83, Indenture of lease

¹⁰⁵ ADM76/60, survey of woods and fences

¹⁰⁶ ADM76/60

been planted on the Keswick Estate by 1791. Pell has made some examination of the species contained in the Hospital's woods at Keswick and writes that larch was planted from 1780, and became planted in vacancies by policy from 1791.¹⁰⁷ The Keswick Estate remained essentially native woodland, approaching the tourist's favoured ideal of native ornament, but some way from the oak, ash, elm and birch that the Hospital acquired in 1735.

When an acorn was planted in Keswick, the question of felling for timber was placed at least three generations into the future, and its value increased for at least six generations. Sprung oak timber was fully grown rather sooner. During John Turner's time as Receiver to 1801, no timber on the Keswick estate was included in the annual list for cutting, other than thinning.¹⁰⁸ Rather, the apparent policy was to plant in the marginal or poor, but ornamental, locations. The two Essmess Hills closes were again taken from Loaning Head farm in 1795 and planted with oak, larch, beech and Scots pine to create the Isthmus-hill wood.¹⁰⁹ In 1801, Turner's last year as Receiver, in Waterage Bank/DeerClose/Calf Close, there was planted 'some Fir and Larch nearly at the top of the rock' which were in 1805 'in a thriving state ... on a rock apparently barren, much beyond any expectation that could have been formed'.¹¹⁰ Over the same period, the proposal of the 1774 visitation for a substantial and valuable plantation on suitable land at Goosewell/Ullock farms, three miles from Derwentwater, had not been acted on. With no cutting of wood, and a determination to plant on unpromising land, the inference can clearly be drawn that by the very end of the eighteenth century, at the height of war-time picturesque tourism, aesthetic considerations influenced woodland management, particularly on the Derwentwater lands.

¹⁰⁷ Charles Pell, *Changing perceptions of larch in the Lake District since c1780*, Diploma, Lancaster University, 1994, pp.18-9

¹⁰⁸ ADM70/25,26&27

¹⁰⁹ ADM80/95, p.8

¹¹⁰ ADM80/95, p.9

Conclusion

When the Greenwich Hospital received the benefit of the Derwentwater Estates in 1735, a professional system of management was established, based on Receivers at Gateshead and local bailiffs, in the manner that was similar to the practice of a distant aristocratic owner. Their policy of the General Court and Directors was to maximise the return for the Hospital, but they took a long-term view, letting twenty-one years leases.

Through the second half of the eighteenth century, the discourse on the appropriate management of woodland provided the primary source of conflict around Derwentwater, and the Greenwich Hospital, in discourse, played the role of transgressor and provided a warning to others. The records clearly demonstrate the distance between the facts and the discourse, in which tropes were used to create a mythology based on misrepresentation. The sale of the fully mature timber, which included practically all in the Derwentwater prospect, was agreed by the King's warrant in 1739, as part of a programme to pay off expensive encumbrances without selling estates. The failure to sell until 1747 was due to the incompetence of the Court of Exchequer in dealing with cartels of wood merchants, until a middle-man was introduced.

The trustees of the estate, the Directors and the Court, were of the class of the complainants in discourse from 1755, and there can be no doubt that they were aware of and had an interest in the discourse, though unacknowledged. In regenerating the woods, conflict existed between the economic purpose of the Northern Estates, and a growing public requirement for aesthetics to be optimised at Derwentwater. As a long term owner, the Hospital could spring and plant for timber rather than coppice. In February 1747/8 the Directors allowed their Receivers to make professional judgements on where to regenerate wood and where to let for tillage. Where timber was to be grown the land was temporarily fenced, but later to be grazed as wood pasture. Only the high land of Waterage Bank and Deer Close was taken in hand as wood and to

provide customary underwood. The Derwentwater shore would no longer be wooded, as Crow Park and Cockshut Hill were let for tillage, and the interspersed wood was cleared.

By 1753 the Directors were involved in approving detailed proposals to plant the islands and higher ground, but intervention against economic choices was first discernable in 1760 with the reversal of the decision to take and plant Cockshut Hill. A developing interventionist policy, but undeclared and with little economic impact, can be seen in the taking for planting two more small strips of lakeshore, Friars Crag taken from the farmer in 1770, and the two Essmess Hills closes, taken and excluded from the new letting in 1772. The latter were returned to the farm in 1775 after expert advice had declared it unsuitable for wood, but they were taken again and planted as Ithsmus Hills in the 1790s.

Lord Sandwich became First Lord of the Admiralty and an active chair of the Hospital's General Court in 1771, as tourism around Derwentwater developed. His general policy of planting more wood as a national resource, and the move to a more professional management of woodland, involving new species, coincided with the new policy of the Hospital to increase its acreage of wood and to manage it better. A policy was adopted to increase the total woodland on the Northern Estates and to take in hand those woods which had been included in let farms. The quantity of woodland on Derwentwater was brought close to the 250 acres which the hospital had received in 1735. In 1776 Lord Sandwich appointed John Turner as a Receiver. Turner's appointment was endorsed by Lancelot Brown, and Turner took on the responsibility of planting and managing woods on the whole Northern Estates, until 1801. The Keswick Estate was planted, taken in hand, and protected, the woods being allowed to mature. Such a policy was consistent with the exhortations of the discourse on Derwentwater, but within an overall policy consistent with a developing national practice, which also owed much to Lord Sandwich. It cannot therefore be considered a deviation from an economically based management.

Chapter 4. Improvement, recession and sale: the Greenwich Hospital and its Keswick Estate, 1801-1832¹

Introduction

By 1800, the Hospital had established a conventional regime for the management of its estates by Receivers, who undertook the professional estate management role under the Directors as landowner, who would be responsible for policy and approving the work of the Receivers. From 1801, with the appointment of Joseph Forster as Receiver, the Hospital embarked on a programme of investment in improvement of the estates. This programme, was similar to that of other landowners during the Napoleonic Wars, and caused the same problems when prices fell.

By 1800, the Hospital had regenerated the woodland of Keswick, and had taken account of the aesthetics of Derwentwater, and the opinions in discourse, in planting and management. The timber had been declared improving and not ready for cutting, but after 1801 the Hospital was once again faced with an economic case for felling timber around Derwentwater.

Section 4-1 examines the management of the estates and tenants from 1801 to 1819, during which time the Hospital's estates were at first improved though investment during the Napoleonic wars to increase future production. Then from 1816, the recession and drop in prices required a policy review, and its reversal. The particular stresses and opportunities for the Keswick Estate through the economic cycle will be considered.

Section 4-2 continues with the general management of the Northern Estates through the period to 1829 when the continued poor performance from rent and wood was followed by the collapse of the lead price.

Section 4-3 covers the influence of Edward Hawke Locker as Secretary from 1819 until the reconstitution of management in 1829. It focusses on the

¹ Note that values are rounded to the nearest pound and areas to the nearest acre in this chapter, except when the fractions are significant, important to the discussion or direct quotations.

disagreements with Robert Brandling as Receiver on the management of the landed estate and tenants, and the wood at Keswick.

Section 4-4 covers the reconstitution of the Hospital's management under Commissioners from 1829 and the disputes and decisions leading to the sale of the Keswick Estate in 1832.

4-1. Improvement and recession, 1801-19

In 1801 John Turner, who had managed the woods, resigned and was replaced by Joseph Forster. Forster (d.1821) of Seaton Burn in Northumberland, was an Alderman of Newcastle and sometime mayor. When appointed he was, through marriage, a nephew both to Lord Chancellor Eldon, and Sir William Scott, later Lord Stowell, who was Judge of the High Court of the Admiralty of England from 1798 to 1828.² Forster initiated a policy to improve the estates by re-investing a large part of the gross revenue.³ This policy, and its reversal after 1816, following severe criticism of the Hospital in Parliament, provides the context for the management of the Keswick Estate through this period. The short term beneficiaries of the increased expenditure were mostly the businessmen, tradesmen and people of Northumberland and Cumberland.

The Hospital's gross rental from the Northern Estates grew very quickly during the war years to 1815, reflecting the growing market price for agricultural products. On 21 September 1813 the Receivers made a report to John Dyer, the Hospital Secretary, showing the gross and net rental receipts from the estates for 25 years to 1811, which is shown graphically in Figure 4-1, and is extended by information from the parliamentary report of 1816.⁴ The major increases in gross rental receipts commenced in 1800, and accelerated later in the decade, as 21 year leases expired and were re-let at higher rentals

² Horace Twiss, *The public and private life of Lord Chancellor Eldon*, Volume 2, London, 1846, pp.533-4

³ The National Archives (TNA): Public Record Office (PRO), records of the Admiralty (ADM), ADM67/13, pp.143-4

⁴ ADM66/88, p.12; Parliamentary Papers (PP), Session 1, 1816, Misc papers, Vol.XIX, Revenues of the Greenwich Hospital

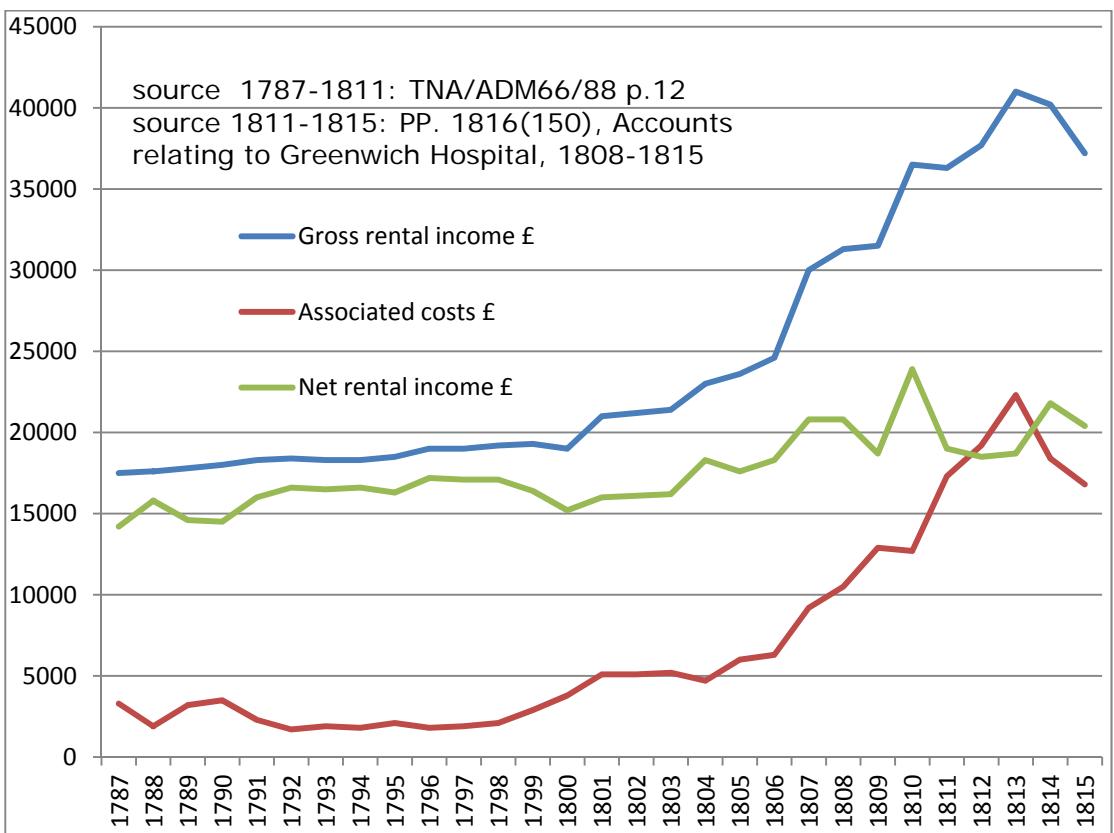


Figure 4-1. Gross and net rental receipts from the Northern Estates, 1787-1815

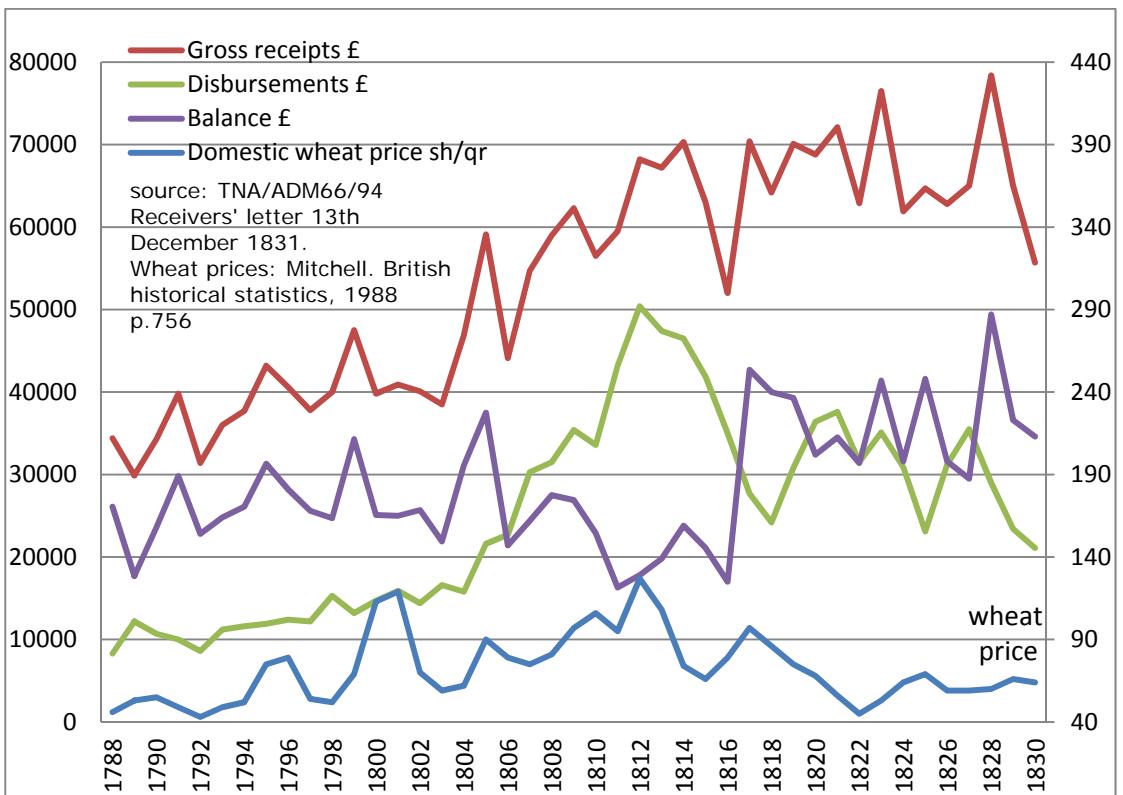


Figure 4-2. Gross and net receipts from the Northern Estates, 1788-1830

for shorter periods. The net rental receipts rose less quickly, as the Hospital invested most additional income back into the estate, for longer term benefits. The net margin reduced from nearly 90 per cent in the early 1790s, to 50 per cent during the later years of the war.

The rental income needs to be seen in the context of the total income and net proceeds of the whole estate, including mining, timber and miscellaneous income, set against their associated costs, and the miscellaneous and extraordinary expenses, such as enclosure, roads and a programme of church building. This is shown graphically in Figure 4.2 for 1788-1830, as extracted from a report from the Receivers to the Commissioners in response to a request from Parliament.⁵ Over the five year period 1811-5, from the report to Parliament, the total income averaged £61,500 per annum and the net cash receipts paid to the Treasury, to benefit the Hospital, averaged only £18,800 per annum, showing an even worse net margin of 30 per cent.⁶ This is illustrated by the large value of disbursements in Figure 4.2 for 1811-1815. Over this same five years, the net receipts of mining, overwhelmingly lead, provided £8000 per annum of that £18,800. The revenues from lead mining now provided more to the Hospital than the leased land.

This policy of improvement was only justifiable if the extra expenditure was truly investment, intended to result in increased revenues in the future. Unfortunately, from 1816, the fall in agricultural prices reduced gross revenues. At the end of the war, the bad harvest of 1816 and the economic depression created a period of sustained economic difficulties for the management of the Northern Estates. After 1815, the Greenwich hospital had responsibility for seamen disabled in the war years, for the widows and families, for the naval college, and the out-pensioner seamen. For the Exchequer, over-borrowed from

⁵ ADM66/94, 13 December 1831; ADM67/82, p.436.

⁶ PP, session 1816 (150), Accounts relating to Greenwich Hospital, 1808-1815

the war and shifting taxes back to excise duties, the net deficit of the Hospital became just an annual cost which had to be minimised.

On 15 May 1816 Sir Charles Monk moved a motion in the House of Commons that 'an inquiry be instituted into the mode of managing the estates belonging to Greenwich-hospital'.⁷ He considered that too little of the gross revenue came into the Hospital, which is well illustrated in Figure 4-1, and that too much was being spent on the estates. In the last eight years to 1815, the woods had generated £21,000 but cost £30,000, losing £9,000.⁸ Mr Long in reply cited Mr Harrison's survey of 1805 as supportive of policy, noted the doubling of rents since 1805, and the increase of plantations from 2000 acres to 4000 acres.⁹ Sir M W Ridley thought that the interests of the hospital had been abused, and that in circumstances where 'land could not be let at the same price which it had produced last year' and where 'everyone had found it necessary to make a reduction of his rental' in his opinion, 'the expenditure of the hospital in purchasing and inclosing land could never be repaid under any circumstances whatsoever'.¹⁰ Mr Croker and Sir Charles Pole argued for the sale of the Northern Estates, but the motion was defeated by 93 to 34.¹¹

Two full surveys were made of the Northern Estates, which allow the changes in the management of the Keswick Estate to be identified. The survey of 1805 was made by Directors of the hospital in conjunction with the Receivers and a surveyor, to consider the plans of the Receivers improve the Northern Estates. A new set of plans of the whole estate was drawn, the first since 1737, and was to be updated as necessary.¹² The second survey of June and July 1817 was made by independent surveyors John Bower and John Claridge, without the

⁷ TC Hansard, *The parliamentary debates from 1803*, Vol.XXXIV, 1816, columns 560-1

⁸ Hansard, *Debates 1816*, Columns 560-1

⁹ Hansard, *Debates 1816*, column 562

¹⁰ Hansard, *Debates 1816*, column 563

¹¹ Hansard, *Debates 1816*, column 564

¹² ADM80/195, report of visitation of Greenwich Hospital Estates in 1805; ADM79/17, Special Survey 1805, report of Mr Collinson, surveyor; TNA/PRO Maps and Plans (MP), MPI/1-162, plans of the Keswick Estate, 1805

involvement of Directors but with the attendance of the Receivers.¹³ That survey was a response to the severe criticism in Parliament in 1816.¹⁴

The Directors' visit of 1805 preceded major changes to the way in which the Keswick Estate land was parcelled and let. As Shown in Figure 3-2, in 1735 the 750 acres of the estate land adjacent to Derwentwater had been let in fifteen farms, averaging fifty acres, to farmers whose farmsteads may have been in the main street in Keswick. Only Stables Hill farm had sufficient facilities on its land. By 1805 there were still fifteen farms let, but with 220 acres of woodland in hand the average size was reduced to 35 acres, and much of that farmland was sublet to other inhabitants of Keswick.¹⁵ The population of Keswick had grown from 1093 in 1793, to 1350 in 1801.¹⁶ A petition concerning the shambles in 1794 stated that the population had trebled in 35 years, which suggests a population before 'discovery' of under 500.¹⁷ Tourism represented both an increasing local market for food, and pressure on space in a town whose basic footprint was little changed. Farmers moved out as Keswick's wartime prosperity increased.

When the Directors visited in 1805 they noted: -

The principal part of the foregoing property lies contiguous to the town of Keswick, the land is good, and is let at good prices, it will however, we have no doubt, bear an advance of rent at the expiration of the present leases, when some arrangements are intended to be made in the disposition of the farms, most of which, and probably all, except perhaps the farm which is the furthest from the town [Goosewell Farm], will no doubt be readily let for the accommodation of the inhabitants, and at better prices than farmers, merely as such, could afford to pay.¹⁸

The new arrangements, specific to Keswick, which were implemented in 1808 and 1815 as 21 year leases expired, involved the division much of the land into a larger number of smallholdings, let at rack rent. Old closes were

¹³ ADM79/59, a report on the View of the Greenwich Hospital Estates in the Counties of Cumberland, Northumberland and Durham

¹⁴ Hansard, *Debates 1816*, columns 560-4

¹⁵ ADM79/17

¹⁶ *Keswick and its neighbourhood*, Windermere, Garnett, 1852, p.18

¹⁷ ADM65/79, petition 1794

¹⁸ ADM80/195, p.30

sub-divided by new rectilinear fencing, more suited to the needs of the townspeople and for tillage. At the same time the Hospital had the foresight to reduce the length of the leases from the previous 21 years, to 14 years from 1808 and seven years from 1815.¹⁹ The whole of the Keswick Estate leases would then expire in 1822 and would allow more radical reconfiguration.

After the lettings of 1815, with another twenty acres taken for planting, the fifteen farms had risen to 25, averaging nineteen acres.²⁰ The plans of the estate in 1805 and 1817 are illustrated in Figures 4-3 and 4-4 respectively, identifying woods and farms. Table 3-1 itemises the growth of woodland from 1774 to 1832. The annual rental for the farms rose from £494 in 1805 to £983 after lettings in 1808 and 1815, doubling the rental.²¹ By the end of the French wars, the Hospital was taking the maximum income from its estate land in prosperous Keswick.

The new rectilinear closes never reached the lakeshore to affect the prospect from the lake, as can be seen from Figures 4-3 to 4-5. Heads & Lords lands in 1807, Stable Hills in 1808 and Crow Park in 1815 were let on the old basis. Old Park, however, had been rented by Joseph Pocklington for 21 years to 1808, at £65 for 55 acres.²² Its lake frontage contained the landing stages, and the shore facilities related to Pocklington's Island, which was sold in 1796 to General William Peachy (1763-1838).²³ From the expiry of the lease of Old Park, and by a direct petition to the Directors, General Peachy took the lakeside closes, now to be named Strands Hag Farm, from year to year at £70 for 28 acres – excluded from public advertising and to be kept unploughed.²⁴ The remaining Crabtree Closes, away from the Lake, became two improved holdings

¹⁹ ADM79/7, rentals 1805-22

²⁰ ADM79/7, rental 1815/16

²¹ ADM79/7, rentals 1805/6 &1816/7

²² ADM79/7, rentals 1805/6

²³ Alan Hankinson, *The regatta men*, Milnthorpe, Cicerone Press, 1988, p.20

²⁴ ADM66/88, p.107; ADM66/132, letter to Peachy, 22 November 1814

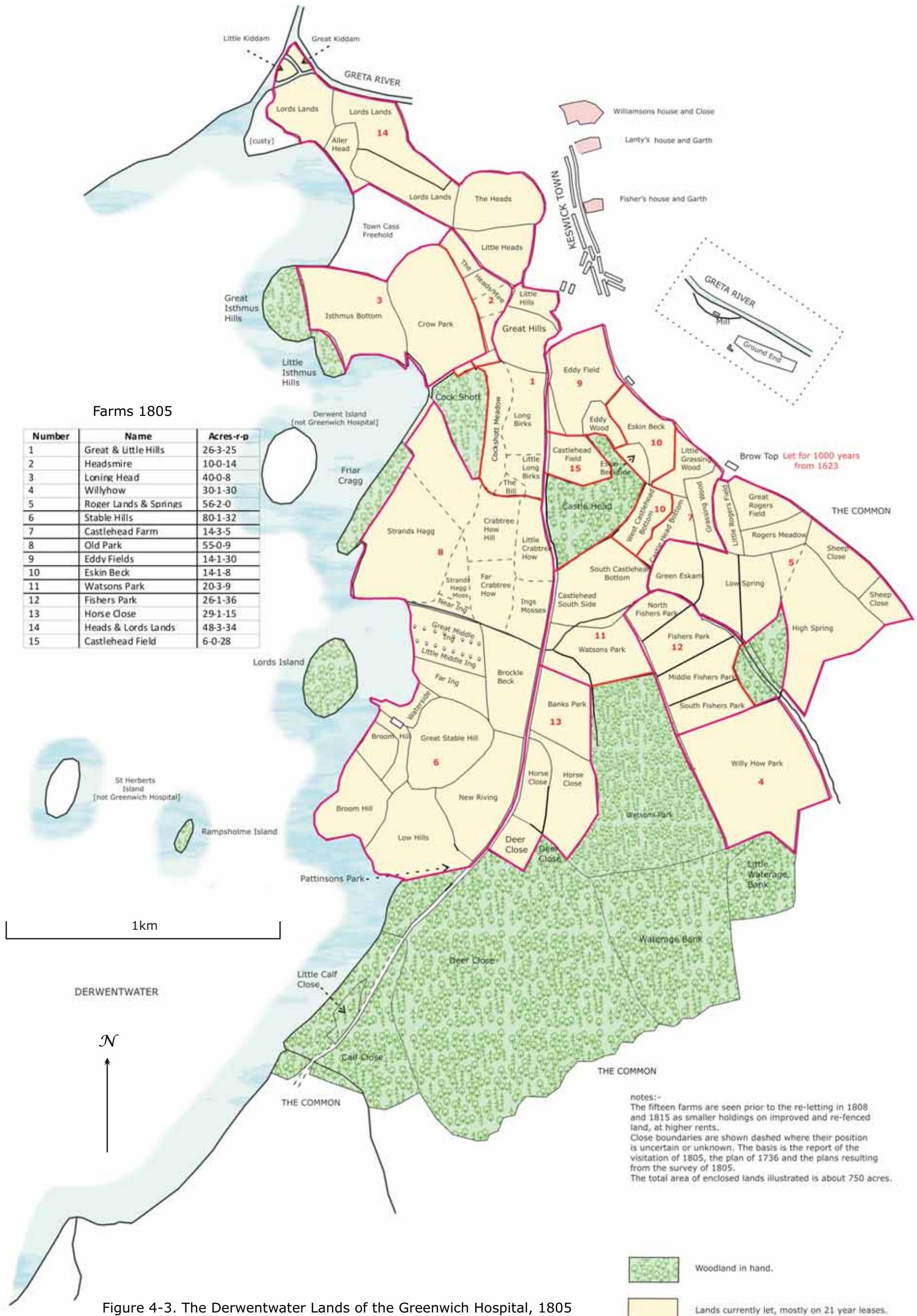


Figure 4-3. The Derwentwater Lands of the Greenwich Hospital, 1805

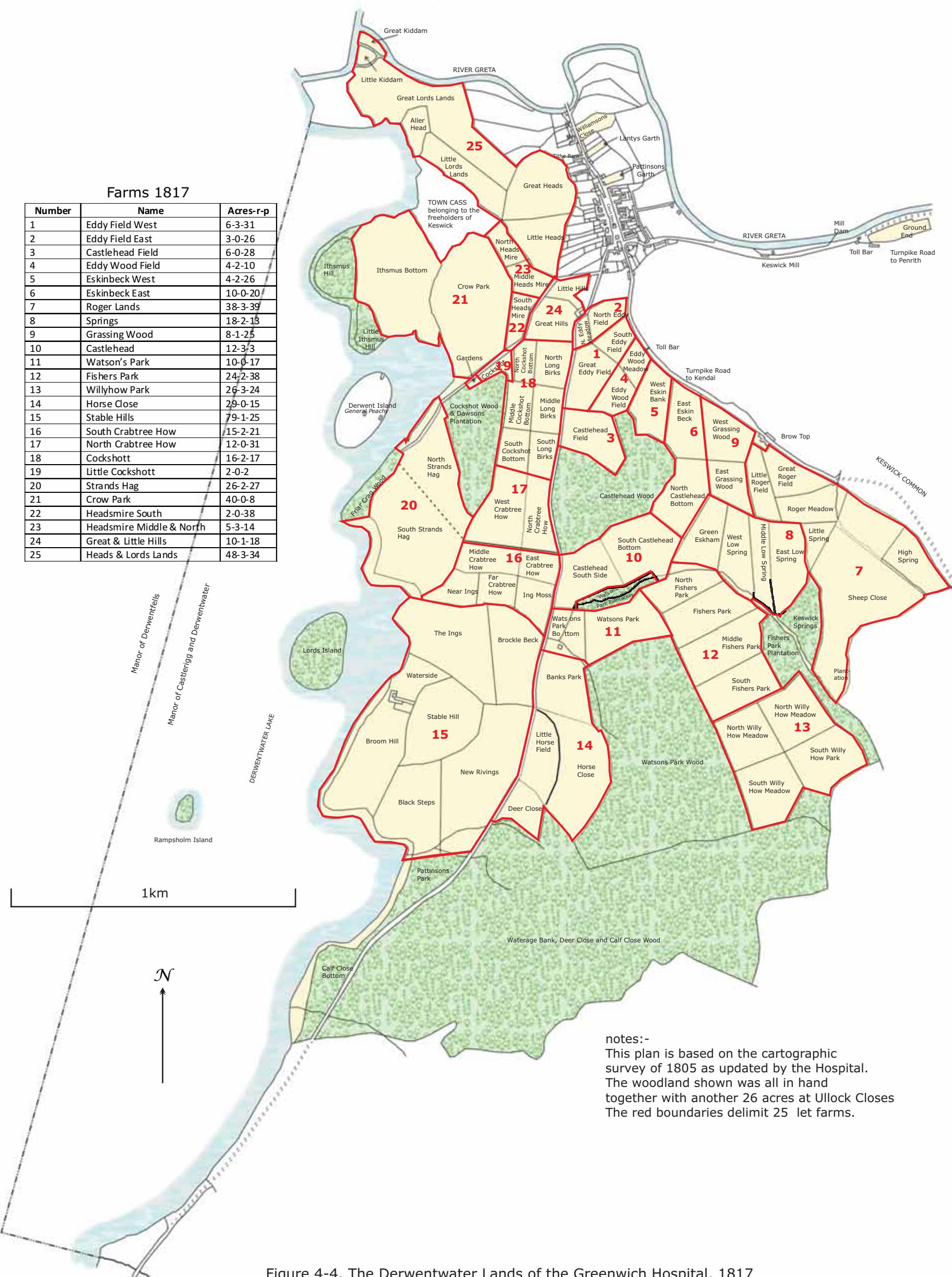


Figure 4-4. The Derwentwater Lands of the Greenwich Hospital, 1817

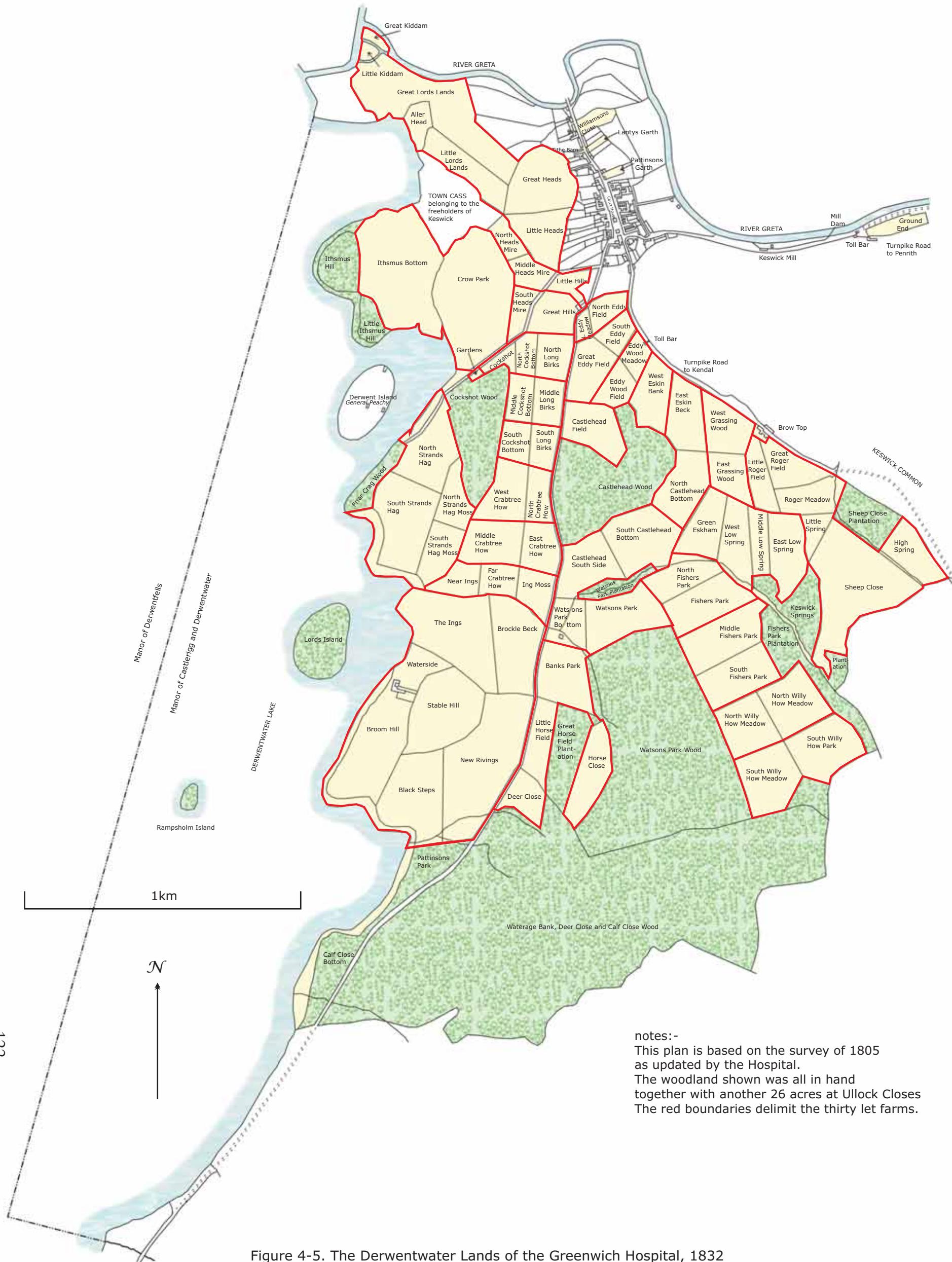


Figure 4-5. The Derwentwater Lands of the Greenwich Hospital, 1832

let at £73 for eighteen acres for fourteen years.²⁵ The rent for Old Park had increased by 120 per cent without affecting the view from the lake. Pocklington, who had sublet most of the land, noted the remarkable increase from £65 to £142 15s in 1808.²⁶

The interest of the Hospital had become associated with the prosperity of the town of Keswick, and therefore with the economic value of the tourist trade. This was shown in a new liberality up to 1815, as the lord of the manor of Castlerigg and Derwentwater, which included the town south of the River Greta. In 1795, advised by the Receivers, the Hospital had rebuilt the shambles and shops in Main Street, against a petition led by Lord William Gordon, Rowland Stevenson and about forty others requesting that they be placed elsewhere.²⁷ In 1817 the surveyors, John Claridge and John Bower, noted that these 'old buildings', producing £24 rent, were to be 'forthwith taken entirely away; we consider their removal will give a greater space to the Market, and will be an act of liberality in the Hospital, to forego the loss of present income.'²⁸

The visitation of 1805 noted that the Moot Hall was very much out of repair and that the clock had failed and needed replacing.²⁹ The Moot Hall was rebuilt in 1813, being noted by a visitation in 1815 simply as 'a plain substantial building with a tower and clock'.³⁰ By 1817 the new Moot Hall appeared to Claridge & Bower to have been an extravagance, when they reported that 'we are of the opinion that a building upon a much less scale, and at less expence, might have answered every requisite purpose, and if it had been made of a lighter construction, it might have been equally useful as well as ornamental to the town'.³¹

²⁵ ADM79/7, rentals 1816/17

²⁶ Cumbria Archive Centre Carlisle (CACC), DSen./14/6/7

²⁷ ADM67/12, p.294, 19th December 1794 notes the petition; ADM67/13, General Court 23 June 1795, approved rebuilding, with some redesign

²⁸ ADM79/58, p.30

²⁹ ADM80/195, pp.18&20

³⁰ ADM79/58, p.34

³¹ ADM79/59, pp.29-30

The clearest failure of the Receivers and Directors to give primacy to the interests of the Hospital in managing the Keswick Estate, was in the enclosure of Thorntwaite common and the creation of the Hospital Plantation. Thorntwaite was a mostly customary manor to the west of the Derwent, where it ran between Derwentwater and Bassenthwaite Lake, and had some 1250 acres of defined common on the Derwent Fells. The Hospital had no demesne land in 1735, but had gained a small estate at Beckstones in 1811, through the conviction of the customary tenant, Hannah Grave, for felony.³² The other income came from customary rents of just over £10 per annum, and average annual total fines of £30 on change of customary tenant. The Hospital's main asset was the freehold of the customary estates, generally worth eight years purchase, or thirty percent of the tenement values. The Hospital supported the enclosure Act passed in 1812, but took little direct interest. The Hospital received 898 acres of poor fell-side commons allotments for its various rights including 782 acres for enfranchising the customary tenants, foregoing any cash payments, and in 1813 the Receivers proposed to plant the whole 898 acres.³³ By the time of the Bower and Claridge survey of 1817, the Hospital had spent over £2,500 on walling and planting 341 acres with larch (*Larix decidua*), oak (*Quercus petraea*) and Scots pine (*Pinus sylvestris*), much of which had failed to thrive, while the remainder was let for grazing at only £21 rent.³⁴ Some of the better land had been sold to cover the cost of the enclosure but the rest became allotments mostly going to the customary tenants, now enfranchised at no cost. Having examined the Thorntwaite enclosure, Bower and Claridge made clear their opinion that 'no advantage will be derived to the Hospital's Estate by an Inclosure' of Castlerigg & Derwentwater common.³⁵ Subsequently the Hospital took money for enfranchisement there, without enclosure of the common.

³² ADM79/59, pp.59-60

³³ ADM66/88, p.36

³⁴ ADM79/59, pp.56-59

³⁵ ADM79/59, p.28

After the appointment of Forster in 1801, the Receivers began to propose cutting wood on the Keswick Estate, both to provide income and to clear land for drainage. Their cutting recommendations for 1803/4 included oak in Keswick Springs and Fishers Park, and oak was cut there in spring 1804 to the value of £1000, including bark.³⁶ In 1805, before the Directors' visitation, 592 oaks had been marked for cutting in Watson's park during 1805/6, which would have been visible from the lake. The Receivers were also wishing to cut and grub-up wood on Roger Lands and Springs farms, to clear, drain and lay out the land when the lease expired in 1808.³⁷

The inspection of the Keswick woods by the Directors was made at the very start of the visitation, on the morning of Monday 26 August. The Directors reported that 'as the Timber and Woods form a material part of these Estates, we think it right to report our observations thereon rather in detail'.³⁸ It is clear, however, that differences had opened up between the Directors and the Receivers on the management of the Keswick woods, with the Receivers wishing to fell trees and improve farms while the Directors wished to defer felling mature oak at Keswick. At Castlehead Wood, although some of the oaks were now timber, 'no part of the Timber ought now to be cut down at present, as it is capable of great improvement, and will hereafter form a proper succession to the old Timber now standing on other parts of the Estate'.³⁹ Castlehead Wood had thereby been designated as a strategic reserve of timber, which the Receivers could not cut. At Watson's Park, where 592 oaks had been marked for sale, the Directors considered that only those at full maturity or those injured by proximity should be felled.⁴⁰ At Roger Lands and Springs Farms the Receivers had proposed that because the land was swampy, the interspersed trees should be cut and the roots grubbed up, the land drained and the farm let at higher

³⁶ ADM80/195, p.9

³⁷ ADM80/195, p.9

³⁸ ADM80/195, p.7

³⁹ ADM80/195, p.8

⁴⁰ ADM80/195, p.9

rent.⁴¹ The Directors reported that this course, as at Castlehead Wood, would interfere with the succession of timber on the estate, and as at Watson's Park, only fully mature trees and those too close should be cut.⁴² Only at Castlehead Farm, did they consider that one third of the interspersed timber was fully grown and could be cut.⁴³ They revived the proposal to plant much of Ullock Closes and to combine the remainder of the land with Goosewell Farm.⁴⁴ As a result of this survey, in effect all oak timber visible from the Lake was not to be cut unless it had stopped increasing in value, or damaged other trees, or if there was no saleable timber elsewhere on the Northern Estates to fell. Timber would be sold tree-by-tree, rather than selling a wood for clear felling. The report was not systematically considered by the Directors until 9th December 1809, when the Directors view on improving Roger Lands and Springs farm was preferred to the Receivers.⁴⁵ The proposed changes at Ullock Closes and Goosewell Farm were agreed, and by 1817 the Ullock Close plantation of 26 acres was in hand, the two farms being combined.⁴⁶ It is apparent that by 1805, the Directors were intervening to protect the oaks at Keswick from the normal management practice of their Receivers, though no aesthetic purpose was made explicit.

Another perspective on management of the woods at Keswick in 1809 is given through the application of Robert Southey, now settled at Greta Bank in Keswick, to replace the terminally ill Nicholas Walton junior as Receiver. Southey expected a sinecure and 'being on the spot it would suit me well ... and it would please me well insomuch as it would give me the power of preserving the woods and improving both the property and this beautiful place by planting.'⁴⁷ He enlisted the support of Walter Scott and Sir George Beaumont,

⁴¹ ADM80/195, p.10

⁴² ADM80/195, p.10

⁴³ ADM80/195, p.11

⁴⁴ ADM80/195, pp.17-8

⁴⁵ ADM67/58, pp.257-8

⁴⁶ ADM67/58, pp.257-8; ADM79/57, p.23

⁴⁷ Charles Cuthbert Southey, *The life and correspondence of Robert Southey*, New York, Harper and Brothers, 1851, pp.258-60; WA Speck, *Robert Southey: entire man of letters*, London, Yale University Press, 2006, pp.134-5

spending two days waiting upon Lord Lonsdale, in whose gift Speck states the position was.⁴⁸ By this time Southey had decided to decline, having found through his friend, Bedford, that:

The present possessor ... has always been employed for seventeen or eighteen hours out of twenty-four, together with his first clerk. ... The steward ... lest his duties should leave him any time for frivolous pursuits, it is in contemplation to raise up in him the seeds of controversy and quarrel, by associating with him some other person, who, under the pretense of sharing his labours, shall differ from him in all his opinions.⁴⁹

That statement represented Forster's attitude to the prospect of having Southey as his fellow receiver, to replace the heroic efforts of Walton. Walton was eventually replaced by the first clerk, Thomas Wailes, appointed by the General Court on 12 May 1810 on Forster's advice and the Directors' recommendation, as a person who had 'extensive and accurate knowledge knowledge of agriculture, mineralogy and surveying'.⁵⁰

In 1817 Bower and Claridge addressed the economics of the woodland, which had made the losses criticised by Sir Charles Monk, of £9,000 over the eight years to 1815. The total woodland on the Northern Estates had been increased to 3,800 acres, was estimated to be worth £130,000, and 'will become hereafter a great source of wealth to the Hospital'.⁵¹ That figure presumably included the value of the land as well as the timber. However, in Keswick in particular, but also elsewhere, Bower and Claridge criticised the method of thinning used by which the oak stools were not allowed to shoot, and might be grazed. While the Directors in 1805 wished to defer felling of mature wood to provide for succession on the whole estate, in 1817 Bower and Claridge were concerned with succession within a wood, and recommended that 'the Stools of the Oak thinned and felled ... be encouraged to spring again.' In their later comments on the report in early 1819, which they otherwise generally

⁴⁸ Speck, *Southey*, 2006, p.134

⁴⁹ Southey, *Southey*, p.260

⁵⁰ ADM67/58, p.283; ADM67/14, pp.112&133

⁵¹ ADM79/59, p.436

accepted, the Receivers considered this practice 'unusual in this part of the Kingdom, we think it well deserving our attention particularly in this situation [Keswick], but we have considerable doubts of its answering in Northumberland'.⁵² It is clear that the special situation of Keswick referred to the need to maintain its appearance.

On the management of the Northern Estates as a whole, Bower and Claridge concluded in 1817 that the major expense on improvements was now generally completed, and that with this reduction in costs 'the hospital ought to derive a clear income of £35,000 for the next two ensuing years and £40,000 per annum afterwards ... Buildings and Draining, should be carried into effect gradually ... the Estate may be made to return £45,000 per annum'.⁵³ As shown in Figure 4-2, when the Parliamentary criticism was made in 1816, some spending reductions were made, from £42,000 in 1815 to £35,000 in 1816, but this was more than outweighed by the reduction in gross receipts, reflecting arrears in rent after the serious crop failures in 1816. Deeper spending cuts were made in 1817 and 1818, and receipts recovered, so that the low point for net income of £17,000 was followed by three years where it averaged £41,000, fulfilling the immediate predictions of Bower and Claridge, but being unsustainable.

4-2. Poor results and misfortune, 1819-29

The context for the sale of some of the Hospital's property was the sustained depression in agricultural prices, and therefore rents, which was compounded by the collapse in the price of lead from 1826. By 1830 the Hospital needed to find revenue by selling assets. The sustained reduction in agricultural prices from 1816 meant that the rent rises anticipated were not achieved, and the prediction by Bower and Claridge of a rise of net receipts to £45,000 per annum

⁵² ADM66/89, 26 February 1819

⁵³ ADM79/59, pp.442-3

was not fulfilled, the average over the five years from 1819-23 being £36,000, from Figure 4-2. Spending had returned to £34,000 per annum over that period.

The new rents from 1815, which had been agreed in 1814, were fixed for seven years and were too high for market conditions. Subsequently, the new rents in 1821, from the tendering process, for farms at Alston Moor for example, were reduced on average by one eighth from the old rents, set either in 1800 or 1811.⁵⁴ In 1817, Bower and Claridge consistently stated that the farms were let at their full rack rent, and some farmers wished to hand back their leases. On the Derwentwater Lands the high rents of the smallholdings of the townspeople were sustainable, but the farmer at the larger Stable Hills had given notice to quit. His farm, rented at £141 from 1808, was judged now to be worth £120.⁵⁵ The farmer at Goosewell was in the same position, except that he had bid £185 for a seven year lease from 1815, and Bower and Claridge in 1817 felt it was worth £140, or 24 per cent less.⁵⁶ The Hospital did not have the discretion of a personal landed proprietor in dealing pragmatically with these problems, and so an unhappy period ensued on the Northern Estates in which arrears, write-offs, quitting of leases and rent holidays were necessary to maximise the rental receipts which could be obtained in the circumstances, until the farms were re-let in due course.

In 1817, Bower and Claridge had valued the woodland at £130,000 and considered it a great source of wealth for the future. However, a report by the Receivers shows that from 1816 to 1827, only in four years out of twelve did the receipts from woodland products exceed the costs, including fencing and draining.⁵⁷ From 1806 to 1827, a cumulative £59,300 was received while £66,300 was spent.⁵⁸ Part of this, from 1822-5, was exposed to parliamentary view in 1826. 'The price of wood and bark having fallen considerably during

⁵⁴ ADM79/60, 5 Jan 1822

⁵⁵ ADM79/59, pp.45-6

⁵⁶ ADM79/59, pp.38-9

⁵⁷ ADM66/92, p.350

⁵⁸ ADM66/92, p.350

these years, the usual fall of timber has been reduced as much as possible, in consequence of which the expenditure exceeded the receipts in 1822, ... 1823, ...and in 1824'.⁵⁹ But this applied generally. In the years 1806 to 1827 the Hospital incurred the expense of planting 9.4 million trees, of which 70 per cent were larches or Scots fir, which might be cropped within fifty years, the rest mostly for the long term.⁶⁰ The woods did not contribute to the hospital's beneficiaries in this period, and Bower and Claridge had been wise not to define benefit in 'the future' more closely. The question of how woods worth £130,000 in 1817 could not be turned to profit in the next ten years, had no answer outside of mismanagement.

Until the late 1820s, the Hospital's net receipts were supported by the duty ore from lead mine leases at Alston. On 27 July 1815 the visiting Directors viewed the progress of the drainage adit known as the Nent Force Level, which was being continued at the Hospital's expense of some £2,500 per annum, and they anticipated that it would soon repay the annual expense.⁶¹ The report to Parliament of 1826 showed that the net produce from mines averaged £21,000 in the years 1822-5, or half the net receipts from the Northern Estates.⁶² In the early 1820s, the Hospital embarked on an ambitious and expensive policy of encouraging and contributing to road development around Alston, to reduce the cost of carriage of the ore from the Alston mines and generally improve communications.⁶³ The price of lead was stable up to 1825, when it was at £25 6s per ton, but with Spanish mines competing, the price fell in 1826 to £19, reaching a floor of £13 10s in 1832, the year the Keswick Estate was sold.⁶⁴ In

⁵⁹ PP, session 1826 (377), Greenwich Hospital, Accounts relating to the Royal Hospital for Seamen, at Greenwich

⁶⁰ ADM66/92, pp.348-9

⁶¹ ADM79/58, p.30

⁶² PP, 1826 (377), Greenwich Hospital, Accounts relating to the Royal Hospital for Seamen, at Greenwich

⁶³ ADM79/61, report to Directors from Locker on the roads, 29 July 1823

⁶⁴ *The penny magazine of the society for the diffusion of useful knowledge*, London, Charles Knight, 1835, pp.94-5

1835 the Penny Magazine considered that 'No species of property, perhaps, has undergone so great a deterioration in so short a time as that of lead-mines'.⁶⁵

The Hospital therefore suffered a triple failure to maintain net revenues from its Northern estates, from rents, from timber, and from lead. In 1829 a constitutional and financial review of the Hospital was ordered by Parliament. The resulting Act repealed the 16, Geo.3, C24, through which Lord Sandwich had obtained a the independence of a charter, and vested the property of the Hospital in a single body of Commissioners, removing the responsibility for out-pensions to the Treasurer of the Admiralty, together with the prize money and other pensions funding.⁶⁶ The Commissioners were to focus on the financial management of the Hospital and its estates, in a context where the size of the national debt was to be reduced, and from 1830 they were under the Whig administration of Earl Grey and the political economists.

4-3. Edward Hawke Locker and the protection of tenants and wood,

1819-29

In 1819 Edward Hawke Locker, FRS, (1777-1849), was appointed Secretary to the Hospital.⁶⁷ Locker was a 'hospital administrator and watercolour painter' named after his patron, Admiral Edward Hawke.⁶⁸ Locker was educated at Eton, and began a career as a naval administrator in 1795.⁶⁹ He was later a close associate of Southey, and became actively and openly protective of the woods and aesthetics of Derwentwater. Locker was also an associate of Walter Scott, who referred to his visitor in 1826 as 'my old friend Locker'.⁷⁰ Wordsworth first met Locker at Sir George Beaumont's house in Grosvenor Square in May 1812,

⁶⁵ *Penny Magazine*, 1835, p.94

⁶⁶ Statutes at large, 10 Geo.IV. Cap. XXV, An Act to provide better management of the affairs of the Greenwich Hospital. (22 May 1829)

⁶⁷ *The Gentleman's Magazine*, Volume 185, Feb. 1849, pp. 205-6

⁶⁸ Roger Quarm, 'Locker, Edward Hawke (1777–1849)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography (ODNB)*, Oxford University Press (OUP), 2004

⁶⁹ Quarm, *Locker*

⁷⁰ Walter Scott, *The journal of Walter Scott, from the original manuscript at Abbotsford*, Biblio Bazaar, ILLC, 2008, p.175

describing him to Dorothy as 'an elegant, but somewhat insipid and fine Gentleman'.⁷¹

Locker's first known contact with Southey, according to Southey's journal of his Netherlands tour in 1815, was through a visit to Southey in 1814.

' ... Locker. ... by the testimony of all who know him, as an accomplished, excellent and obliging man. ... showed us a book full of sketches which equally proved his industry and skill.'⁷² When Locker was appointed as Secretary, Southey was settled in Keswick as Poet Laureate, and might be considered the principal resident inhabitant, with Greta Hall being consequently on the itinerary of the lakers. Southey's politics and interests were now firmly conservative and aligned with those of Locker, such that when Locker became 'Co-founder (with Charles Knight), of *The Plain Englishman* (1820-1830) ... Locker's friend the poet laureate Robert Southey was among its contributors'.⁷³ *The Plain Englishman*, published following the serious unrest of 1819, was a didactic socio-political publication intended to convey to the ordinary householder 'useful information in place of [the] infidel and disloyal publications'.⁷⁴ Its motto on the title page of the first edition, 'Fear God, Honour the King', made very clear the political position of its promoters and content.⁷⁵ The correspondence between Southey and Locker, which is relevant to the management of the Keswick Estate, has been located and edited by Speck.⁷⁶

In 1821, after the death of Joseph Forster in April, Robert William Brandling (1774-1848) was appointed Receiver.⁷⁷ Brandling was a barrister in his late forties and the fourth son of Charles Brandling of Gosforth, MP for

⁷¹ William & Dorothy Wordsworth, *The letters of William and Dorothy Wordsworth*, 8 vols, ed. de Selincourt, 2nd edition revised by Alan Hill, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1967-93. Vol.8, WW to DW, 15 May 1812

⁷² Robert Southey, *Journal of a tour in the Netherlands in the autumn of 1815*, BiblioLife, ILLC, Monday 25 September, p.35

⁷³ Quarm, 'Locker', p.1

⁷⁴ Quarm, 'Locker', p.1 quoting the introduction to the 1824 issue

⁷⁵ *The plain Englishman* Vol.1, London, 1820

⁷⁶ W A Speck, 'Robert Southey's letters to Edward Hawke Locker', *Huntington Library Quarterly*, 1999, 62(1/2), pp.153-70

⁷⁷ ADM67/16, p.172

Newcastle in 1784, 1790 and 1796.⁷⁸ He was brother to Charles John Brandling, MP for Northumberland.⁷⁹ The Brandling family's wealth had been based for several generations on coal mining and distribution. Brandling was for many years chair of the Tyne, Tees and Wear coal owners, and liaised with Parliament on their behalf during the period of his Receivership.⁸⁰ As coal-owners, the Brandling family was heavily involved with the development in railways, and Brandling personally promoted the 'Brandling Junction Railway' from Gateshead in 1835.⁸¹ Brandling was a member of the industrial elite of north-east England.

Brandling was appointed by the General Court on the recommendation of the chair, Lord Melville, First Lord of the Admiralty from 1812.⁸² It is likely that Lord Melville would have recommended Brandling as a person who would improve the net receipts from the estates, not someone to follow Forster's example. 'Drastic cuts followed the peace, but Britain, now the only colonial power of any importance, found her maritime commitments increased. ... The following years saw a constant struggle by Melville to find every possible economy ...'.⁸³ Melville proposed to remunerate the Receivers on a percentage of net receipts rather than gross, a system which would encourage the Receivers to stop spending because spending would reduce their poundage.⁸⁴ However, this scheme was applied only to Brandling, who received 2.5 per cent of net rental, while Wailes remained salaried.⁸⁵

The differences between Locker and Brandling were very great, both in politics and in their views on how a landowner should manage a landed estate and tenants, with Locker supporting the feudalistic and Brandling the capitalistic, as will be shown below. This strong disagreement was played out in

⁷⁸ *The Gentleman's Magazine*, Vol.185, 1849 pp.205-6, Obituary RW Brandling

⁷⁹ *Gentleman's Magazine*, 1849 pp.205-6

⁸⁰ *Gentleman's Magazine*, 1849 pp.205-6

⁸¹ *Gentleman's Magazine*, 1849 pp.205-6

⁸² ADM67/16, p.172

⁸³ Michael Fry, 'Dundas, Robert Saunders, second Lord Melville (1771-1851)', *ODNB*, OUP, 2004

⁸⁴ ADM67/16, pp.172-3

⁸⁵ ADM67/16, p.183

the English Lakes, which was Locker's political territory as a Region of Romance, leading to the ultimate sale.

On 23 May 1821, with Viscount Lowther (William Lowther, 1787-1872, the son and heir of Lord Lonsdale), present as a director, the Directors thought it 'highly expedient that the Secretary should avail himself of the appointment of a new Receiver, to accompany Messrs Wailes and Brandling in a circuit through the several Estates'.⁸⁶ This commenced on 9 June, and Locker's personal verbal report was made to the Directors on 25 July, who asked for a written report to be presented.⁸⁷ This report was read on 4 August by the Directors, who ordered that 200 copies thereof be printed for the use of the Commissioners and Governors'.⁸⁸ The report and the process of its approval and promulgation by the Directors excluded Brandling from contributing to plans for future management. Though both Wailes and Brandling had accompanied Locker on the tour, together with a Mr Smith of Camber in Kent, Brandling was nowhere mentioned in Locker's report, while the past management of Forster and Wailes was everywhere commended: 'The death of Mr Forster has recently deprived the Hospital of a faithful servant, whose cordial co-operation with his colleague, ... well deserves the imitation of all his successors'.⁸⁹ Smith was presented as 'a gentleman of large landed property, in this Country, distinguished by his great practical knowledge of Agriculture', though in reality he was a friend of Locker with no special knowledge of the district.⁹⁰ Smith wrote to Locker, for quoting in report, that 'the high condition of the Estates can only have been affected by constant strict attention, skill, and good management for a number of years past. The present system is excellent, and if I were in possession of the Derwentwater Estates, I should rejoice exceedingly in being able to obtain Mr

⁸⁶ ADM67/70, p.131

⁸⁷ ADM67/70, p.187-8

⁸⁸ ADM67/70, p.200

⁸⁹ ADM79/60, report 25 July 1821, p.1

⁹⁰ George Smith (d.1836) and William Locker were acquaintances, who were both correspondents of Nelson. Viscount Horatio Nelson & Sir Nicholas Harris Nicolas, *The dispatches and letters of Vice Admiral Lord Nelson: 1777 to 1794*, London, Henry Colburn, 1845, p.36

Wailes as my manager.⁹¹ Locker proposed to set aside the reduced investments proposed in 1817 by Bower and Claridge, and to invest heavily in the estates: 'The expediency of placing a limit to these improvements has recently been contemplated, but ... I strongly recommend that these be carried into execution ...'.⁹² The Hospital's estates were generating revenue 'fully equivalent to that of other properties under similar circumstances and situations'.⁹³ Locker wished to reinstate Forster's spending, and he did not allow Brandling's views to be reported.

An important purpose of Locker's visit was to assess the need to respond to the petitions from tenants for relief from their rents. Locker recommended that the Hospital as an institution should follow 'that same policy which urges the individual Proprietor, to forego a portion of his Rents, when the Tenants are oppressed by the low state of the Market' and that 'the Receivers may be immediately authorised, ... to offer such relief to Tenants, instead of depriving them of their leases'.⁹⁴

After a general assessment of the woods, Locker gave special attention to the Keswick woods, and only the Keswick woods, again citing a justification wider than the economic interests of the hospital:-

The woods belonging to the Greenwich Hospital, skirting the Mountains and Lake of DERWENTWATER, constitute the great ornament of KESWICK, and as the inhabitants derive most of their income from strangers, who visit this beautiful scenery, they would be seriously injured if the noble woods were cut down. The Receivers should be enjoined to direct the strictest attention to their preservation, which is as much in the interest of the Hospital as of its neighbourhood. For although a large sum might suddenly be raised by cutting down a whole wood, the Hospital would thereby lose the regular income which, under judicious management, will be derived from this valuable timber. A certain number old trees may be thinned out periodically as they attain full growth, without in the least impairing the beauty of the scenery, and from the stools of the trees, thus felled, new shoots would progressively supply their place. By adopting this plan, an annual felling

⁹¹ ADM79/60, report 25 July 1821, p.1

⁹² ADM79/60, report 25 July 1821 p.3

⁹³ ADM79/60, report 25 July 1821 p.2

⁹⁴ ADM79/60, report 25 July 1821 p.5

may be commenced in those woods next year, which will yield a permanent income henceforward of not less than £1,000 per annum.⁹⁵

This method of achieving succession was consistent with the opinion of Bower and Claridge in 1817, against the practice of allowing grazing and clear-felling. However, the Keswick woods were a small part of the whole, and individual parts did not need to each produce the regular annual income that Locker proposed.

Before this tour, Southey had written to Locker on 1 January 1820 requesting that 'If your authority in the affairs of the Hospital enables you to save some part of the wood upon Castlet [Castlehead Wood, part of Southey's view], you will be a great benefit to this beautiful place. The trees are threatened, & nothing could injure the immediate scenery of Keswick so much as their destruction. And in all these cases no ultimate loss would be sustained by leaving enough for beauty, instead of indiscriminately cutting everything down'.⁹⁶ When Locker and Smith of Camer arrived in Keswick in 1821, 'one of the first things to be done ... was to find our friend Southey', Locker wrote to his wife. 'We talked chiefly of the Derwentwater Estates here and the beauty of the scenery'.⁹⁷ Speck records that Locker informed his wife that Southey's home 'stands on a rising ground commanding a noble view of Derwentwater & looking direct onto Castlehead Wood & the lands belonging to the Hospital', and that 'Locker undertook to have over two hundred trees, which were worth £1500 to the Hospital, felled over three years in such a way as not to spoil the view'.⁹⁸ The aesthetics of the Keswick's ornamental woods was clearly Locker's principal concern, influenced by Southey and backed up by Smith in his role as a supposed agricultural expert.

Brandling did not agree with Locker's report to the Directors. On 26 September 1821 Locker read to the Directors a letter from Robert Brandling,

⁹⁵ ADM79/60, report 25 July 1821 p.6

⁹⁶ Speck 'Locker', pp.156-7

⁹⁷ Speck 'Locker', p.154

⁹⁸ Speck 'Locker', p.156, n.12

written on 15 September after eventually receiving a copy of Locker's report of the tour, 'containing animadversions on his report on visiting the Hospital's Estates in July last, and requesting that the same might be communicated to the Directors'⁹⁹. The letter has not been preserved in any form in the Admiralty records. The Directors ordered: -

That Mr Brandling be informed that the Board sees no reason to doubt the accuracy of Mr Locker's Report in any respect but cannot but observe that the style adopted by Mr Brandling in his letter is such as must arise from forgetfulness of his own situation as compared with that of the Secretary, and desires that a very different style may be used in his further correspondence. The Secretary's Report was not sent to Mr Brandling for his animadversion, and the Board refuses, for his sake, and its own, to comply with his concluding request that his letter may be circulated among the absent members.¹⁰⁰

With the support and encouragement of the Directors, Locker had gained control of the policy of the management of the estates, including the management of the Keswick woods with, for the first time, an explicit aesthetic purpose. Previous Secretaries had been a conduit between the Receivers, who managed the estates as professionals, and the Directors, who supervised and set policy. Locker took on a personal executive controlling role, combining some previous responsibilities of both Receivers and Directors.

Though Brandling's views were ignored, suppressed, and unrecorded, it is likely that Locker's whole scheme of management would conflict with one that would focus on optimising the revenue for the Hospital in the shorter term. Brandling may have promoted a purely economic relationship between the Hospital and its tenants and a firmer line on rent reductions, rather than the paternalistic relationship that was promoted by Locker in his report, and through *The Plain Englishman*, and which aligned with views of rural social relationships promoted by Wordsworth, Southey and the Lowther political interest.

Though Locker's views on rent reductions were accepted by the Directors in August 1821, it took over a year to agree a course of action, after

⁹⁹ ADM67/70, p.241

¹⁰⁰ ADM67/70, p.241

Locker's further report of 19 October 1822 confirmed that the rent problem had not improved and he urged 'the necessity of relief to our suffering tenancy'.¹⁰¹

His further personal report recommended that, for tenants recommended by the Receivers, the Directors should allow rents to be abated for a period of up to three years, which provided effective relief for a time without compromising the future rental.¹⁰²

The tenants affected were mostly in Northumberland, but they shared the border heritage of Cumberland, and some were also 'statesmen' in their own right, whose farms were at risk. 'Another valuable Tenant, rather than relinquish the Farm upon which he had exhausted his whole capital, has been compelled to sell his freehold ...'.¹⁰³ Locker spelt out the case for the Hospital providing for relief to tenants:-

There is nothing in the Act of Settlement, or in the Charter, to prevent the Commissioners from allowing a reduction of Rent, without surrender of the Lease, ... The Commissioners are not to be governed by the rigid conduct of an Agent to an Estate, or a temporary Trustee, who considers it his duty to bind a Tenant to a disadvantageous bargain, with a view to realize the utmost income for his principal. In our case, where the Trust is perpetual, the true interest of the Institution requires that the remote, as well as the immediate advantages, should be taken into calculation, and I have not found a dissentient voice in the North, as to the policy of preserving on the Estates those respectable Tenants, who, whatever may have been their former advantages under the Hospital, are now draining their own resources to nourish the Charity. The true interest of Landlord and Tenant must ever be inseparable.¹⁰⁴

It was most probably this report that Locker copied privately to Southey, and on which Southey commented in his letter to Locker of 31 December 1822; 'Thank you for your Report, which I have read with much interest & as you desire have put out of sight for the present. The more I know of the manner in which estates belonging to public bodies are managed, the more desirous I am that the Statute of Mortmain should be repealed'.¹⁰⁵

¹⁰¹ ADM79/60, report 19 October 1822, p.3

¹⁰² ADM79/60, report 19 October 1822, pp.8-9

¹⁰³ ADM79/60, report 25 July 1821, p.3

¹⁰⁴ ADM79/60, report 19 October 1822, p.5

¹⁰⁵ Speck, 'Locker', p.158. In note 15 Speck considers that this was 'Apparently a report on the Greenwich Hospital estate at Castle Head'

Southey's comment reflects a shared belief that the landowner/tenant relationship should be managed within a set of religiously based values, in addition to the purely economic values that were associated with the rising political economists and philosophical radicals.

Locker's report was remarkable for its advocacy of the tenant's case, appearing to give their interests parity with those of the Hospital's beneficiaries.¹⁰⁶ Locker even suggested that the Admiralty should model their management on the romanticised practice of an executed traitor, and implied that the Derwentwater Estates had not been confiscated: 'Arguments which would have swayed Lord Derwentwater, may not perhaps with equal propriety be addressed to those who administer his Estates on the behalf of a Public Charity, although I cannot doubt that the liberal spirit of a great Landed Proprietor, tempered with the discretion of faithful trustees, will continue to guide the Commissioners and Governors of Greenwich Hospital, in their conduct towards their tenantry'.¹⁰⁷

Locker seems to have taken on himself those responsibilities of a great landowner for the welfare and the social cohesion of the people that the estate supported directly. As a result of 'the liberal system upon which so large sums have been expended' the tenants were 'much superior to those holding leases under other great proprietors in the north of England'.¹⁰⁸ A continuation of Forster's high level of investment was recommended. The language that was used of the secluded inhabitants of the English Lakes was applied elsewhere. 'The valley lies secluded from the rest of the County by the surrounding Moors, and the Inhabitants are an industrious and loyal people, moral and intelligent, and of simple habits'.¹⁰⁹ Locker sought to encourage those Alston Moor miners with the incentive of better prices. In 1823, his report on the roads and mines

¹⁰⁶ ADM79/60, report 19 October 1822, pp.1-10

¹⁰⁷ ADM79/60, report 19 October 1822, pp.3-4

¹⁰⁸ ADM79/60, report 25 July 1821, p.3

¹⁰⁹ ADM79/60, report 25 July 1821, p.7

advised that the Hospital should loan £5,000 to the improvement of roads in the area, predicated on the better performance of the mines, and that investment directly in the mines should be continued in anticipation of sustained good lead prices.¹¹⁰ With no attempt to analyse competition, this was an act of faith, which in common with all his proposals, had the effect of benefitting and stabilising the people of the North of England in the short term, while holding out the future, speculative, prospects for the Hospital's beneficiaries in the longer term.

Locker's politics combined improvement, of land and people, with the old idea that a landowner's role included a responsibility for those that worked on or for the estate and the locality. However, Locker had little opportunity to reflect the social cultural values of the inhabitants of the English Lakes back into their heartland. The manor of Thurnthwaite has been enfranchised and the commons divided before his appointment, and the tenantry of the Keswick Estate were the townspeople of Keswick. Locker could only create work in Keswick at the expense of the Hospital:-

Dickson, the steward of the Hospital is very hard at work upon an alteration that will accommodate you more than any other person. He is making you a carriage road in the line of the present footpath thro the fields, & has cut away for you three feet of the hill, before you reach the Lake. A great number of men are employed, & I believe the main object is to give them employment, which the Hospital, for some time past, has very properly been very liberal in doing.¹¹¹

Resources which should have benefitted the Navy pensioners were used charitably to provide work for people on the Northern Estates.

Locker took away the professional role of the Receivers in managing the Keswick woods, and personally decided on the cutting programme. In 1819, before Locker was appointed, the Receivers, Forster and Wailes, had requested the Directors' approval to cut 536 oaks in Horse Close and Castlehead, as part of the annual fall, to raise £1800.¹¹² Locker's protective report in 1821 on the

¹¹⁰ ADM69/71

¹¹¹ British Library, manuscripts, Add28603 f.4, Robert Southey to General Peachy, 26 January 1822

¹¹² ADM66/89, p.268

Keswick woods has been given above. The correspondence between Southey and Locker suggests that 200 oaks were selectively cut down in Keswick from 1821-3, after Locker had intervened when Southey asked for his help.¹¹³ The Receivers considered further felling in Keswick in 1823, but withdrew on 2 April. 'The expectation, which we held out, of a fall of timber at Keswick may be yet carried into effect, but upon the best consideration, & consultation with the Hospital's resident Bailiffs, respecting the demand for Timber of that description, we are of the opinion the measure had better be deferred for the present year, more particularly as we understand there will be a considerable sale of Timber of similar description this year in that neighbourhood'.¹¹⁴

Thereafter the harvesting of timber in Keswick generally, and at Castlehead in particular, became the focus, perhaps totemic, of the wider disagreement between the Receivers and Locker. On 31 January 1824, the Receivers proposed to cut 382 oak trees at the north end of Waterage Bank and on the South east side of Castlehead, to raise £800.¹¹⁵ Locker laid this before the Directors on 4 Feb 1824, with Viscount Lowther present.¹¹⁶ The Board approved 'but directed that care should be taken in felling such timber that the beauty of these woods be not disfigured'.¹¹⁷ The judgement of beauty required another site visit by Locker, who duly reported to the Directors on 1 September 1824. The Directors' minutes, written by Locker, instructed:-

"That the Receivers having contemplated the felling of the timber of Castlehead Wood, which is the great ornament of that part of the Lake facing the Town of Keswick, and actually commences the same on the rear of the wood towards Ambleside, they had consented to suspend any further proceeding until they should have learned the Board's pleasure thereon". The Board being of the opinion that the trees on this estate should be carefully preserved, direct, that no more timber shall be felled on Castlehead Wood; and that the Receivers on no account cause any other ornamental timber to be felled without previous reference to their authority.¹¹⁸

¹¹³ Speck 'Locker ', p.156, n.12

¹¹⁴ ADM66/91, p.171

¹¹⁵ ADM66/91, p.287

¹¹⁶ ADM66/73, p.20

¹¹⁷ ADM66/73, p.20

¹¹⁸ ADM66/73, pp.153-4

The definition of ornamental timber was missing, but now the view approaching from Ambleside had to be considered. Management of the timber at Derwentwater had passed to Edward Locker, with the Directors written mandate to prioritise the aesthetics of Keswick above the economic interest of the Hospital.

Having failed in 1824, the Receivers tried again in 1825, this time making a proposal compliant with the prioritisation of aesthetics, wishing to cut 430 oaks at the north end of Waterage Bank wood, worth £700 pounds.¹¹⁹ Writing to Locker on 26 March, they claimed that 'we have not lost sight of the Board's order to spare as much as possible the ornamental Timber upon this Estate. The lot in question is at a distance from the Lake, and forms only a small part of the great body of Wood, that ought to be cut in regular succession, so as to give an annual income to meet the necessary Expence ...'.¹²⁰ Meeting on 30 March, the Directors judged it 'not advisable to consent thereto, unless it be clearly shown that the scenery would be in no manner injured thereby'.¹²¹ The Receivers now had no way of harvesting mature timber in Keswick. On 16 April the Receivers wrote a final letter demonstrating the difficulties, and perhaps the impropriety, of the Directors' instructions and a proposing a way forward:-

With reference to the Board's minute respecting the fall of wood upon the Hospital's Estate at Keswick requiring that 'it be clearly shown that the scenery would be in no manner injured thereby' we beg to observe that the part proposed to be cut is at the North East end of the Waterage Bank Wood containing upwards of two hundred acres and is a mile distant from the nearest part of the Lake, the great body of the Wood intervening. It is impossible that any portion of the very ornamental Woods in this neighbourhood can be cut, without a temporary injury to the scenery. ... [they wished to] have some experienced Wood valuer from Yorkshire, where they are in the habit of cutting their woods at three distinct growths, so that there are always some trees forty years old at least left standing. From such a person we might ascertain whether it would be advisable now to pursue the same Plan in the Hospital's Woods at Keswick, tho' this system is certainly contrary to the practice of the neighbourhood. ... the person employed might then have directions to portion out the Wood in the same manner

¹¹⁹ ADM66/91, pp.389-390

¹²⁰ ADM66/91, pp.389-390

¹²¹ ADM67/74, p.52

that he would do for a resident Landed Proprietor, who was anxious to preserve the beauty of his Estate.¹²²

If the Receivers had hoped that the Directors might consider that it was improper to manage their estate in the manner of a resident landed proprietor, then they were disappointed. On 26 April 1825 the Directors considered the letter 'relative to their proposal for cutting down a part of the Wood on the banks of the Derwentwater. The Board thinks it desirable that the Timber for the present should remain entire, they approve of the proposition of the Receivers to take in the meanwhile the opinion of an experienced Wood Valuer, and desire that a copy of his report may be transmitted for their consideration'.¹²³ After this date neither the Directors nor the General Court were asked to consider the cutting of timber anywhere on the Northern Estates, until fresh proposals from the Receivers for cutting wood in Keswick, at the north-east of Waterage Bank, were put to the Directors in the context of the employment of a wood valuer on 28 March 1829, just before the Board of Directors was disbanded.¹²⁴ In the meantime, felling continued only with the consent of Locker. On 8 March 1826 Southey wrote to Locker 'in dismay concerning the wood upon Castlet. Walking there this day I saw that the trees were marked for the woodman. – not for selection, but for a general fall, - which more than any other possible circumstance would spoil the beauty of this place. ... many are marked which have not attained half their growth. The maledictions of all persons who admire this spot will be upon Greenwich Hospital if the barbarous spoilation be irrevocably decreed. I am quite certain it would be stopt if you were here'.¹²⁵ It is most unlikely that the Receivers would proceed to fell such wood against the clear policy of the Directors, though marking them for possible sale would be a valid part of the debate and might provide some satisfaction.

¹²² ADM66/91, pp.400-1

¹²³ ADM67/74, p.68

¹²⁴ ADM67/79, pp.153-4

¹²⁵ Speck, 'Locker ', pp.165-6

4-4. The sale of the Keswick Estate, 1829-1832

An Act to provide for better management of the affairs of the Greenwich Hospital was passed on 22 May 1829, by which it was intended to improve its financial management and maximise the income, and it was after the consequent re-constitution of the management that sale of assets was considered as an option to boost revenue.¹²⁶ The twenty-four Directors and the General Court were abolished, and five commissioners were appointed by the Act to manage the Hospital's affairs. The Commissioners included the Treasurer of the Admiralty and the First Commissioner of Woods and Forests. The latter post had been consolidated in 1810 to include the interest of the navy for oak. The post was held by William Lowther (1787-1872), Viscount Lowther at that time, up to the fall of Wellington's administration, and from 2 December 1830 by appointees of the Whig administration under the new First Lord of the Admiralty, Sir James Graham of Netherby. The three named individual commissioners were Locker, Vice-Admiral Sir William Johnstone Hope, who has previously been the treasurer of the Hospital, and George Eden, Lord Auckland (1784-1849), a Whig at the start of his political career and noted for his administrative abilities. Locker's place as Secretary was supplied by William Hooper.

A new pressure on income generation and cost control required a reversal of the investment in improvement, and in the paternalism towards the tenants. The Receivers' discretion was removed; they could not leave the North without authority and were required to forward all money received to the Commissioners' bank account, applying for approvals and imprests for expenditure. All estimates for works were examined, questioned, justified and reduced. Numerous retrospective reports were asked for, and past actions

¹²⁶ Statutes at large, 10. Geo. IV, Cap.XXX

reviewed. Standardised leases and procedures were to be imposed on unwilling tenants. The rent arrears had to be itemised and reduced to zero.¹²⁷

On 4 September 1830 the Commissioners considered a detailed critique of the Receivers' accounts by Lord Auckland. The case of a changed agreement on a lead wharf at Newcastle in 1805 was blamed on 'the neglect of the then Receivers' and particularly on the deceased Joseph Forster, whom Locker had praised in 1821.¹²⁸ Cases were found which the Commissioners felt gave them cause to reprimand the current Receivers. At the meeting on 17 November 1830, with just Lord Auckland and Locker present as Commissioners, they noted that in the handling of the Hexham Turnpike, one of Locker's projects, 'The Board cannot but regret the disregard to the interests of the Hospital, which the Receivers have manifested in this transaction'.¹²⁹ On 15 January 1831, with new masters in the Admiralty, and Lord Dover present as the new First Commissioner of Woods and Forests, the Commissioners decided that in the case of a loan of £3,500 to the lessees of Scremerston Colliery, the Receivers had disadvantaged the Hospital by making an unauthorised purchase of land. They recorded that:-

The Board cannot view these irregularities without recording a strong sense of their displeasure at such gross negligence on the part of the Receivers, they consider it as another proof, added to the many that have lately come under their notice, of the disregard shown to the interest of the Hospital, and the carelessness with which its affairs have been conducted:....¹³⁰

It was clear that the Receivers were to be blamed for all past mismanagement.

Brandling wrote to the Lords of the Admiralty 'praying for an investigation into the circumstances which led to a Reprimand by the Board'.¹³¹ At a meeting on 16 April, the Commissioners explained that, 'the Board did not intend to convey a sense of want of integrity or of ability, but that of a want of

¹²⁷ ADM67/80-1, throughout contains the detail of this general trend in the Commissioners minutes of 1829&30

¹²⁸ ADM67/81, p.524

¹²⁹ ADM67/81, p.525

¹³⁰ ADM67/82, pp.25-9

¹³¹ ADM67/82, pp.106-7

precision and of deference to the authority of the Commissioners in matters of engagements and expenses.¹³² Brandling was called in to hear the minute and expressed satisfaction that the Board did not intend the previous minute as 'an imputation on his general character for integrity'.¹³³ The matter appeared to have been resolved rather easily.

Prior to this meeting, the Receivers had revived plans to cut down the protected wood of Keswick, and in a letter of 15 March, had felt it their duty to identify the system of management required to optimise the revenue of the Hospital. In a further letter to the Board, which appears to result from their again provocatively marking trees for cutting along Southeys walk in Castlehead, the Receivers wrote:-

When we sent the wood inspector to Keswick we directed him not to mark any ornamental timber except he should be convinced that it was annually decreasing in value, considering that the minute of the Board of Directors of 1st September 1824 was not believed to extend to such cases or at least that it was the duty of the Receivers to point out this circumstance as one affecting the present and future revenue of the Hospital, which we did in our letter of 15th instant. There cannot be any doubt that taking down that description of Timber which at present is standing in Castlehead Wood will materially affect the picturesque appearance of that particular spot, but not the appearance of the wood from the lake, for a certain number of years¹³⁴

On 26 March 1831 the Commissioners referred that proposal to the Admiralty, promoting Locker's system of management:-

The Board directed a letter be prepared submitting the matter to the consideration of the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, and suggesting whether it might not be best gradually to remove the timber by felling about one fifth of this lot every year, and planting young trees on the ground cleared.¹³⁵

On 6 April the Admiralty's robust instruction was received:-

"that the wood on the Hospital's Estates should be cut down in such manner and at such times as may yield the best revenue, without reference to the beauty of the scenery".

¹³² ADM67/82, pp.166-8

¹³³ ADM67/82, p.167

¹³⁴ ADM66/94, 24 March 1831

¹³⁵ ADM67/82, p.143

The Board thereupon gave directions to the Receivers to cause the lot of Castle-head Wood included in their report to be felled and disposed of in a manner and within the time recommended by them.¹³⁶

This advice from the Admiralty effectively moved an important power back from Locker to the Receivers, the best judges of which wood to cut for revenue. This had significantly improved the position of Brandling and Wailes before the resolution of the reprimand on 16 April. On 26 June 1831 Southey wrote to Locker:-

Is there any hope of seeing you here this summer? Our woods! Our woods! Two thirds of the trees at Castlet are marked for the axe. & have been put up for auction but found no bidder, because it was too late in the season, - Come & look at those trees from my window. & judge for yourself whether christian charity could require or enable me to forgive such a trespass as that of cutting them down. From the southern window that wood is the very nose in the face of the prospect!¹³⁷

Locker was now powerless to stop Brandling from cutting the Keswick woods and spoiling the view from Southey's house, and he faced the possibility of being seen to preside over large scale felling.

On 15 January 1831 the Board 'considering the difficulty and expense of management attending the more detached parts of the Hospital property in the North' had requested the Admiralty's permission to sell 'such farms etc' in a similar scheme to raise cash.¹³⁸ Following Admiralty approval, the receivers were instructed to propose a method of sale for a list of 21 miscellaneous allotments and farms in Northumberland. On 2 July, after the reprimand and the instruction from the Admiralty, the Board agreed that the Receivers should also propose methods of selling the substantial properties of Buteland, Meldon and Whitlees, and Leehouses.¹³⁹ Brandling attended the Board, and suggested that certain tithes might be included. It was then decided that 'The Receivers will also report their opinions as to the probable sum which might be expected for the whole Manor of Castlerigg and Derwentwater, if disposed of and if it should

¹³⁶ ADM67/82, pp.149-50

¹³⁷ Speck, 'Locker', p.170

¹³⁸ ADM67/82, p.23

¹³⁹ ADM67/82, pp.264-5

appear to them conducive to the interests of the Hospital to part with this estate, the mode of sale they would recommend'.¹⁴⁰ The wish of the Receivers to sell was longstanding. Locker, having lost control of the woods, having received the letter from Southey, and being no longer able to administer the estates in the way he had set out in 1821, might prefer to see the estate sold than to preside over extensive cutting of timber on Derwentwater. Before 2 July 1831 there is no record of any proposal to sell the Keswick Estate.

The Receivers' response was dated 19 July. Concerning Castlerigg and Derwentwater they were:-

of the same opinion we have long entertained, that in a pecuniary point of view the disposal of this estate will probably be more advantageous to the Hospital than any other – the beauty of the situation may probably induce Purchasers to give more for it, than as a mere landed investment ... and the price that would be obtained for the Wood, much of it being ornamental timber, would yield, we have little doubt a larger certain annual income, than under any system of management could be reckoned upon.... In addition there are certain expences attaching to this Property, which are necessary to preserve the appearance of it, which diminish our annual Net Receipt to the Hospital, but which will probably not lessen the price. ... The annual rental is £1127.7.7½. The Net Return for the last seven years £5868.1.11½ The return from the woodlands for the last seven years £887.6.5½. ¹⁴¹

They considered that it would be sold for 30 years purchase and that the wood valuation would be £30,000, and recommended an accurate survey and valuation, a sale in London, and a swift circulation of a sketch and description.¹⁴² At thirty years purchase on the gross rental, the rental property would be worth £33,800, though the Hospital was clearly receiving less and incurring cost. That sum did not include the wood land, which must be in the £30,000 valuation of the wood.

Agreement was received from the Admiralty by 29 September. The existing plans were to be used and the Receivers were to make more exact proposals for all the property to be sold.¹⁴³ The Receivers' further letter, dated

¹⁴⁰ ADM67/82, p.265

¹⁴¹ ADM65/79, Receivers to Hooper, 19 July 1831

¹⁴² ADM65/79, Receivers to Hooper, 19 July 1831

¹⁴³ ADM67/82, p.372

6th December 1831, proposed that Castlerigg & Derwentwater, including Thorntwaite, should be sold in one lot because 'from its situation and extent, it is very probable that it may be purchased by some Capitalist for the purpose of making it his summer residence. We think the sale ought to be advertised to take place in London in April, unless previously disposed of by private contract'.¹⁴⁴ They proposed George Robins as the auctioneer, and that all lots be sold at one time. Meldon might attract 'a gentleman of fortune'.¹⁴⁵ On 10 December 1831 the Board agreed to immediately instruct George Robins (1777-1847) of Covent Garden, the most famous and flamboyant auctioneer of the day.¹⁴⁶ On 28 January 1832, the commissioners approved Robins' arrangements and terms for selling the outlying farms.¹⁴⁷ Figure 4-5 is based on the estate map used for the sale.

On 16 April 1832 Robins attended the Board and they approved minimum prices for each lot, excluding wood, which was to be sold according to valuation. Robins would employ two persons to bid up to the reserve of £29,950 for Castlerigg and Derwentwater.¹⁴⁸ On 19 April the sale took place 'in the great room of the auction mart, London, ... the enchanting Keswick estate was sold to Mr Marshall, ..., the first and only bidder, for £30,000 guineas'.¹⁴⁹ On 21 April 1832 the Secretary reported that Castlerigg & Derwentwater had been sold for £31,500 to Mr Marshall.¹⁵⁰ Marshall had bought the Keswick Estate almost exactly on the reserve price. For the wood he later paid £16,768, compared with the Receivers' first estimate given to the Board, of £30,000.

Conclusion

The purpose of the Greenwich Hospital's Northern Estates was to provide income to support navy pensioners, and as such it was a form of poor relief. Its

¹⁴⁴ ADM65/79, Receivers to Hooper, 6 December 1831

¹⁴⁵ ADM65/79, Receivers to Hooper, 6 December 1831

¹⁴⁶ Robin Myers, 'Robins, George Henry (1777-1847)', *ODNB*, OUP, 2004

¹⁴⁷ ADM67/83, p.32

¹⁴⁸ ADM67/83, p.116

¹⁴⁹ John Sykes, *Local records; or historical register of remarkable events which have occurred in Northumberland and Durham*, Vol.II, Newcastle, 1833, p.353

¹⁵⁰ ADM67/83, p.122

policy, however, reflected the beliefs and interests of the Directors and Receivers who managed it. Joseph Forster of Newcastle, appointed Receiver in 1801, engaged the Hospital in a vigorous plan of investment in improvement of its agricultural estate, which saw the net rental income fall from almost 90 per cent in the 1790s to 50 per cent by 1813. This irrecoverable level of spending, and the lack of a net income from woods, was masked by increasing rent until 1816, and by high revenue from the lead mines until after 1825. In the recession of 1816, and with the rents now unsustainable, the expenditure came under parliamentary criticism, and was drastically reduced by 1817. The beneficiaries of Forster's programme had been the people of Northern England.

The Directors had approved the Receivers' improvements generally in 1805, but in Keswick they limited the plans to reconfigure the farms into smallholdings, re-fencing the old closes rectilinearly, and to cut and clear much wood for drainage and tillage. The Directors disallowed much of the felling of timber and kept the new close structures away from the lake, recognising their interest in tourism. Considerations of aesthetics limited the Receivers' freedom to improve the Keswick Estate from this time, but nowhere else.

The appointment two key people created serious conflict within the Greenwich Hospital. Edward Hawke Locker was appointed Secretary to the Hospital in 1819. He was a watercolour artist, a close associate of Southey, and joint editor of *The Plain Englishman*, a didactic publication intended to counter the radical discourse, and to encourage plebeian support for the traditional, settled, agricultural way of life. Robert William Brandling was appointed as Receiver in 1819 and was encouraged to maximise income, by having his poundage dependent on net rental. Locker saw the Hospital's ownership as a perpetual trust, and the support of the tenants as a landowner's duty, comparable to the duty to the Hospital's beneficiaries. He argued for reductions in rents, to retain tenants, and increased investment in the estates, to the detriment of short-term net income. The political and economic differences

between Locker and Brandling led to conflict in which the balance of the aesthetic and economic purposes of the woods at Keswick became totemic. Locker, as Secretary, and with the active encouragement of Southey, obtained the agreement of the Directors in 1825 to a formal policy of protecting the woods. He gained a personal executive control over the woods at Keswick, implementing a policy of succession in cutting and planting within a wood which would be appropriate to a gentleman's park elsewhere. This materialisation of aesthetic cultural value represents a real and significant conflict between use and conservation some fifty years before the start of organised public campaigns, and owes little to Wordsworth, but much to Southey.

Locker caused the Hospital to invest into loan stock in for road building around the lead mines of Alston and to continue investment in the miners and miners, sacrificing short term revenues for local spending and speculative future benefit. With the failure of the price of lead from 1826, with rentals still depressed, and with continued losses from the woods, the constitution of the Hospital was revised in 1829, for an improvement of management. The new small Board of Commissioners, including Locker, now blamed past errors on the Receivers, and Brandling was reprimanded in 1831 for unauthorised expenditure and loss. In countering against the Directors, by taking the reprimand and the mismanagement of the Keswick woods to the Admiralty, where the Sir James Graham was now First Lord in his phase as a Whig and political economist, Brandling regained the unfettered right to cut timber at Keswick on a purely economic basis. The decision to sell the estate was coincident with, or triggered by, the loss of the Commissioner's ability to protect the woodland. They had to choose between the sale of timber for cutting, or the sale of the estate with the timber. But the unwillingness of the Hospital to either develop the land or fell the timber had effectively devalued the estate and it was sold for less than its productive value.

Chapter 5. Lord William Gordon and the picturesque occupation of Derwentwater, 1758-1823

Introduction

This chapter considers the actions and motivations of Lord William Gordon (1744-1823), who purchased the properties on the Western shore of Derwentwater in the 1780s, creating the Water End estate and house. After his death in 1823 the estate was managed for the benefit of his widow, who later transferred her interest to his nephew, Sir John Woodford (1785-1879).

Neither Gordon nor his property have previously been the subject of a full study, though Murdoch has discussed the building in the context of the development of picturesque architecture, and Winchester has outlined the basic process of the estate's creation.¹ Gordon did not leave any known document which explains his purpose in purchasing an estate on Derwentwater, and so he has a small place in the mythology of the English Lakes, founded on the well-known events in the lives of this family. This study will examine both Gordon himself as well as the detail of his estate creation and estate management in the English Lakes, with the purpose of seeking his motives. Without his statement of purpose, this chapter can only interpret the man and his actions. The hypothesis to be investigated is that Gordon's inspiration and model for his estate and activities in the English Lakes, was provided by William Gilpin.

This chapter is constructed around the pivotal date of 1781, by when, as will be shown, the conflict between the interests of the tourists and the existing landowners had become expressed in the discourse. Also, 1781 was the second and defining turning point in the life of Lord William Gordon, the year of the trial of Lord George Gordon, of Lord William's marriage, and the year in which he took an option to purchase the Water End estate.

¹ John Murdoch, ed., *The Discovery of the Lake District: a northern Arcadia and its uses*, London, Victoria & Albert Museum, 1984, p.37; Angus JL Winchester, ed., *England's landscape, the North West*, London, English Heritage, 2006, p.209

Section 5-1 will reconstruct the relevant biography of Lord William Gordon up to his marriage to an heiress in March 1781.

Section 5-2 will examine Gordon in London and at Court, covering his interest in picturesque landscape, the use and management of the property at Green Park Lodge, and his position and ambitions at Court.

Section 5-3 will establish the history of the western shore of Derwentwater up to 1781, in fact and in published discourse.

Section 5-4 will establish the process of acquisition of the Water End estate.

Section 5-5 will examine his management of the Water End estate and other interests around Derwentwater, to establish his purpose of ownership and responses to representations of place and people.

5-1. Lord William Gordon to 1781

He wha seeks for ladies' love,
Maun be baith brave and gay.²

The Honourable William Gordon, known as Lord William Gordon, was the second son of Cosmo George Gordon (1720-1752), third Duke of Gordon and sixth Marquess.³ The first son, Alexander (1743-1827) became the fourth Duke of Gordon when he, Lord William, and Lord George Gordon (1751-1793) were children.⁴ Their mother was born Lady Catherine Gordon (1718-1779), daughter of the second Earl of Aberdeen.⁵ As Bulloch notes; 'This double dose of Gordon blood was bad for the peace of mind of the ducal family, which was emerging from a period of great peril, when its flirtations with Jacobitism had given anxiety to its best friends'.⁶ The family became an important foundation of the unified kingdom as loyal converts to the Hanoverian crown and Protestantism. In 1767 Alexander Gordon married Jane Maxwell (1749-1812), who as Duchess of Gordon

² Robert Chambers, *The popular rhymes of Scotland, with illustrations, chiefly collected from oral sources*, Edinburgh, 1826, family characteristics – the gay Gordons, p.199

³ <http://cracroftspeerage.co.uk/online/content/Gordon1684.htm> accessed 7th October 2010

⁴ <http://cracroftspeerage.co.uk>, Gordon

⁵ <http://cracroftspeerage.co.uk>, Gordon

⁶ James Malcolm Bulloch, *The Gay Gordons: some strange adventures of a famous Scots family*, London, Chapman and Hall, 1908, p.104

became notable as a London Hostess, becoming 'the leading female Pittite for a considerable period'.⁷ The birth of a son in 1770 excluded Lord William from future title or wealth, and from any defined role in life.⁸ Lord George Gordon was better known and is remembered for the Gordon riots of 1780.⁹

Lord William gained notoriety by eloping with Lady Sarah Bunbury (1745-1826) in 1768. Born Sarah Lennox, daughter of the second Duke of Richmond and Lennox, she was a favourite of George II, and a desired but inadvisable candidate for marriage to George III.¹⁰ Sarah had been married off in 1762, aged 16, to Charles Bunbury (1740-1821).¹¹ After various liaisons she became pregnant with Louisa Bunbury by her cousin, Lord William Gordon, and in February 1768 they eloped to lodgings at Redbridge near Southampton, living as Mr & Mrs Gore. After discovery they fled to Carolside, near Earlston in Berwickshire.¹² In 1769 Sarah returned to the home of her brother, the third Duke of Richmond, at Goodwood. Charles Bunbury sued for divorce in 1769, which was granted by the court and given effect by an Act of Parliament in May 1776.¹³ The salacious details of the case enriched one of the most notorious published divorce cases of the eighteenth century, leaving a lasting rift between Lord William and George III.¹⁴

On 14 August 1770, after Lady Sarah Bunbury had left him and after he had resigned his commission, Gordon set off for Rome:-

Those who were trying to live down scandal could find it convenient to travel. Ostracised socially and criticised in the press for his elopement with Lady Sarah Bunbury, ... Lord William Gordon (1744-1823), who had already toured abroad in 1762-3 [a grand tourist with his brother Alexander, the 4th Duke], left England in 1770 vowing never to return. With a knapsack on his back and no company other than a very big dog

⁷ Christine Lodge, 'Gordon , Jane, duchess of Gordon (1748/9–1812)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography (ODNB)*, Oxford University Press (OUP), 2004

⁸ <http://cracroftspeerage.co.uk>, Gordon

⁹ Colin Haydon, 'Gordon, Lord George (1751-1793)', *ODNB*, OUP, 2004

¹⁰ Bulloch, *Gay Gordons*, pp.103-123

¹¹ Bulloch, *Gay Gordons*, p.106

¹² Bulloch, *Gay Gordons*, pp.108-9

¹³ Bulloch, *Gay Gordons*, p.111

¹⁴ A Civilian, *Trials for adultery or the history of divorces Vol 1*, Bladon, London 1779

he aimed to walk to Rome. By 1774 he was back in London and five years later he became an MP.¹⁵

Gordon did not seek any public or social position until after the Bunbury divorce was completed in 1776. He had, however, returned by to Edinburgh by 1771, and rented Carolside from April 1773 to April 1777.¹⁶ Then he took Netherhampton House, Salisbury, let directly from the Earl of Pembroke, but released by 1782.¹⁷ When in town Gordon stayed at the Duke's house in Upper Grosvenor Street.¹⁸

The rehabilitation of Lord William in society and at court took some time. An attempt, in 1776, to make him vice-admiral of Scotland failed when Lord George Gordon refused to vacate the Parliamentary seat at Ludgershall, Wiltshire, which was a necessary part of the arrangements.¹⁹ The King then refused Gordon of the rank of lieutenant colonel in a new regiment, writing that 'he does not have the smallest claim to military rank', but in compensation, and wishing to avoid offence to the Duke of Gordon, Lord North arranged, with the King's approval, for Lord William to have the Deputy Rangership of the Green Park and St James's Park.²⁰ This office was purchased in February 1778 from the incumbent, Captain Thomas Shirley, General Fitzroy becoming Ranger.²¹ The Rangership came with Green Park Lodge, the fine early Adam House in Piccadilly which became Gordon's official and principal residence for life. 'Eventually, in April 1778 North prevailed upon the King to approve the raising of a fencible corps with the Duke [of Gordon] as colonel and his brother [Lord William Gordon] as second in command. ... In April 1779 Gordon at last obtained a seat [in Parliament], when after long negotiation between the Duke and Lord Fife, he succeeded Arthur Duff

¹⁵ Jeremy Black, *The British Abroad: the Grand Tour in the Eighteenth Century*, Sandpiper Books, 1999, p.199

¹⁶ West Sussex Record Office, Goodwood MS, M1175, nos.120 & 172

¹⁷ http://netherhamptonhouse.pharmainteractive.com/history_main.html accessed 26/10/2009

¹⁸ West Sussex Record Office, Goodwood MS, M1175, no.179 identifies Upper Grosvenor Street

¹⁹ *The Edinburgh magazine or literary miscellany*, Vol. 9, New Series, 1798, pp.22-3

²⁰ Lewis Namier, *History of Parliament: The House of Commons 1754-1790*, HMSO, 1964, p.520

²¹ *General Evening Post*, 10-12 February 1778

in Elginshire'.²² Gordon represented Morayshire from 1779-84, Inverness-shire 1784-90 and Horsham, Sussex, through the Ingram interest, from 1802-6.²³

Gordon's recovery of social position by 1779 was swiftly followed by Lord George's role in engendering the Gordon riots of June 1780. Lord George became obsessively involved in opposing a Scottish Catholic Relief Act and in November 1779 became president of the Protestant Association in England, campaigning and petitioning for abolition of the English Act.²⁴ From June 1780 to 4 February 1781, Lord William Gordon's brother was in the Tower of London, awaiting trial for treason. The Gordon family loyally supported Lord George through this trial, though they did not support his actions. On 24 Jan 1781, Lord William and others accompanied Lord George from the Tower for his arraignment and plea, and attended the trial with the whole family to support Lord George.²⁵ After acquittal on 5 February 1781, Lord George returned to campaigning against Popery, ever more irrationally. He had been excluded from his family's society by 1785 and was imprisoned for libel in 1788, dying in Newgate in 1793, after a conversion to Judaism.²⁶

While the riots and trial were most unhelpful to the position of the Gordon family, they gave Lord William an opportunity to promote his comparative responsibility, hoping to correct his lack of either a significant income or property. He had 'a quick perception in all the modes of applicable adulation, and an intuitive sagacity in discerning the most direct and effectual roads to preferment ... He is a constant attender at St. James's on every vacancy ...'.²⁷

He was, however, still unmarried and therefore in need of an heiress. Charles Ingram (1727-1778), 9th and last Viscount Irwin, died without a male heir on 19 June 1778, leaving his second daughter, Frances Ingram Shepheard (12th

²² Namier, *History of Parliament*, p.520

²³ <http://cracroftspeerage.co.uk>, Gordon

²⁴ Haydon, 'Gordon, Lord George'

²⁵ *Public Advertiser*, Thursday Jan 25 1781; *The Trial of the Hon George Gordon for Treason ...*, 5th Feb 1781. Fielding and Walker, London, 1781

²⁶ Haydon, 'Gordon, Lord George'

²⁷ Namier, *History of Parliament*, p.520

July 1761-1841), as a co-heir to a large fortune.²⁸ The family seat was Temple Newsam at Leeds. Frances Shepheard (1734-1807) had married Ingram in 1756 to become Viscountess Irwin, and had brought a large fortune to the family. In 1762 some of this fortune was used when Capability Brown completed the plans for the landscaping of the park which, unlike those for Lowther, was actually put into effect.²⁹ In September 1780, the *London Packet* reported that 'Lord William Gordon is to be married, in a few days time, to the second daughter of Viscountess Irwin'.³⁰ Frances was not yet of age, and was a ward of the Court of Chancery under her father's will, but mother and daughter both wished the marriage to proceed:-

Lord William Gordon is on the point of a matrimonial connection with the Hon. Miss Irwin, the second daughter of Lord Irwin, and sister to Lady Beauchamp. She will have an immense fortune, and is a very amiable young lady. The family are so much attached to the match, that on a friend's remonstrating with Lady Irwin, on introducing a man of Lord William's gay character into so near an alliance with her family, her Ladyship replied, "with all his faults my daughter shall have him." The match is accordingly to be consummated in a few days.³¹

An application was made in Chancery, in October 1780, to ascertain the inheritance of Frances Ingram Shepheard, to request consent to the marriage and to agree the assignment of certain funds from the Shepheard fortune to Lord William.³² The application shows that in early 1781 he was still almost entirely supported by his brother, being:-

not entitled to any Estate, Fortune or Income ...[except] ... an Annual Allowance of £500 which the said Appellant had for many years past received, and continued to receive, from his Brother, Alexander Duke of Gordon; the yearly sum of £100. arising from the said Appellant's Office or Place of Deputy Ranger of the Green Park; and the yearly sum of £300, arising from the said Appellant's commission of Lieutenant Colonel of his said Brother's Regiment of Northern Fencibles, making in whole an Annual Sum of £900.³³

²⁸ *Morning Post and Daily Advertiser*, 10 Feb 1781, reported the full application and proceedings

²⁹ <http://www.leeds.gov.uk/templenewsam/> accessed 3/11/2010

³⁰ *London Packet*, 27 September 1780

³¹ *Gazeteer and New Daily Advertiser*, 20 November, 1780

³² House of Lords, *Between The Hon Lord William Gordon...and Frances Vicountess Irwin and others*, 9 February 1781

³³ House of Lords, *Between The Hon Lord William Gordon...and Frances Vicountess Irwin and others*, 9 February 1781

He proposed to settle the majority on his wife and any children, but to assign only £10,350 in old South Sea annuities himself.³⁴ Permission to marry was refused by Chancellor Thurlow on 22 January 1781, on the grounds of their disparity of fortune, and was appealed unsuccessfully in the Lords on 9 February 1781, four days after the acquittal of Lord George Gordon.³⁵

The right and refusal of the Court of Chancery to forbid the marriage of a ward of court derived from Lord Hardwicke's Act of 1753, which was designed to protect the fortunes of heiresses under the age of 21, by specifying the form and conditions of marriage in England and Wales.³⁶ On 14 February the press reported that 'We hear that Lord William Gordon, secure in the Affections of Miss Irwin, and the Approbation of all her Friends, is making Preparations for his approaching Nuptials, which he means to celebrate, in spite of the Interposition of every legal Impediment'.³⁷ Lord William Gordon and Frances Ingram were married with the consent of her guardians, Lady Irwin and Albany Wallis, at Whitkirk, Yorkshire, the family church of the Ingrams.³⁸ They did not marry in Scotland to avoid Lord Hardwicke's Act, challenging the Court of Chancery to act. An early report of a marriage in February was shown to be false, when it was announced:- 'Leeds March 6th (and not before) Lord William Gordon was married at Whitchurch, to Miss F Ingram, second daughter of the late Viscount Irwin, of Temple Newsham near this town.'³⁹

The couple returned to London to receive royal approval of the marriage. On 21 March, 'the Duke of Gordon presented his brother, Lord William Gordon, to his Majesty, on Account of his late Marriage'.⁴⁰ And on 23 March 'Lord William Gordon and his Lady were presented to the Queen in the Drawing Room [St James] on account of their marriage, and most graciously received. Lady William

³⁴ *Morning Post and Daily Advertiser*, 10 February 1781

³⁵ *Morning Post and Daily Advertiser*, 10 February 1781

³⁶ Statutes at large, 26, Geo.II, C.33 [1753]

³⁷ *Public Advertiser*, 14 February, 1781

³⁸ <http://cracraftspeerage.co.uk/online/content/index1540.htm>, accessed 7 October 2010

³⁹ *London Courant and Westminster Chronicle*, 10 March 1781

⁴⁰ *St James Chronicle or the British Evening Post*, 22 March 1781

Gordon was introduced by the Countess of Pembroke, and accompanied on her presentation by Lady Irwin, Lady Beauchamp, the Duke of Gordon etc'.⁴¹ Gordon and his new wife were accepted at Court. The Court of Chancery did not move in April to have the marriage annulled. Frances would have come of age on 12 July 1782, and would have been entitled to marry. Their only daughter, Frances Isabella Kerr Gordon (1782-1831) was born on 6 March 1782, and would have been made illegitimate by a forced annulment.⁴²

Lord Hardwicke's Act was intended to keep money and property within the establishment families, by protecting young and impressionable heiresses from contracting marriage with adventurers. However, the aristocracy had always relied on financial refreshment through marriages to heiresses from moneyed trading families, such as the Shepheards in this case. 'The Ingrams had risen to a Scots peerage in 1661 from a tallow chandler who married a haberdasher's daughter'.⁴³ The ninth and last Lord Irwin, only the fourth generation, had married Samuel Shepheard's illegitimate daughter.⁴⁴ Fox made use of this romantic case on 15 June, in his failed attempt to amend Hardwicke's Act.⁴⁵

While the public events of early 1781 were difficult for the Gordon family, they greatly benefitted Lord William personally. The trial of Lord George placed Lord William's past indiscretions in perspective. Lord William may have been romantic and impetuous, and not to be given serious responsibilities, but he was loyal to the crown and administration; not 'unbalanced, irresponsible and dangerous' as Haydon summarises Lord George.⁴⁶ Lord William's treatment by the Court of Chancery brought him sympathy and support from the aristocracy and from the press. In mid 1781, Lord William Gordon had a high and positive public profile, and both the opportunity and need to demonstrate his qualities

⁴¹ *St James Chronicle or the British Evening Post*, 24 March 1781

⁴² Bulloch, *Gay Gordons*, p.122

⁴³ Bulloch, *Gay Gordons*, p.116

⁴⁴ <http://cracraftspeerage.co.uk/online/content/index1540.htm>, accessed 7 October 2010

⁴⁵ *Parliamentary Register 1780-96*, House of Commons, Debates, p.630, 15 June 1781

⁴⁶ Haydon, 'Gordon, Lord George'

through the limited access to his wife's fortune, if he wished to retain the position and limited royal support that he had regained.

5-2. Lord William Gordon at Green Park Lodge and at Court

After his marriage in April 1781, Gordon had two addresses, Green Park Lodge as his town house in Piccadilly since 1778, and the use of a country seat of Temple Newsam, belonging to his mother-in-law but used within a harmonious family relationship. He owned no property himself, but now had modest funds through his marriage. This section examines the development and use of Green Park Lodge and its grounds.

An interest and an expertise in landscape gardening was already established in the family. His uncle was Lord Adam Gordon, later General Gordon, Colonel of the 26th (or Cameronian) Regiment from 1775 to 1782, later Commander of the Forces in Scotland (1789) and Governor of Edinburgh Castle (1796).⁴⁷ Lord Adam was a keen and accomplished landscape gardener:-

Lord Adam Gordon, a talented landscape gardener, had designed and laid out the landscape gardens of Prestonhall, Midlothian in 1767 and in 1781 was creating the garden at The Burn, Kincardineshire.⁴⁸

Lord William had already planned to improve the property at Green Park Lodge, obtaining permission in 1778:-

Lord William Gordon, the Deputy Ranger of the Parks, has obtained leave to enclose a considerable part of the Green Park, reaching from the gate of the Reservoir Westward, as far as Constitution Hill Gate. The greatest part of this ground is intended to be laid out in a beautiful shrubbery, and ... this will be an elegant addition to the Deputy Ranger's dwelling,....⁴⁹

Figure 5-1 illustrates the Lodge, and its garden as seen from the Green Park, a view apparently published in 1778, but showing implausible progress in developing the enclosed garden, and raising the question of whether the house with its semi-circular bay is shown before or after Gordon's alterations of 1781.⁵⁰

⁴⁷ William Anderson, *The Scottish Nation*; ..., Edinburgh, Fullerton, 1862, Vol.II, p.319

⁴⁸ AA Tait, *The landscape garden in Scotland 1735-1835*, Edinburgh, Edinburgh University Press, 1980, p.255

⁴⁹ *Morning Post and Daily Advertiser*, 14 Sept 1778

⁵⁰ Henry B Wheatley, *Round about Piccadilly and Pall Mall London*, Smith Elder, 1870, p.259



Figure 5-1. *Ranger's Lodge in the Green Park*, from the south, c.1778

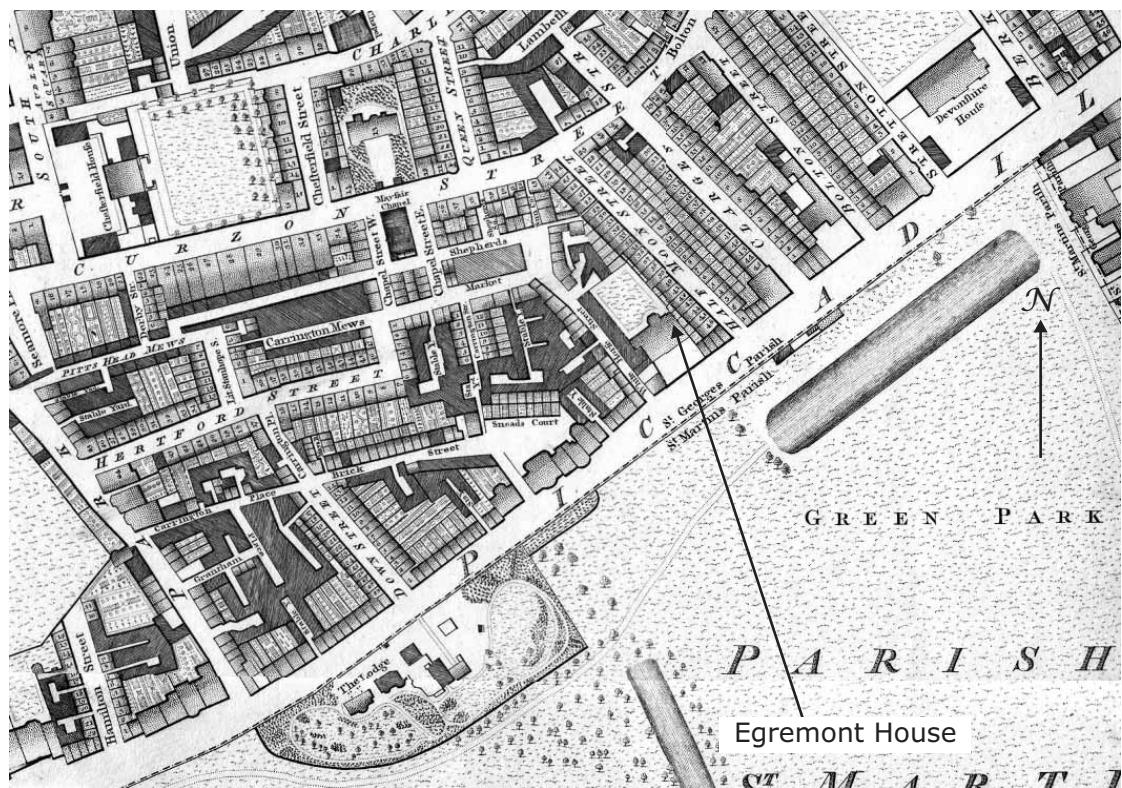


Figure 5-2. Green Park Lodge on Richard Horwood's *Plan of London and Westminster*, 1792-9

Figure 5-2 is Horwood's map of the area from 1792-9, and represents the layout of the garden made by Gordon.⁵¹

In 1781 Gordon undertook the work to improve the house, demonstrating both his responsible use of his new wealth and his taste at the same time. In November 1781 it was reported that, 'The various and elaborate repairs and additions which Lord William Gordon has been doing at the Ranger's Lodge in the Green Park are entirely at his own expense; and that reckoning, even to the raised price of grazing to the cow-keepers and horse graziers in the park, will probably not be paid during the natural term of his Lordship's life'.⁵² And in December that, 'On a scale so confined as the Lodge in the Green Park, and the little Plot of Ground about it, there is not, to the Praise of Lord William Gordon be it spoken, there is not any where a more agreeable Display of perfect Taste'.⁵³ 'He made much of his garden, which was laid out with great taste, and contained a small hermitage'.⁵⁴ His work on his grounds in Green Park included a commission for John Plaw to design that hermitage, in tune with the picturesque. Plaw included the plans as the first plate in his 'Rural Architecture', followed by two cottages he had built for the Duke of Gordon.⁵⁵ Plaw's frontispiece included the building on Belle Isle in Windermere, which he had designed for Mr English. In 1789, Gordon wrote to Pitt seeking security of tenure on Green Park Lodge.⁵⁶ He had paid Captain Shirley, the previous post holder, £400 per annum for life and he claimed to have spent 'upwards of £8,000 upon the premises'.⁵⁷ As a consequence, a grant of the Lodge for sixty one years, or their lives, was made in 1790.⁵⁸

⁵¹ Richard Horwood, *Plan of London and Westminster*, 1792-9

⁵² *Morning Chronicle and London Advertiser*, 23 November 1781

⁵³ *Public Advertiser*, 29 December 1781

⁵⁴ Wheatley, *Piccadilly*, p.259

⁵⁵ John Plaw, *Rural architecture; or designs from the simple cottage to the decorated villa*, Taylors, London, 1794

⁵⁶ JM Bulloch, *Notes and Queries*, Oxford Journals, 4 March 1911, pp.163-4

⁵⁷ Bulloch, *Queries*, 1911

⁵⁸ *St. James's Chronicle or the British Evening Post*, 2 March 1790

Green Park Lodge continued to be the principal residence of Lord William and Lady Gordon, noted in the London guides:-

The Green Park. In this too is a fine piece of water on the most elevated part. ... Here the Deputy Ranger, Lord William Gordon, has a neat Lodge, surrounded by shrubbery, which has a pleasing rural effect, although so near the houses of Piccadilly.⁵⁹

From 1781 Green Park Lodge was the principal residence of Lord William and Lady Gordon, who developed a high profile role in London society and at court. 'The new vis-à-vis of Lord William Gordon is justly commended as one of the most elegant carriages now about town: the body is ash coloured, and the carriage and wheels brimstone yellow, with silver springs etc'.⁶⁰ At some time before 8 June 1781 Gordon hosted a reception at the Lodge for the visiting Persian Ambassadors, attended by the Duke of Gloucester.⁶¹

An understanding of Gordon's social circle helps to explain the community of culture which he might will to influence by his actions in the English Lakes. Gordon's society included his illustrious and notorious neighbours in Piccadilly. The debauched Duke of Queensberry, known as 'Old Q', lived almost opposite the Lodge, as did Sir William and Lady Hamilton. Through them, a relationship with Nelson was established. The Duke left Gordon £2,000 in 1810, but left Lady Gordon £10,000.⁶² The proximity of Lord Egremont's town house, shown on Figure 5-2, was relevant to the purchases in Cumberland, because Lord Egremont was lord of the manor, though Egremont House was sold in 1794.⁶³ Gordon and George O'Brien Wyndham were contemporaries who were in the same social circle from 1778, with similar aesthetic interests and romantic reputations. No correspondence is evident, but on his death at the Lodge in 1823, 'Ld Wm Gordon, six hours before he expired, sent his old servant with a message of good

⁵⁹ *Ambulator or, a pocket companion in a tour round London*, Scatherd, London, 1796

⁶⁰ *Gazeteer and Daily Advertiser*, 22 April 1782

⁶¹ William Forbes, *An account of the life and writings of James Beattie*, 1806, p.340

⁶² 'Memoirs of the late Duke of Queensberry', *Scots Magazine*, February 1811, p.113

⁶³ Christopher Rowell, 'Wyndham, George O'Brien, third earl of Egremont (1751–1837)', *ODNB*, OUP, 2004

will to Lord Egremont, to tell him that he was going the long journey, & wished him happiness. Ld E. was a good deal affected'.⁶⁴

The most important social and political decision for Gordon was whether to support the King or the Prince of Wales, which increasingly became a choice that could not be evaded. Gordon was naturally more attuned to the Prince of Wales through his nature and lifestyle, and had irrevocably earned the disfavour of the King in 1768, but the Duke and Duchess of Gordon were loyal supporters of the administration. On 20 March 1782 the King was persuaded to appoint Gordon as vice admiral of Scotland, but he was most reluctant:-

I should not be very sincere if I did not confess that I fear the appointment of Ld. William Gordon to so dignified a position as Vice-Admiral of Scotland will give well-grounded disgust to the peerage of Scotland, he not being one of them and certainly his private character not being much in his favour. If Ld. North can certify that the D. of Gordon will look upon it in the same light as if given to him, that may a little palliate it.⁶⁵

Gordon held this sinecure with its £1,000 per annum until 1795, subsequently receiving an allowance of £1,200 per annum in compensation.⁶⁶

However, it seems that Gordon inclined to the Whigs until 1784, being closely associated with Georgiana, Duchess of Devonshire, well known as Fox's Duchess.⁶⁷ She was a key supporter of the Prince and unwillingly involved in his secret marriage, and she was also Gordon's neighbour at Devonshire House in Piccadilly, as shown on Figure 5-2.⁶⁸ On 19 March 1784, after learning of his defection to the administration, Georgiana wrote to her mother that 'Ld William Gordon, you know, has been a Rat and chang'd sides. They thought he wd not, as he jok'd till the last, asking them if they saw his tail growing, it is to oblige his

⁶⁴ Lord Ilchester, *Elizabeth, Lady Holland to her son 1821-1845*, London, John Murray, 1946, p.22

⁶⁵ George III, *The correspondence of King George the third with Lord North, 1768-1783*, ed. Donne, New York, Da Capo Press, 1971, Letter 708, 9 February 1782

⁶⁶ *A New edition (corrected to the 1st of January) of the royal kalendar; or Compleat and correct annual register for England, Scotland, Ireland ...1783*, p.147; Bulloch, *Gay Gordons*, p.113

⁶⁷ Amanda Foreman, 'Cavendish , Georgiana, duchess of Devonshire (1757–1806)', *ODNB*, OUP 2004

⁶⁸ Foreman, 'Georgiana'

brother'.⁶⁹ Gordon kept his options open and kept close the Prince of Wales, a noted Francophile. When Madame le Genlis visited England in 1785 'By desire of the Prince of Wales, Lord William Gordon entertained her at his house, and the "First Gentleman of Europe" "paid particular attention" to the illustrious adviser of Philippe Egalite', the democratic Duc de Chartres.⁷⁰

Though Gordon tried to support both rival Duchesses, in the first Regency Crisis of 1789 he voted with Pitt to severely restrict the contingent power of the Regent.⁷¹ Despite this, he kept close to the Prince of Wales and his set, being rewarded eventually by joining the Regent's household on 27 September 1817 as receiver-general of the Duchy of Cornwall.⁷² Gordon's obituary in the *Gentleman's Magazine* of May 1823 stated simply; 'May 1. At his official residence in the Green Park, the Right Hon. Lord William Gordon, Deputy Ranger of St James's Park and receiver-general of the Duchy of Cornwall', adding some family details.⁷³ Having reformed his behaviour in 1781, Gordon left only one illegitimate son, from the 1790s.⁷⁴

5-3. The western shore of Derwentwater to 1781.

Figures 2-1 & 3-1 provide general location plans from 1770/1 for the Cumberland part of this chapter. The western shore of Derwentwater was in the forest and manor of Derwentfells, which in turn was within the Honour of Cockermouth. That parcel of the manor, including also Braithwaite, Coledale, Newlands, Portinscale and Buttermere, was known and administered as the manor of Braithwaite & Coledale.⁷⁵ The land at the head of the lake, which was subject to flooding, lay in the manor of Borrowdale, between the manors of Braithwaite & Coledale and

⁶⁹ Earl of Bessborough, ed., *Georgiana; extracts from the correspondence of Georgiana, Duchess of Devonshire*, London, John Murray, 1955, p.77

⁷⁰ Austin Dobson, *Four French women*, www.General-Books.net, p.59

⁷¹ Namier, *History of Parliament*, p.520

⁷² *The London Gazette*, 27 September 1817

⁷³ *The Gentleman's Magazine*, May 1823, Vol.93, p.468

⁷⁴ C Roy Hudleston, *Cumberland families and heraldry*, Cumberland & Westmorland Antiquarian & Archaeological Society (CWAAS), 1978, p.69, Conway

⁷⁵ Angus JL Winchester, *The harvest of the hills*, Edinburgh, Edinburgh University Press, 2000, Figure 2.7, p.43

Castlerigg & Derwentwater. That land in Borrowdale was held by freeholders, under the Lawsons of Isel as lords, who also owned St Herbert's Island.⁷⁶

In 1758, Braithwaite & Coledale was a customary manor, containing a strip of farmsteads along the western shore of Derwentwater, giving way to the common grazing on the fellside above.⁷⁷ The woodland on the shoreline farmsteads, and any surviving on the common, belonged to Lord Egremont as lord of the manor, as did the mineral rights.⁷⁸ Customary tenants had rights to use underwood, and to request necessary structural timber for their buildings, but in 1758 the scenic value was largely under the control of the second Lord Egremont, Charles Wyndham (1710-1763).⁷⁹

While the Greenwich Hospital demesne estate on the eastern shore was old parkland, those properties on the west were more directly associated with the mining inheritance. The copper and lead veins were accessible from the eastern scarps of the Derwent Fells alongside Derwentwater and Bassenthwaite Lake, and from the Newlands and Coledale Valleys.⁸⁰ The management of the woods in Braithwaite & Coledale, Thornthwaite and Wythop manors had been linked for centuries to the associated mining, providing both structural timber and coaling wood, and supporting the by-product industry of tanning leather, important for example at Wythop.⁸¹ As well as being a market town and mining town, Keswick had a considerable leather trade, noted by Thomas Denton in 1687-8 and recorded by James Clarke as 'much declined' in 1787.⁸² The mining and smelting of non-ferrous metal, and its use of woodland, long predated the Mines Royal of

⁷⁶ Susan Johnson, 'Borrowdale, its land tenure and the records of the Lawson manor', *Transactions CWAAS CW2*, 1982, pp.63-71; Cumbria Archive Centre Carlisle (CACC)/DNT6

⁷⁷ Cumbria Archive Centre Whitehaven (CACW)/DLec./300, survey of customary tenements, 1758

⁷⁸ CACW/DLec./16&18, mineral leases

⁷⁹ CACW/DLec./265, petitions to the lord, illustrates wood management practice

⁸⁰ John Postlethwaite, *Mines and mining in the (English) Lake District*, 3rd edition, Whitehaven, Moss, 1913

⁸¹ Angus JL Winchester, & Mary Wane, *Thomas Denton; a perambulation of Cumberland 1687-1688*, The Surtees Society, 2003, p.137

⁸² James Clarke, *An accurate survey of Cumberland, Westmorland, and Lancashire: together with an account, historical, topographical, and descriptive, of the adjacent country ...*, Penrith, 1787, p.63

the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, which concentrated the processing in a large water-powered plant to the east of Keswick, at Brigham on the River Greta.⁸³

The woodland on Derwentwater's western shore was already in need of preservation in 1454, well before the Elizabethan industrialisation, when the 'two fellside enclosures ... , 'Catbelclose' and 'Scurlothyn Parke', formerly leased out, were brought back onto the lord's hand and enclosed to protect the greenwood growing in them for the use of the local lead mines'.⁸⁴ Winchester considers that this and other examples illustrate 'woods preserved for specifically industrial purposes. The perception of woodland was changing: no longer was it a survival of the untamed landscape to be exploited at will, but rather a dwindling resource, valuable for a range of uses and requiring careful protection'.⁸⁵ On the western shores of Derwentwater, and at its head in the manor of Borrowdale, there was a defined group of enclosures between the water and the open fell. Parks of coppiced woodland were actively managed for charcoal and bark, used annually in sections, and woodlands produced timber which was felled when each wood was mature, as will be shown. This management contrasted with the clear felling of all the mature timber on the Greenwich Hospital estate on the eastern shore, which occurred from 1748 into the 1750s, to be followed by fifty years of regeneration as established in Chapter 3. The further change of the perception of woodland around Derwentwater, from a valued resource into woodland of ornamental value, followed the interest of the new community of culture who owned its cultural construction from 1755.

In 1759 Lord Egremont made a formal offer to enfranchise customary lands in Braithwaite and Coledale to their tenants, subject to the terms offered

⁸³ WG Collingwood, *Elizabethan Keswick*, Whitehaven, Michael Moon, 1987

⁸⁴ Angus JL Winchester, *Landscape and Society in medieval Cumbria*, Edinburgh, John Donald, 1987, p.107

⁸⁵ Winchester, *Landscape*, p.107

and a sufficient response.⁸⁶ By this means, Lord Egremont started a process by which the wood on the western shore of Derwentwater was gradually sold, but as standing wood on a new freehold, to be managed by the new owner. By 1759 the timber trees on the opposite shore had been felled and the Greenwich Hospital strongly criticised.⁸⁷ The sale of standing timber and land by Lord Egremont would shift the management responsibility of the western shore to the purchasers. However, the enfranchisement was general to a number of manors, and it is not suggested that enfranchisement was motivated by a wish to avoid potential criticism of any harvesting by Lord Egremont

The option given for the customary tenants to purchase their freeholds in 1759 was not immediately attractive to all tenants, and was particularly complex for those estates hosting the lord's woods of high value. A partial uptake in 1759 was followed by a single enfranchisement of Brandelhow in 1774. A second round of enfranchisements in 1777, under the third Lord Egremont, George O'Brien Wyndham, resulted from a petition of 1776.⁸⁸ Table 5-1 gives the details of the enfranchisements of the estates along the western shore of Derwentwater, including those of Lord William Gordon in the 1780s. By 1781, Table 5-1 shows that the Lord's Egremont had sold standing wood on Derwentwater worth £2318, or four times the value of the enfranchisements, or half of the value of the Keswick woods sold by the Greenwich Hospital in 1747.

The enfranchisement offer followed Browne's survey, in 1758, of the whole of the customary property in Derwentfells Manor, with a view to offering a general enfranchisement, including the wood.⁸⁹ 'The tenants will have the first offer of treating for all the timber and wood, upon fair and reasonable terms. And

⁸⁶ CACW/DLec./81, Enfranchisement proposal 1759

⁸⁷ John Dalton, *A descriptive poem, addressed to two ladies, at their return from viewing the mines near Whitehaven ...*, London, 1755, pp.vii-viii

⁸⁸ CACW/DLec./81, enfranchisement proposal 1759; CACW/DLec./9/1-50, CACW/DLec./265/544

⁸⁹ CACW/DLec./300, Browne's surveys of property under the Courts of Braithwaite & Coledale, and Derwentfells, 1758

Date	Tenant	Description	Acres	Cost Lands £	Cost Wood	Total Enf £	Mkt Value £ (4)	% value (5)
1 Dec 1759	Thos Gillbanks (1)	Manesty	50	40	145	185	291	64
12 Jul 1774	Henry Tolson (2)	Bradelhow	47	128	1048	1176	1580	74
27 Jun 1787	Lord Wm Gordon	Hawsend & Parkside	39	160	83	243	612	40
27 Jun 1787	Lord Wm Gordon	Waterend & Parkside	13	52	15	67	186	36
1 Dec 1759	John Fletcher (7)	Waterend	44	80	145	225	421	53
1 Dec 1759	William Stanger (3)	Faw Park	75	200	963	1163	1720	68
30 Dec 1778	Ann Westray (6)	Hawsend	16	68	17	85	240	35
1 Aug 1786	Lord Wm Gordon	Swinside Intacks	8	32	371	403	516	78
		Totals	292 a	£760	£2787	£3547	£5566	64%

Notes

- (1) Thos Gilbanks was yeoman of Manesty. This property was later owned by the Rowland Stephenson.
 - (2) Henry Tolson of Papcastle, gent, was trustee for the owner, Robert Baynes of Cockermouth.
 - (3) A yeoman of Deanscales. Owned by John Fisher in 1781.
 - (4) Market value is calculated as 26 years purchase on land where cost of enfranchisement is 8 years purchase, plus ten ninths of the wood.
 - (5) Without wood the percentage of value paid would be 31%, as in much of the manor elsewhere.
 - (6) A widow of Waltham, Leicestershire.
 - (7) A carpenter of Water End.
- Principal sources: CACW/DLec./9,81&300

Table 5-1. Costs of enfranchising Derwentwater property in Braithwaite & Coledale

considerations must be had to the future value of the wood lands; when by enfranchisement each tenant will be at liberty to enclose and preserve the wood, and the sole property thereof be transferred from the Lord to tenant'.⁹⁰ The mineral rights were retained. The enfranchisement was not combined with the enclosure of the commons, which meant that the tenants could not offer the lord a large part of the commons in lieu of payment for enfranchisement, as has been described in the case of Thornthwaite in Chapter 4. The tenant paid eight years purchase, or roughly 31 per cent of market value.⁹¹ The ancient, insignificant, customary rent was reserved as a free rent.⁹² Lord Egremont did allow eleven months to pay and also offered mortgages on any part of the property at 4 per cent for a maximum of ten years, but not on the wood.⁹³ If the customary estate was not already mortgaged, a tenant without cash could gain easy access to mortgage finance, secured on the property. Brown's survey showed that the customary estates were sometimes already mortgaged, and that the customary tenants varied in status from small yeomen to significant gentlemen, sometimes being not the owners but trustees or holders of mortgages.⁹⁴

The option to purchase a tenement containing a significant value in wood might cause difficulty for the tenants, firstly in obtaining a valuation and then in obtaining the necessary finance. The lord and tenant were each to appoint a valuer, but this was changed to allow Lord Egremont to appoint two valuers, and their valuation would be discounted by 10%.⁹⁵ The wood had to be paid for before it could be cut, and the significance of that for the tenant depended on the relative costs of the enfranchisement and the wood.⁹⁶ The wood cost 90 per cent

⁹⁰ CACW/DLec./81, proposal

⁹¹ CACW/DLec./81, proposal

⁹² CACW/DLec./81, proposal

⁹³ CACW/DLec./81, proposal

⁹⁴ CACW/DLec./300, identifies mortgages

⁹⁵ CACW/DLec./81, customary estate of Robert Baynes

⁹⁶ CACW/DLec./81, Baynes to Lord Egremont, 10 May 1760

of market value plus extra for future value, which for Brandelhow was five per cent.⁹⁷ So a large element of wood made it difficult to raise finance for the purchase, the security being the wood itself, and that wood may not be ready to cut. But in all the cases examined, when the tenement was enfranchised, the wood was sold to the customary tenant. No evidence has been found of Lord Egremont harvesting timber on these estates before enfranchisement. Rather, in 1759, at Browne's suggestion, Lord Egremont purchased Scalethorns, on Derwentwater to the south of Brandelhow, for the purpose of growing wood.⁹⁸ The sensible plan of a newly enfranchised owner would be to sell timber and coaling wood as soon as possible to pay off the whole of the loan, leaving the improving wood and future coppice income to make a profit, or clearing the land for tillage.

In 1759 there were three estates on the western shore of Derwentwater which contained large woodlands. These were Faw Park, Water End and Brandelhow, or Old Brandley, all of which were later purchased by Lord William Gordon. These are illustrated well in Figure 5-3, which depicts the felling of the Keswick woods by Spedding and partners around 1750. It is possible to establish the nature and management of these woodlands from 1759 to 1781. The detail of closes in late 1781 is shown in Figure 5-4.

At Faw Park, Browne noted in 1758 that it had a 'great deal of very good timber' and was not enclosed, suggesting it was mature wood pasture without coppice.⁹⁹ Faw Park, including twenty acres of parkland, was enfranchised in 1759 to William Stanger, a yeoman of Deanscales in the parish of Dean, with £200 paid for the enfranchisement and £963 paid for the wood worth over

⁹⁷ CACW/DLec./81, Baynes' estate

⁹⁸ CACW/DLec./300, Browne's survey of Braithwaite & Coldale

⁹⁹ CACW/DLec./300, William Stanger's tenement

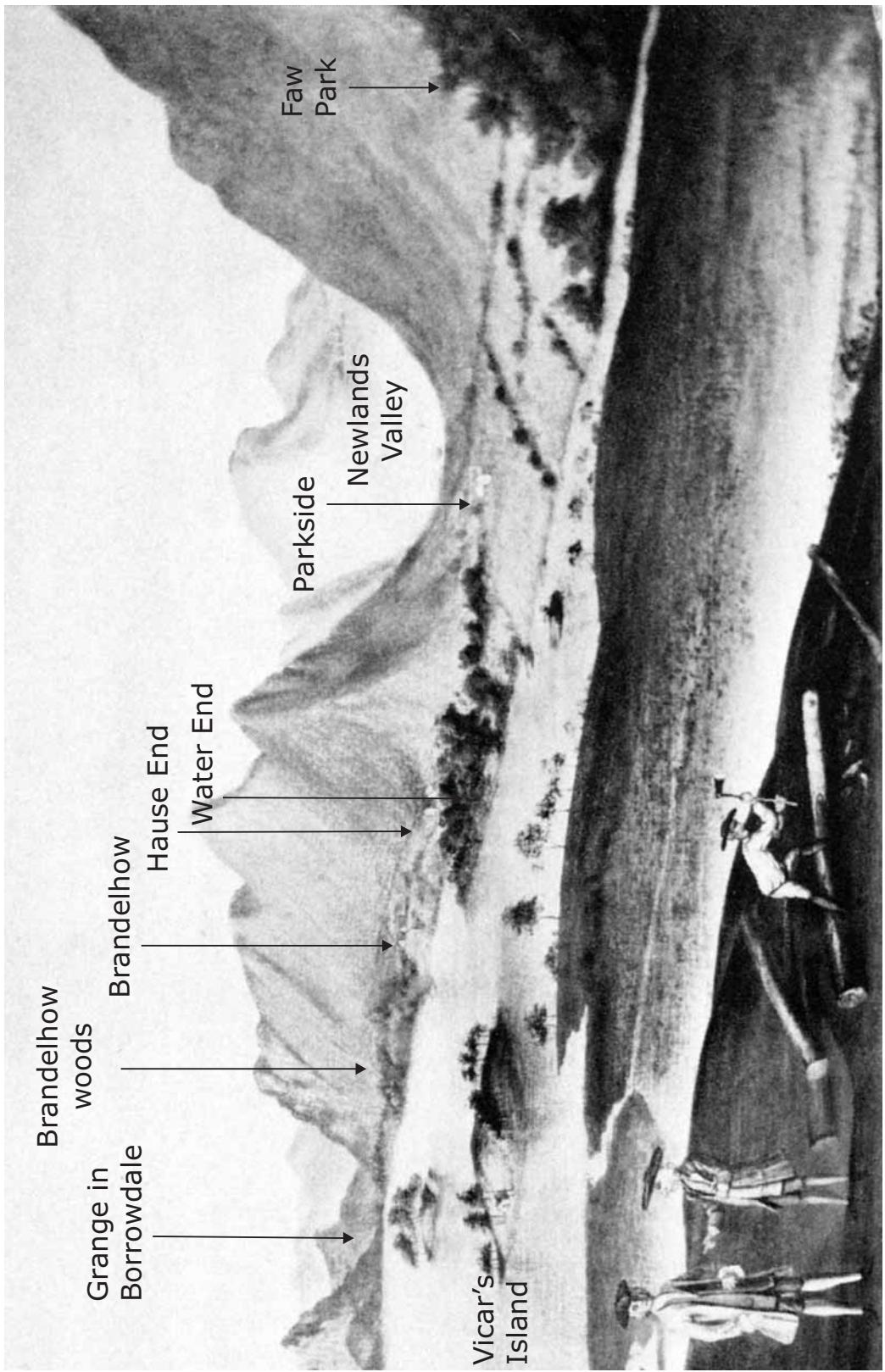


Figure 5-3. The western shore of Derwentwater, seen from Crow Park circa 1749. From *Sale of Timber*, from the Spedding collection.

This figure approximates the plan by William Beane made following his survey of 1781 for Lord William Gordon, re-assembled from copies made by Joseph Pocklington in 1788
CACC/DSen./14/6/3

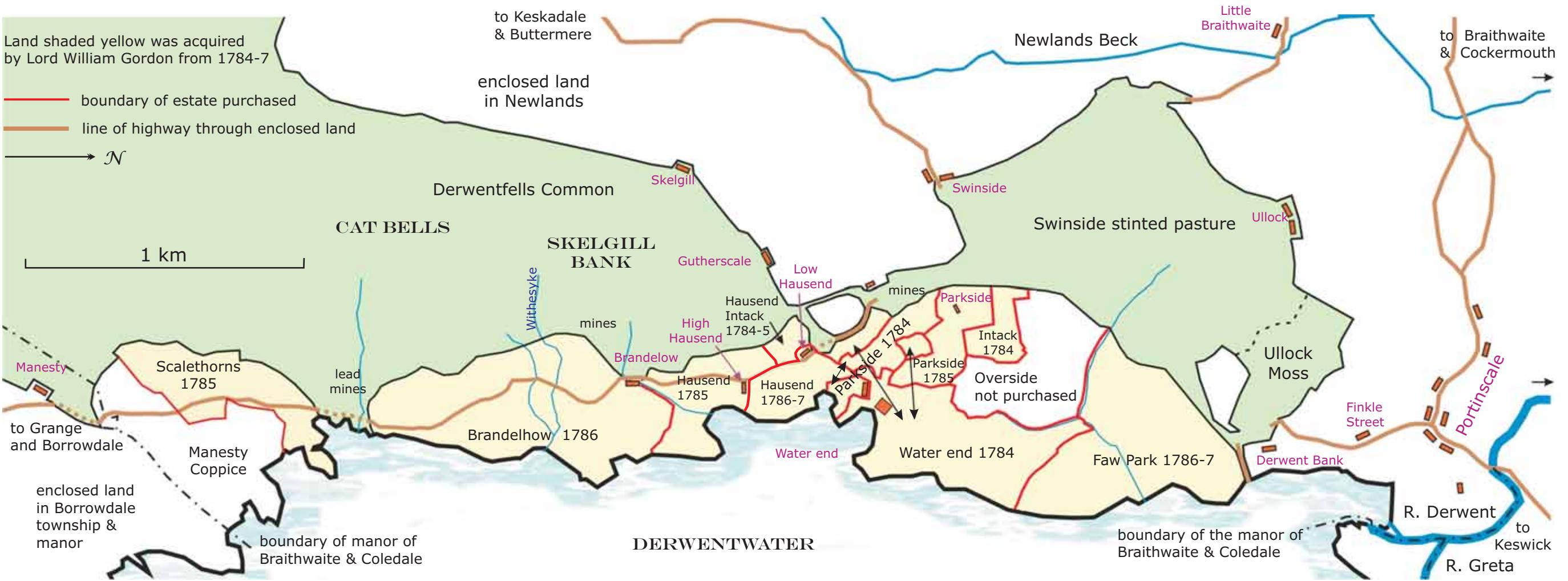
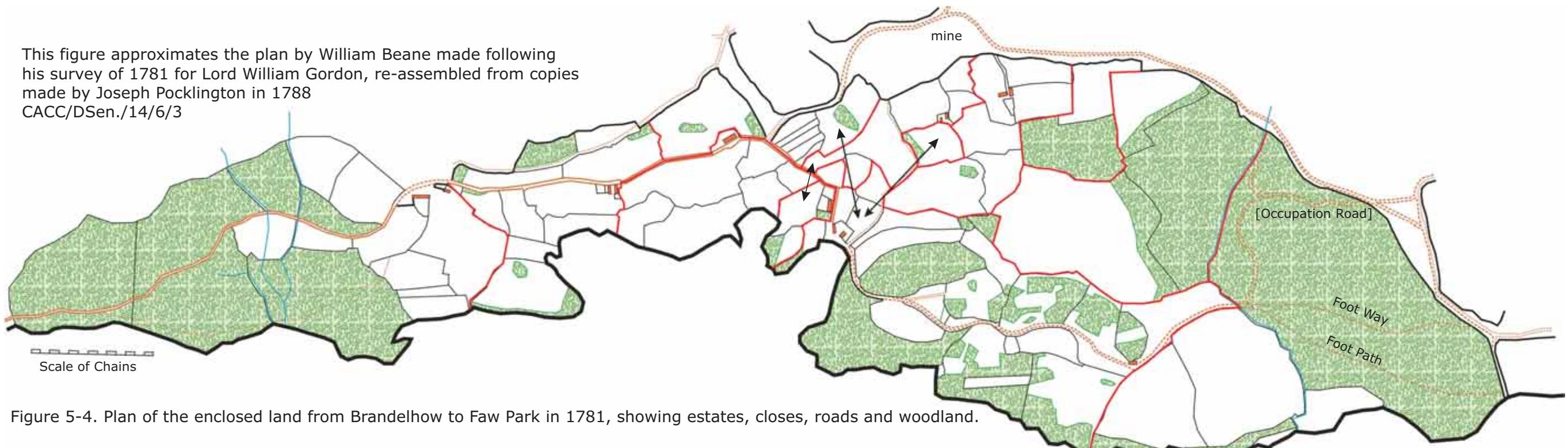


Figure 5-5. Plan of the western shore of Derwentwater in 1781, showing the enclosed land and the estates purchased by Lord William Gordon by 1787

£1,000.¹⁰⁰ He needed a 'loan' of £600 from Lord Egremont when he paid the balance of £563 after the eleven months' grace.¹⁰¹ That £600 was the full market value of the tenement without the wood. By 25 April 1763 he had repaid half the 'loan' plus interest, presumably from sales of some of the timber.¹⁰² Much of that wood survived for Gray's delight in 1769, but not for West in 1779.¹⁰³ By 1781 the woodland had been purchased by John Fisher, and the remaining wood was valued by Poole at only £16 for 27 oak trees (*Quercus petraea*), a few alders (*Alnus glutinosa*) and a little coaling wood.¹⁰⁴ It had been almost wholly cleared.

Water End was also enfranchised in 1759, but to John Fletcher, a carpenter of Water End. The wood on the 35 acres of parks on this 44 acre estate, was valued at £144 16s in 1759, far less than Faw Park.¹⁰⁵ In 1781 the wood was valued by John Poole at £251, with part of Parkside.¹⁰⁶ All but £15 worth was coal wood and bark, suggesting the Water End was principally oak coppice, as suggested by the structure of closes in Figure 5-4. Only twenty larger oak trees remained, perhaps in hedgerows, with a thousand small birch (*Betula* sp.), presumably intended for woodland products.¹⁰⁷ Outside of the woodland, Water End and Parkside comprised numerous small closes averaging two acres, very much a plebeian working landscape.¹⁰⁸

Bradelhow is now an iconic and symbolic woodland property, being the first property in the Lake District owned by the National Trust. The tenement is likely to have a close relationship with the 'Catbelclose' taken in hand for wood in 1454.¹⁰⁹ In 1781 its 82 acres were bounded to the south and west by the workings on the lead vein, which met Derwentwater where the common meets

¹⁰⁰ CACW/DLec./9/5

¹⁰¹ CACW/DLec./81, note of repayments, 25 April 1763

¹⁰² CACW/DLec./81, repayments, 1763

¹⁰³ Thomas West, *A guide to the lakes: ...*, London, 2nd ed., 1780, pp.88-9, drafted in 1779

¹⁰⁴ CACW/DBen./1/1945

¹⁰⁵ CACW/DLec./9/6

¹⁰⁶ CACW/DBen./1/1944

¹⁰⁷ CACW/DBen./1/1945

¹⁰⁸ CACW/DBen./1/1945

¹⁰⁹ Winchester, *Landscape*, p.107

the lake to the south of the property.¹¹⁰ The Old Brandley mine, on the fellside, was worked well before 1781, and is shown generally by Hodskinson and Donald on Figure 3-1. The name Brandelhow was given later to the substantial workings by the lake shore from 1819, using water and steam power for processing and drainage.¹¹¹ However, those Brandelhow mines most probably had earlier workings, which are shown by Clarke in 1787, but which may not have been worked in the late eighteenth century.¹¹²

In 1758 Brandelhow, including the 'great tract of woods' of 47 acres, was the customary property of George Perrot Esq, who was probably the George Perrot, (1710-1780), who was a Baron of the Exchequer from 1763-1776.¹¹³ Perrot did not enfranchise in 1759, avoiding the payment of nearly a thousand pounds for wood. Robert Baynes of Cockermouth (1717-1789), was Lord Egremont's steward at Cockermouth, and managed the process of enfranchisements, retiring in 1778.¹¹⁴ In 1770 Baynes purchased the customary property, of rent 14s 10d, and he applied to enfranchise it in 1774 under the third Lord Egremont.¹¹⁵ Baynes set down its history and attempted, unsuccessfully, to purchase the wood at the 1759 valuation, justified by the high cost of carriage of timber. Baynes had purchased Brandelhow for £450 with a flock of 125 sheep.¹¹⁶ He had let it as a sheep farm at £19-10s per annum, the tenant paying taxes, the best he could get.¹¹⁷ Brandelhow, like other properties, had rights on Derwentfells common, which were unaffected by enfranchisement. Baynes had installed Henry Tolson, a gentleman of Papcastle, as the customary tenant. Tolson was Baynes' trustee, a common practice that circumvented the

¹¹⁰ Postlethwaite, *Mines*, provides a history and plan of the Brandley and Brandelhow Mines

¹¹¹ Postlethwaite, *Mines*, pp.83-6

¹¹² Clarke, *Survey*, Plan of Derwentwater

¹¹³ CACW/DLec./300, Perrot's tenement

¹¹⁴ CACW Leconfield Archive Catalogue, Robert Baynes, 1717-1789, attorney at Cockermouth, was steward 1758-1778

¹¹⁵ CACW/DLec./81, Baynes' estate

¹¹⁶ CACW/DLec./81, Baynes' estate

¹¹⁷ CACW/DLec./81, Baynes' estate

inability to devise a customary estate in a will before 1839.¹¹⁸ Baynes had made no profit because the two fines he had paid had equalled the rent, and he hoped for special treatment.¹¹⁹ He restated the original 1759 valuation, which defined the woods well:-

Bark 400 quarters @ 10s	240-0-0
Coals 65 dozen @ 10s	32-10-0
Timber 5052 trees numbered, marked containing 22734 ft @ 8d	<u>757-16-0</u>
	Total 1030-6-0
Deduct 10%	<u>103-0-7</u>
	Remains 927-5-5
The future value of the woodland	<u>45-0-0</u>
	Total <u>972-5-5</u> ¹²⁰

In both 1759 and 1774 Brandelhow was mostly a mature oak wood, with a little coaling wood. After purchasing the estate as an investment, Baynes set about cutting the oak wood. Poole's description of 1785 identifies numerous springings and plantings within the last ten years, including a greater variety of species consistent with changing practice.¹²¹

In 1781, from the above, the three main wooded estates on the western shore of Derwentwater included very little old timber, having been recently felled or being managed as coppice by their new owners. As the western shores of Derwentwater increased in cultural value, the property in wood became increasingly the property of small owners, who had paid for it and would expect to see a financial benefit.

Through the 1770s there developed a conflict of interest between those whose livelihood derived from the economic products of timber and working coppice woodland, a plebeian space, and those who owned and appreciated the patrician cultural assets enjoyed on the tour. The western shores became of more interest as tourism developed in the 1770s, particularly the circuit of

¹¹⁸ CACW/DLec./81, Baynes' estate

¹¹⁹ CACW/DLec./81, Baynes' estate

¹²⁰ CACW/DLec./81, Baynes' estate

¹²¹ CACW/DBen./1/1927

Derwentwater. Arthur Young published the first such tour with a detailed commentary in 1770, though much was undertaken by boat.¹²²

Thomas West consolidated the circuit of Derwentwater by road, with recommended stations, as a settled picturesque tour in 1778.¹²³ In his first edition West had noted Faw Park, on the western shore as 'a round hill completely cloathed in wood'.¹²⁴ But for the second edition, published posthumously by Cockin as editor, West added a footnote which was retained in further eighteenth-century editions: -

There is one impediment attends his descriptions, and that is, the annual fall of timber and coppice-wood, and the frequent removal of the picturesque trees, which take place on the borders of the lakes. These accidents, however, as they cannot be prevented, must be allowed for by the candid traveller, where he finds the original differing in these respects from the account given of it in the book.

The fall of Crow-park on Derwentwater, has long been regretted. And the present fall of Lord Egr-m-t's woods has denuded a considerable part of the western borders of the lake. Nor is Mr Gray's beautiful description of Foe-park above mentioned, to be now verified. And, alas! The waving woods of Barrow-side and Barrow-gill are no more.¹²⁵

West's criticism was aimed at the third Earl of Egremont, George O'Brien Wyndham (1751-1837), who inherited in 1763 and was a noted aesthete and sponsor of art, later particularly of Turner.¹²⁶ Lord Egremont would have been concerned by West's publication. However, by 1780 much of the land on the western shore had been enfranchised, and the woodland with it. George O'Brien Wyndham now had little control of the aesthetics of Derwentwater's shore.

5-4. The creation of the Water End estate

In 1781 Gordon agreed to purchase, or took an option to purchase, the Water End estate on Derwentwater, and apart from having a survey and valuation made of all the other enclosure on the western shore, he did not proceed further until

¹²² Arthur Young, *A six months' tour through the North of England*, London ..., London, Strahan, 1770

¹²³ West , *A guide to the lakes*: ..., London, 1st ed., 1778

¹²⁴ West, *Guide*, 1778, p.108

¹²⁵ Thomas West, ed. William Cockin, *A guide to the lakes*: ..., 2nd ed., London, 1780, pp.88-9

¹²⁶ Rowell, 'Wyndham'

1784.¹²⁷ The reasons for his purchase and the circumstances of it are unrecorded. Brown states that 'Joseph [Pocklington] had been instrumental in finding Lord William the estate near Keswick where he was able to build his villa'.¹²⁸ This seems unlikely and may be based on a misinterpretation of the date and purpose of copies of estate information made by Pocklington in 1788.¹²⁹ It is possible that Gordon was in the English Lakes in 1781. From the absence of reports in the London newspapers, and from correspondence, he and his new wife appear to have been mostly out of town from May to November 1781, and would presumably be often at Temple Newsham. July was spent at Hills in Horsham, Sussex, a part of the Ingram estates, and by 5 November they were at Temple Newsham, where Lord William planned to remain until 20 November, then intending to go to London until Christmas.¹³⁰

The hypothesis to be examined is that William Gilpin provided the model for Gordon's intervention. Gilpin had toured the eastern shore of Derwentwater in 1772 and the western shore in 1776, as part of his series of tours which commenced in 1770.¹³¹ For each tour he wrote a series of manuscript observations to accompany his illustrations from these original picturesque tours.¹³² These tours were published from 1782, due to the high cost of reproducing the illustrations, but the manuscripts of each tour were widely circulated soon after the completion of the volume.¹³³ Those for the English Lakes reached George III and Queen Charlotte in the 1770s, and the Queen accepted

¹²⁷ CACW/DBen./1/1943-6

¹²⁸ Margery Brown, *A man of no taste whatsoever: Joseph Pocklington, 1736-1817*, Milton Keynes, Author House, 2010, p.50.

¹²⁹ Thomason & Woof, *Derwentwater*, No.60

¹³⁰ West Sussex Record Office, Goodwood MS, M1175, Nos.275-7 & 284

¹³¹ William Gilpin, *Observations on the River Wye, ..., relative chiefly to picturesque beauty, made in the year 1770 ...*, London, 1782; William Gilpin, *Observations, relative chiefly to picturesque beauty, made in the year 1772 ...*, London, Blamire, 1786; William Gilpin, *Observations, relative chiefly to picturesque beauty, made in the year 1776 ...*, London 1789

¹³² William D Templeman, *The Life and work of William Gilpin (1724-1804)*, Illinois studies in language and literature, vol.XXIV, no.2, Urbana, University of Illinois Press, 1939, pp.228-232

¹³³ Templeman, *Gilpin*, pp.228-232

the dedication of the first volume on the English Lakes, published in 1786.¹³⁴ It was in the second volume including the English Lakes, from a tour mainly of Scotland in 1776, but finally published in 1789, that Gilpin promoted an overall management plan for Derwentwater on picturesque principles; 'A circuit round the lake, naturally suggests the visionary idea of improving it. If the whole lake ... belonged to one person, a nobler scene for improvement could not well be conceived. ... It might be rendered *more accessible* – it might be *cleared of deformities* – it might be *planted*, -and it might be *decorated*'.¹³⁵ Gilpin's scheme envisaged a good carriage road 'but such a road as would form both a pleasing line in itself; and shew the beauties of the lake to the best advantage'.¹³⁶ The manuscript for that volume appears to be a model for Gordon, and Gordon was in a position to see it in the important period 1778-81. That volume, mainly the Scottish observations, would have had direct application to Lord Adam Gordon's estate at The Burn, where he was applying picturesque principles by 1781.¹³⁷

In 1781 the 77 acre Water End estate, which Gordon agreed to purchase for £1,400 from John Fletcher, included a smaller freehold and customary estate at Parkside and the Water End farmhouse, whose location on a bay on Derwentwater gave a fine view towards the head of the lake.¹³⁸ John Poole charged Gordon for eighteen days work between 1 November and 21 December 1781, with William Beane as surveyor, to value both 'his lands lately purchased at Water End' and the 'lands adjoining his purchase'.¹³⁹ Poole made valuations of land belonging to seven owners, and Beane, of Cockermouth, drew a plan for Gordon in 1782 of those estates plus Brandlehow.¹⁴⁰ The valuations accounted for all of the enclosed land between the road north of Faw Park and the boundary

¹³⁴ Templeman, *Gilpin*, pp.228-232

¹³⁵ Gilpin, *Observations* 1776, p.162

¹³⁶ Gilpin, *Observations* 1776, p.162

¹³⁷ Tait, *Scotland*, p.255

¹³⁸ CACW/DBen./1/1943&1946; CACC/DSen./14/6/3, copy of Beane's plan shows a house of two storeys

¹³⁹ CACW/DBen./1/1940, 1944-6

¹⁴⁰ CACC/DSen./14/6/3, sketched copy made in 1788

with the Brandelhow estate.¹⁴¹ Figure 5-5 illustrates the context of the survey and the progress of the apparent plan to obtain a discrete block of lakeshore land, bounded by the common and the unenclosed Swinside stinted pasture, which was later enclosed by an agreement of 1814.¹⁴² The boundaries of the component estates, many of which had changed in content since Brown's survey of 1758, have been taken from sketches or tracings of Beane's plan made in 1788, reassembled in Figure 5-4.¹⁴³ Figure 5-6 illustrates the Derwent Water Bay estate just after the death of Gordon, based on a plan made in 1824 when his trustees attempted to sell the estate.¹⁴⁴ It also illustrates the routes of the two new roads constructed around the estate.

After Poole's survey in 1781, nothing was progressed until January 1784, when John Poole returned with Thomas Bouch to make a survey for materials for building 'a Mansion House and Park Walls'.¹⁴⁵ In February Thomas Bouch gave an estimate for building, but in terms of a price for building the component parts by quantity, and not to a house design.¹⁴⁶ By March 1784 Gordon had engaged Thomas Benson, attorney of Cockermouth, to act for him in the purchase of Water End. Benson, (1742-1807), was also Lord Egremont's steward from 1778 to 1807, and the son in law of the previous steward, Robert Baynes, who now owned Brandelhow.¹⁴⁷ On 5 March 1784 Gordon confirmed to Thomas Benson, that 'with respect to Mr Fletcher's of Waterend I have determined to compleat that Purchase'.¹⁴⁸ The Water End purchase was completed by May. Table 5-2 gives details of the estates purchased by Gordon up to 1787.

The renewed activity of 1784 included the progressing of the acquisitions of the adjacent estates. Before 5 March, Thomas Benson had written to Gordon with the estimated prices for some or all of them, which Gordon found 'so

¹⁴¹ CACW/DBen./1/1944

¹⁴² CACW/DLec./136, provides the details and plan of the Swinside enclosure

¹⁴³ CACC/DSen./14/6/3

¹⁴⁴ CACW/DBen./box412

¹⁴⁵ CACW/DBen./1/1959

¹⁴⁶ CACW/DBen./1/1959

¹⁴⁷ Hudleston, *Families*, p.23, Benson

¹⁴⁸ CACW/DBen./1/1958

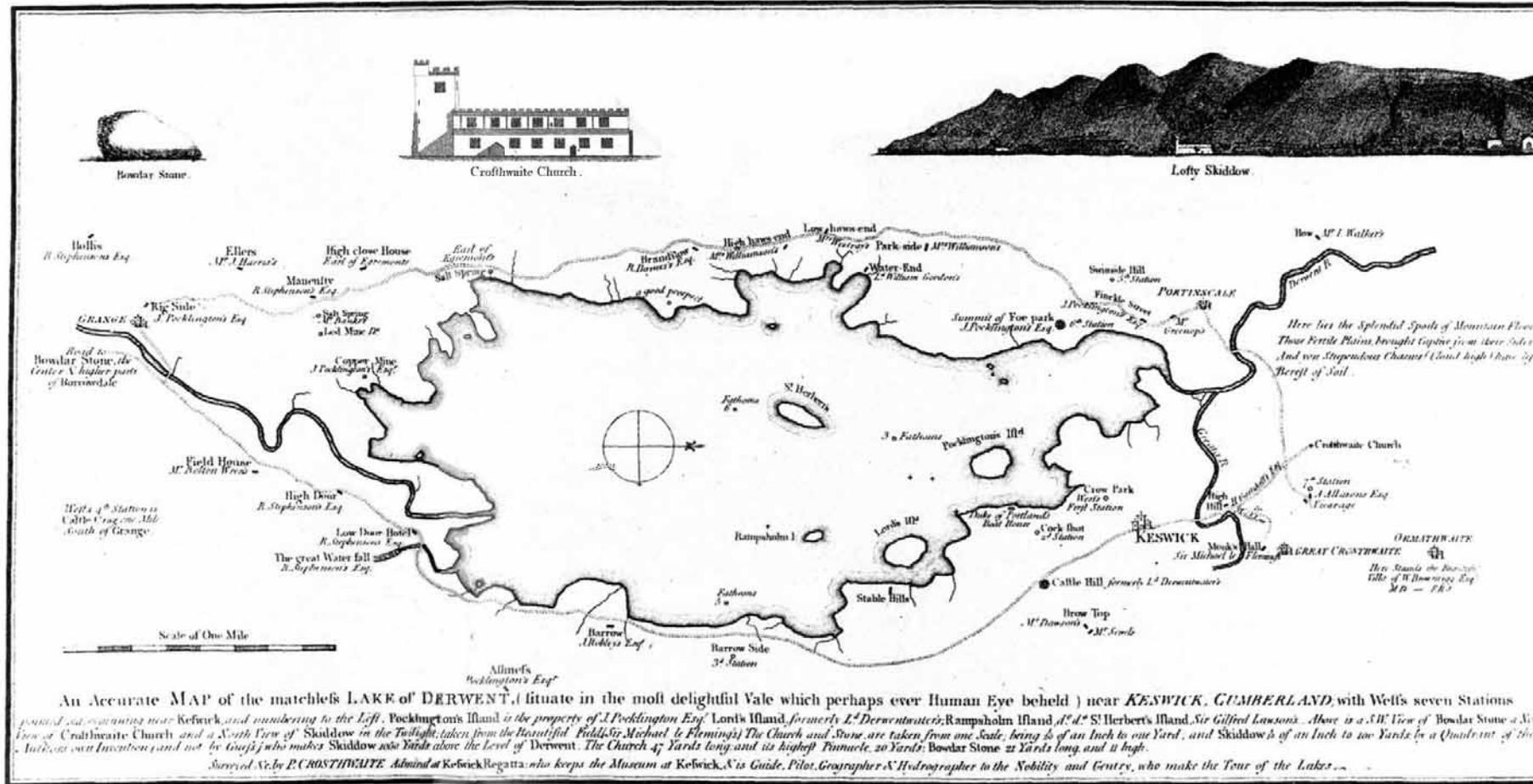


Figure 5-7. Peter Crosthwaite's map of Derwentwater with ownerships of lake shore estates, 1784

Showing:-

The ownerships of relevant properties after Lord William Gordon had purchased Water end, but before he had built his mansion house or acquired any other farmsteads.

The extent of propertied purchased by Joseph Pocklington since 1778, including Faw park, which he would sell to Gordon.

The extent of property owned by Rowland Stephenson, either by inheritance from Governor Stephenson or purchase, as with Manesty, and showing his Low Door Hotel already so named. The old road before diversion by Gordon, being the lowest road in Figure 5.6

The green lands show the parts of Swinside stinted pasture belonging to Lord William Gordon in 1824, after purchases. Gordon was awarded or purchased the great majority of the land.
Enclosed by private agreement, award dated 1814.
D/Lec.136

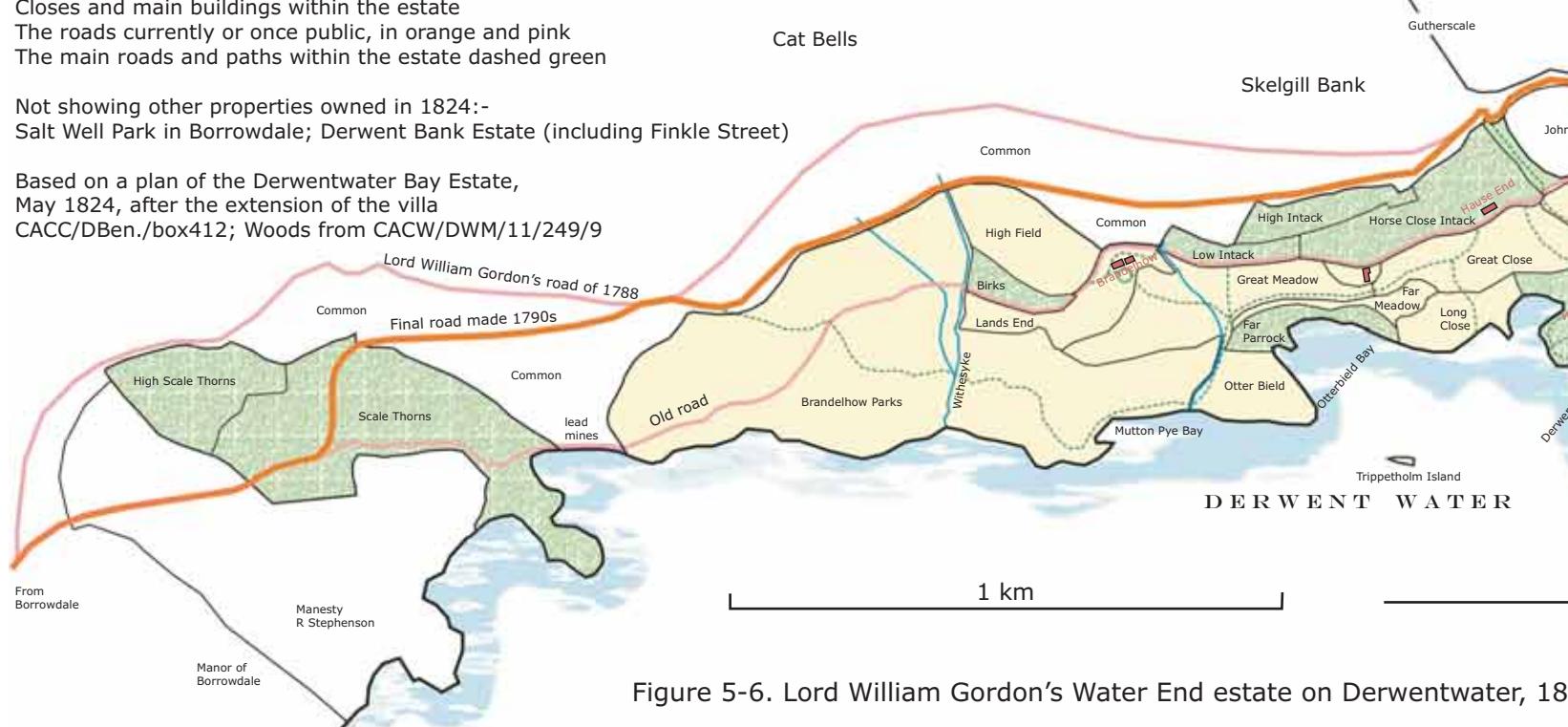


Figure 5-6. Lord William Gordon's Water End estate on Derwentwater, 1824, showing the wood land and the three roads

Item	Purchase date	Owner	£Price	Acres	Notes
Waterend	Agreed 1781 Completed by 22 May 1784	Jn Fletcher (decd)	1400	63	Wood valuation £250 in 1781
Parkside	Agreed 1781 Completed by 22 May 1784	Jn Fletcher (decd)		13	Enfranchised to Gordon 1787 for £67
Swinside Intacks	In 1784 by 22 May	Radcliffe	110	8	Customary including 5a woodland , valuation £506 inc wood worth £420
Parkside	May 84-December 85	Jn Williamson (decd)	480	16	Customary, wood valued at £99
High Hause End	May 84-December 85	Jn Williamson (decd)		23	
Low Hause End	October 87	Frisby (ex Westray decd)	380	16	Freehold Valuation 1781, £239 for lands
Manesty (Scalethorns)	13 July 1785	Earl of Egremont	257	36	Includes woods and islands, bought freehold In hand since 1759. Acreage from estate map 1824
Old Brandlehow	November 1786	Robert Baynes (decd)	1600	82	The 47 acres in the enfranchisement mistakes the park for the total. Total acreage from CACC/DSen./14/6 Enfranchised to Tolson for Baynes 1774
Faw Park	1786-7	Joseph Pocklington	1500	72	Freehold. Wood valuation in 1781, £16. Owner John Fisher 1781. Shown as Pocklington by James Clarke 1786. Price from CACC/DSen./14/6
Hawes End intack	1784-5	Daniel Fisher	120	7	No records of the completed purchase. In process May 1784. Customary but no known record of enfranchisement. Price from CACC/DSen./14/6
Totals			£5847	336	Enfranchisement cost £713

Principal sources: CACW/DLec./9,81&300; CACC/DBen./1/1900-2000; CACC/DSen./14/6

Table 5-2. Lord William Gordon's Purchases of Estates on Derwentwater in the manor of Braithwaite and Coledale, 1781-1787

excessively unreasonable, I shall not think any more about the purchase of them', approving only the Water end purchase.¹⁴⁹ But by May 1784 Gordon's long-term servant, James Oliver, had established himself in Keswick and had taken charge of the negotiations. Oliver had been resident at Carolside in the 1770s, and in 1781 had handled Gordon's affairs in London.¹⁵⁰ On 25 May, Oliver wrote to Benson with asking prices, valuations and a plan of bidding.¹⁵¹ The purchase of Radcliffe's two small customary 'Intacks' adjacent to Swinside stinted pasture had already been made for £110, the valuable wood on it still belonging to Lord Egremont.¹⁵²

In attempting to purchase the other estates in 1784, Gordon now found himself in competition with Joseph Pocklington. In Oliver's bidding list of May 1784, when compared with Poole's survey of 1781, Faw Park had been removed and Brandelhow had been added.¹⁵³ Faw Park, cleared of trees by 1779, had been purchased from John Fisher in 1782-3 by Pocklington, who also purchased the adjacent Finkle Street, later called Derwent Bank.¹⁵⁴ The competition from Pocklington became more serious in July 1784, when he made an offer for Brandelhow while Gordon's agents were in negotiation for it.¹⁵⁵ Baynes had asked for £1600, but Oliver considered that the value was between £1200 and £1400.¹⁵⁶ On 31 July, Benson wrote to Gordon stating that Baynes had claimed that Pocklington had offered the asking price of £1600.¹⁵⁷ Baynes now offered the property at that same price to Gordon, to be paid by February 1785, and required an answer by 20 August, or he would feel at liberty to sell to others.¹⁵⁸ The problem for Gordon, as Benson explained, was not simply the increased price for

¹⁴⁹ CACW/DBen./1/1958

¹⁵⁰ West Sussex Record Office, Goodwood MS, M1175, Nos.179 & 284 place Oliver in these locations

¹⁵¹ CACW/DBen./1/1910

¹⁵² CACW/DBen./1/1910

¹⁵³ CACW/DBen./1/1910

¹⁵⁴ Brown, *Pocklington*, p.23; Figure 5-6 shows both properties owned by Pocklington in 1784

¹⁵⁵ CACW/DBen./1/1996

¹⁵⁶ CACW/DBen./1/1910

¹⁵⁷ CACW/DBen./1/1996

¹⁵⁸ CACW/DBen./1/1996

Bradelhow, but also that the properties between Bradelhow and Water End had not been secured. In particular, the asking price of the Westray's Hause End tenement had risen to £500, twice its agricultural value. As Oliver advised, its purchase was 'necessary being a continuation of the coast [from Water End]'.¹⁵⁹ Benson added that Pocklington 'seems determined to purchase on any Terms – he has lately bought an Estate in Borrowdale (a part of which adjoins the Lake) at a most Extravagant Expence and I am told means to lay out £10,000 in Purchases as near the Lake as he can so that he is become a very formidable competitor'.¹⁶⁰

This competition between two wealthy purchasers would raise the prices, and Gordon now faced the possibility of having the lesser property, sandwiched between those of Pocklington, and with Pocklington's Island prominent on the lake. Pocklington had more ready access to funds than Gordon, who later wished to turn out the tenant of Brandlehow and rent it himself until he had the purchase money.¹⁶¹ But Pocklington, from his behaviour, desired attention and social status. He carefully preserved a letter about the arrangements for the regatta of 1786 from 'Surrey', before the Earl of Surrey became the Duke of Norfolk, and also kept the two letters from Gordon.¹⁶² On 23 September 1784, during or just after the Brandlehow competition, Lady Irwin, Miss Ingram and Lord and Lady William Gordon were the principal guests displayed at a dinner given for the rather less illustrious local gentry at Pocklington's Island house.¹⁶³

On 20th December Gordon wrote to Pocklington: -

I understand your plan perfectly, & shall apply to Ld. Newburgh immediately on my arrival in Town, which will be about the 20th, & if you should then be at Carlton, & will give me Leave, I will breakfast with you, and receive any other Commands you may have to give on that subject. ... Thanks for the 7000 Oaks you are so obliging to offer me¹⁶⁴

¹⁵⁹ CACW/DBen./1/1910

¹⁶⁰ CACW/DBen./1/1996

¹⁶¹ CACW/DBen./1/1920, Gordon to Benson 17 December 1785

¹⁶² CACC/DSen14/6/12

¹⁶³ CACC/DSen14/6/11

¹⁶⁴ CACC/DSen14/6/12

Perhaps it was this recognition and support that encouraged Pocklington to withdraw from the Brandelhow bid and to sell Faw Park to Gordon for £1500, negotiating directly and not through Benson.¹⁶⁵ James Clarke, in his survey published in 1787, showed Faw Park as owned by Pocklington, but by 1787 it was in Gordon's hands.¹⁶⁶ In September 1785 Pocklington commenced his first lake shore house at Finkle Street in Portinscale, and in 1786 Pocklington was awarded the tenancy of Old Park farm, for 21 years from March 1787, and was permitted by the Greenwich Hospital to build stables on it to serve his island.¹⁶⁷ Possibly Gordon helped this relationship. Finkle Street, or the Derwent Bank estate, was purchased by Gordon in 1809-10.¹⁶⁸ It was clearly Gordon who stopped Pocklington from owning most of the western shore.

Gordon agreed to the asking price of £1600 for Brandelhow, while not complying with the condition of paying by February 1785, eventually agreeing that the money would be paid in November 1786.¹⁶⁹ With the competition from Pocklington now removed, Gordon could purchase of the remaining estates at Hause End and Parkside. By 1785 John Williamson had agreed to sell his customary properties at Parkside and High Hause End, which had a part of the shore next to Brandelhow, but the late Westray's key freehold estate, with the lake shore adjoining Water End, proved more complex and expensive.¹⁷⁰ Agreement was reached with the beneficiary, Thomas Frisby, in October 1786 to complete at Whitsun 1787, though Gordon did not complete until October.¹⁷¹ All purchases were completed by 1787, and enfranchised where necessary to Gordon, so that by October 1787 he held all the lakeshore as freehold between

¹⁶⁵ CACC/DSen./14/6/3, list of sale prices by Pocklington; CACW/DBen./1/1959

¹⁶⁶ Clarke, *Survey*, map of Derwentwater and its environs

¹⁶⁷ CACC/DSen./14/6/2,5

¹⁶⁸ Green, *Guide*, vol.2, p.109

¹⁶⁹ CACW/DBen./1/1923

¹⁷⁰ CACW/DBen./1/1975, articles of agreement with Frisby

¹⁷¹ CACW/DBen./1/1975; CACC/DNT/5, gives Frisby lease and release 2 & 3 October 1787

Faw Park and Brandelhow inclusive, and all the wood upon those estates, therefore achieving what must have been his first objective.¹⁷²

Within the block of enclosures from Faw Park to Brandelhow there was other property identified by Poole's survey of 1781 that must be accounted for. Scott's freehold estate of Overside, the 44 woodland acres behind Faw Park, was not acquired at this time, and despite Gordon's agreement to purchase for £840 in 1792, it was still owned by Scott in 1824.¹⁷³ It can be inferred from Gordon's surviving papers that he made agreements first and worried about making the payments later. Overside was included in the estate by 1844.¹⁷⁴ Secondly, Daniel Fisher occupied seven acres of customary arable and woodland called Hawes End Intack, which Gordon bought for £120, but no sale document or enfranchisement can be found.¹⁷⁵

Gordon now owned the lake shore from the public lake access at Derwent Bank to the workings of the lead mines, south of Brandelhow woods, where the common and the existing road briefly met the lake shore. Here was an access to Derwentwater which was important for the exploitation of Lord Egremont's mineral rights. The mining or the spoil, to which the imaginative geography of the English Lakes was usually blind, may have provided an unsympathetic southern limit to Lord William's estate, though it is uncertain whether the mine was worked in the 1780s, and possible that it had previously been worked to the limits of available drainage techniques. In 1783, the exploitation of the mines would have been covered by a lease of mines in Braithwaite and Coledale to John Birkett, a gentleman of Portinscale, and others.¹⁷⁶

In July 1785 Gordon purchased freehold land from Lord Egremont which including Scalethorns, immediately to the south of the common and mine, though

¹⁷² CACW/DBen./1/1959

¹⁷³ CACW/DBen./1/1964; CACW/DBen./412, *Plan of Derwent Water Bay Estate*, by WH May 1824

¹⁷⁴ CACC/DRC8/55, tithe apportionment

¹⁷⁵ CACW/DBen./1/1912 and CACC/DSen./14/6/3, confirms the purchase was completed

¹⁷⁶ CACW/DLec./18/30, lease of lead mines in Braithwaite & Coledale, 1st May 1783

the documents give no name or size.¹⁷⁷ Scalethorns was part or all of a customary tenement of 50 acres which Lord Egremont had purchased in 1759 from Thomas Gillbanks.¹⁷⁸ After this purchase, Gordon could not purchase the adjacent lakeshore estate called Manesty and held by Rowland Stevenson, nor Pocklington's next estate in the manor of Borrowdale.

By 1787 Gordon had completed the purchases of lakeshore land on the western shore, as summarised in Table 5-2. He had purchased 338 acres of land, of which half was woodland, and the other half agricultural. He had spent only £6,560 on land, wood and enfranchisement without fees and development costs. In 1808 the Farrington, the painter, was told by Lord Lonsdale that Gordon had paid only £8,000 on property and £1,600 on additions.¹⁷⁹ Lord Lonsdale considered this well under value because the wood alone was worth £15,000, but that opinion is not supported by the evidence above.¹⁸⁰ A total expenditure of around £10,000 may well be right, but would include the fair value of the wood.

By 1787 the shore of Derwentwater, outside of the village of Portinscale and excluding the commons, had been occupied by the four owners, Gordon, the Greenwich Hospital, Pocklington and Stephenson, leaving no opportunity for other purchasers.

5-5. Management of the estate and its aesthetics.

This section will consider the management and use of the estate at Water End, with the intention of establishing Gordon's purpose and objectives in creating it, and through that his response to the cultural values associated with place and people. However, there was a period of over forty years between his option to purchase Water End in 1781 and his death in 1823. A change over that time might be expected.

¹⁷⁷ CACW/DLec./81, Manesty Estate

¹⁷⁸ CACW/DLec./300, Gillbanks' tenement

¹⁷⁹ Thomason and Woof, *Derwentwater*, No.76

¹⁸⁰ Thomason and Woof, *Derwentwater*, No.76

Gordon's nephew, Sir John Woodford, received the benefit of the estate from Lady William Gordon in 1834, apparently never having seen it.¹⁸¹ After trying to sell it to John Marshall Jnr, who now owned the eastern shore, Woodford retired to the estate for the rest of his life, becoming a semi-recluse.¹⁸² John Fisher Crosthwaite, grandson of Peter Crosthwaite, provided in 1880 the only significant description of Gordon's management of Water End, other than Green's guide of 1819.¹⁸³

There was only one large forest tree on that side of the lake at that time [the 1780s], but Lord William planted it with oak, spruce [*Pinus abies*], silver fir [*Abies alba*], Weymouth pine [*Pinus strobes*], beeches [*Fagus sylvatica*] and every variety of wood. He would not have a tree felled, so that the woods in Brandlehow, Scale Thorns, Rose Trees, Silver Hill and Fawe Park, added much to the picturesque beauty of the property. The estate had never yielded any profit to Lord William, because he would not even thin the wood. ... Those who remember the beautiful and tasteful villa which Lord William built on the margin of the bay, with its two beautiful images of Bucks in front [as at Green Park Lodge], its many miles of gravelled carriage drives and foot walks, especially its "long walk" by the Kelpie Bridge to Lady William's stone chair, the walk round the bay towards the little bay to Lord William's stone seat. And the other numerous walks through the woods, all trimly kept, and yet free from anything to mar its beauty, could hardly conceive a greater contrast than the wilderness condition presented in the later years of Sir John's ownership.¹⁸⁴

Clearly the estate was not an investment for an income. The key issue is the balance between the private and the public; was it for Gordon's personal enjoyment, or was it a public park intended to make statements about Gordon and his values? This will be addressed firstly through the 'villa' and its purpose, secondly through planting, and thirdly through his early intervention to control the wider estate of Derwentwater and its prospects. Lastly, the management of the estate towards the close of his life will be examined.

Work on the house at Water End did not start immediately. On 24 February 1786, Aaron, son of John Fletcher and Margaret his wife of Water End,

¹⁸¹ J Fisher Crosthwaite, *A brief memoir of Sir John Woodford*, London, Kent, 1883, p.42

¹⁸² Crosthwaite, *Woodford*, p.42

¹⁸³ Crosthwaite, *Woodford*, pp.41-2

¹⁸⁴ Crosthwaite, *Woodford*, pp.41-2

was buried, aged 22 years, nearly two years after Gordon's purchase.¹⁸⁵ Gordon's new house in its original form, a modest pavilion of three bays, each essentially a single room facing the bay, was available for use in 1787.¹⁸⁶ In his survey written in 1786 or early 1787, James Clarke noted that 'This estate [Brandlehow] was lately purchased by Lord William Gordon who is building a handsome house at Water End'.¹⁸⁷ It was seen complete by Henry Skrine in 1787:-

... I passed to a whimsical house, or rather a chain of single rooms, which Lord William Gordon has built on the bank of the lake [at Waterend]. The architecture indeed, both of this house and Mr Pocklington's numerous buildings, is not much to be approved,...¹⁸⁸

Figure 5-8 shows E W James' watercolour miniature dated 3 September 1790, which is probably an accurate representation. It shows also a temporary structure, probably using canvas, to provide a covered way and a viewing point leading to a landing stage. Figure 5-9 is an extract from a sketch by Sir George Beaumont from 1798, which give a different angle but adds some presumably imaginary structures to the left, presumably for balance. Murdoch considers Gordon's house to be of the high picturesque of the 1790s, and that James' watercolour of '1798' 'is effectively the earliest reference to the house, and probably constitutes evidence for its building date. Its conception can surely not be much earlier ...'.¹⁸⁹ The error in dating James' watercolour is continued by Thomason and Woof, even though their illustration includes the date of 1790. They give the date of construction as 'possibly not until the mid 1790s'.¹⁹⁰

Murdoch's positioning of the house in the high picturesque of the 1790s illustrates how Gordon was leading taste in the English Lakes in 1787. The developing comparison with Pocklington is indicative of the change in taste from Capability Brown of the 1770s to Repton of the 1790s, the 1780s being

¹⁸⁵ CCAC/PR120/7, registers of St Kentigern, Crosthwaite

¹⁸⁶ Thomason & Woof, *Derwentwater*, No.78

¹⁸⁷ Clarke, *Survey*, p.84

¹⁸⁸ Henry Skrine, *Three successive tours in the North of England, and a great part of Scotland*, London, Bulmer, 1795, p.27 [tour 1787]

¹⁸⁹ John Murdoch, ed., *The Discovery of the Lake District: a northern Arcadia and its uses*, London, Victoria & Albert Museum, 1984, p.37

¹⁹⁰ Thomason & Woof, *Derwentwater*, No.76

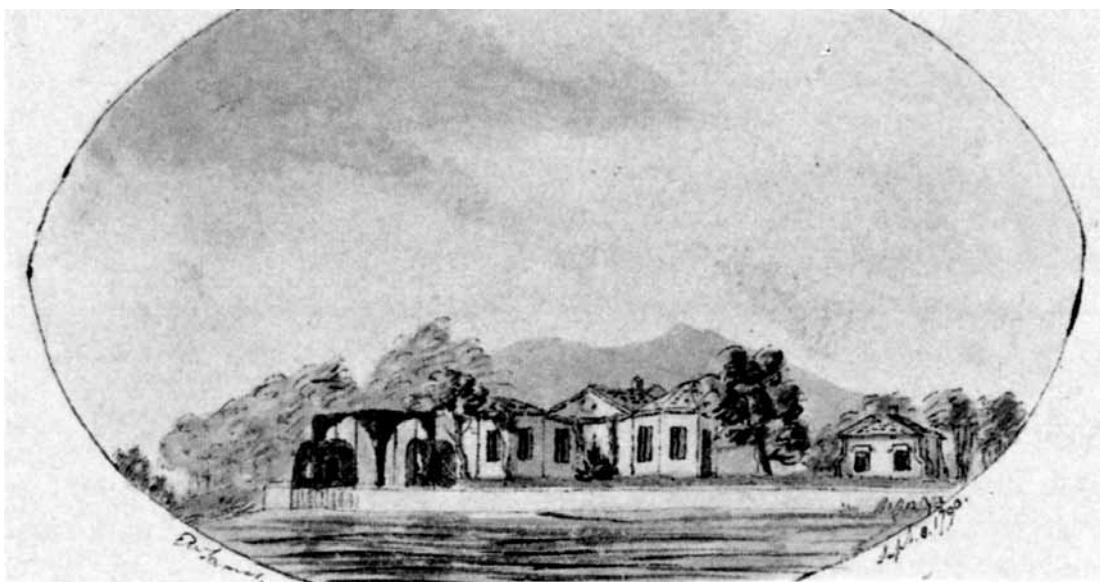


Figure 5-8. Lord William Gordon's house at Water End, watercolour by James, 1790. From *Derwentwater, the vale of Elysium*, by permission of The Wordsworth Trust, Dove Cottage, Cumbria



Figure 5-9. Sir George Beaumont's sketch of Water End (detail), 1798. By permission of The Wordsworth Trust, Dove Cottage, Cumbria



Figure 5-10. Samuel H Grimm, The Prince of Wales' Marine Pavilion at Brighthelmstone, 1787. British Library

transitional. As discussed in Chapter 2, Pocklington's works were not considered in bad taste in 1784, when Gordon made his first purchases. Even if their tastes in rural architecture were very different, Pocklington was not ridiculed by Gordon in the 1780s.

There is a parallel with the original Marine Pavilion built by Henry Holland for the Prince of Wales in Brighton, which was first available in July 1787, and is shown in Figure 5-10.¹⁹¹ The Marine Pavilion was built in the French neoclassical style, incorporating Kemp's farmhouse, and matching its two semi-circular bays of three tall windows with a new block, with the single-storey round saloon placed between the two.¹⁹² Gordon's pavilion was insignificant in comparison, but it also incorporated or replaced the farmhouse shown on Beane's plan, and his precise timing, his approach and design, might be seen as flattering the Prince by modest imitation. The original Marine Pavilion was tile-hung, the Prince of Wales being noted as 'the Royal fostering hand [to which] we owe the introduction of a facing for our buildings ... such as the weather tiles which decorate and inclose the Pavillion at Brighton'.¹⁹³ Always a professional courtier, Gordon was eventually appointed to the Regent's household in 1817. When Gordon died in 1823 he was extending Water End into a five bedroom villa, but retaining the single storey pavilion to the lake.¹⁹⁴ The pavilion at Water End was slate hung, at least from that extension.

The scale of the house fitted its role as an occasional summer retreat and did not provide a country residence, which would have involved far greater cost. It could not match the facilities of Temple Newsham nor Green Park Lodge. While having excellent prospects of the lake and the mountains beyond, it was set on the shore in a single storey, rather than in a prominent elevated position, so that the house itself provided a picturesque prospect from across the lake,

¹⁹¹ Dorothy Stroud, *Henry Holland; his life and architecture*, London, Country Life, 1966, pp.87-8

¹⁹² Stroud, *Holland*, p.88

¹⁹³ *The British Mercury*, No.14, 24 September 1787

¹⁹⁴ CACW/DWM/11/249/9, sale particulars of Water End, 1824

embowered in a bay on the edge of the new wooded pleasure grounds. It was therefore a modest and picturesque pavilion, possibly attached to or used in conjunction with the existing farmhouse, or even with the Royal Oak in Keswick. In 1794, Hutchinson's *History of Cumberland* reported that 'Lord William Gordon has built a handsome house at Water end, a sweet and solemn retreat on the west side of the lake,' and John Housman described Water end in 1800 as a 'little romantic seat, peeping from the wood, ..., opening to the widest part of the lake, at the extremity of a fine bay, which washes its very walls'.¹⁹⁵

Gordon's wish to lay out his estate as one picturesque park was well described by Crosthwaite and supported by the plan of the estate of 1824 and the correspondence during purchase. The estate in Cumberland was the only property that Gordon ever owned, and he took personal control of its acquisition and laying out. He visited, staying in Keswick, in both spring and summer of 1785, and had a clear and detailed understanding and control of the design, without evidence of any other architect or landscape gardener having involvement.¹⁹⁶ This personal control is clearly demonstrated by the requests from Gordon for a survey of Brandelhow, with detailed plans (now lost), containing information on the nature of hedges, woods and built structures.¹⁹⁷

Gordon was particularly keen to retain woodland, which had been lost on the Faw Park tenement, and was being managed for profit on Brandelhow. Water End contained little timber on the 28 acres of coppice woodland, which he combined with the numerous small closes to form a pleasure ground of 58 acres, mostly laid out as picturesque woodland.¹⁹⁸ In 1784 Gordon's servant, James Oliver, wrote to Benson about:-

... the unpleasantness of seeing Mr Radcliffe cutting of wood upon that ground that you have bought of him, & as you know his Lordship will be

¹⁹⁵ William Hutchinson, *The history of the County of Cumberland ...*, 2 Vols, Carlisle, F.Jollie, 1794, Vol.II, p.177; John Housman, *A descriptive tour, and guide to the lakes, ... in Cumberland, Westmoreland ...*, Carlisle, F. Jollie, 1800, p.274

¹⁹⁶ CACW/DBen./1919,1920

¹⁹⁷ CACW/DBen./1/1926, 27,59

¹⁹⁸ CACW/DBen./1/1945

dissatisfied on hearing such accounts. ... I hear that Daniel Fisher is to begin cutting some in his Park on Monday first. I wish you could use these permissions to be stopt, as I am certain it will be unpleasant to his Lordship to be at the expence of an Valuation, besides spoiling the look of the whole thing, by cutting down wood when it is of the greatest use for to stand.¹⁹⁹

Oliver's judgement was well founded. In the negotiations for Brandelhow, in January 1785, Gordon understood that 'Mr Baynes had a quantity of young oaks in a nursery which were intended for Brandelhow and are now to be sold ... I beg to know if they may be left where they are now growing for a year or two longer, & on what terms'.²⁰⁰ The tenants were less important than the wood. On 13 Jan 1787 Gordon instructed Benson to turn out the tenant at Scalethorns, which he had bought from Lord Egremont, because he was 'careless about the wood'.²⁰¹

Crosthwaite's report that Gordon would not thin the woods is not supported. The thinning and shaping of woods was an essential part of the creation of picturesque landscape, and though Gordon did let the woods overgrow in his later years, he also actively managed and thinned the woods in the early creative years. In 1793 his solicitor, Benson, received £3-15-0 for 254 peeled oak poles, containing 1200 yards, from Gordon's estate.²⁰² The variety of species planted, noted in Crosthwaite's memoir, is fully supported by contemporary writing, in particular by the detailed observations of William Green.²⁰³ Gordon, as a Scot, did not have the English obsession with oak, and was happy to display Scottish culture in his 'Kelpie Bridge'.²⁰⁴

The understanding that Gordon diverted the old road away from Water End to give privacy comes from William Green, who states that Gordon, 'to prevent intrusion, conducted, at considerable expence, the road from Manesty to the foot of the northern Cat Bell, a line of almost unrivalled beauty, and for which the public are greatly indebted to his Lordship; by this conduct, Water End has

¹⁹⁹ CACW/DBen./1/1942

²⁰⁰ CACW/DBen./1/1925

²⁰¹ CACW/DBen./1/1922

²⁰² CACW/DBen./1/1901

²⁰³ Green, *Guide*, Vol. II, p.108-13

²⁰⁴ Crosthwaite, *Woodford*, pp.42

become a place of singular, but enviable seclusion'.²⁰⁵ However, the old highway did not intrude on the privacy of Water End, and the new road admired by Green was not the one Gordon first built. The old highway from Grange in Borrowdale to Portinscale, shown in Figures 2-1, 3-1, 5-4, and 5-7, came down through Scalethorns to the lake at the Brandelhow mine and then ran within the enclosures, through the Brandelhow woods past Old Brandley and the two Hause End properties, before climbing above the Water End, Parkside, and Faw Park estates through the Swinside stinted pasture. There was, however, an occupation road, shown on Figure 5-4, which branched from Hause End to Water End, and then passed through the Water End and Faw Park properties to connect with the highway. Gordon could stop this road up without building a new one.

In January 1785, during the purchase of Brandelhow, Gordon asked Benson to obtain Baynes' opinion 'about the road going through Brandelhow & what is the best way of getting it turned quite without the wood – above it all the way'.²⁰⁶ This study suggests that the objective of the purchases and the new road may have been to own and plant the whole of the western fellside up to, in Gilpin's words, 'such a road as would form both a pleasing line in itself; and shew the beauties of the lake to the best advantage'.²⁰⁷

Gordon gained approval from Rowland Stephenson, whose Manesty Coppice was affected, and from Pocklington.²⁰⁸ Each added ten guineas to Gordon's ten to cover the greater part of the expected cost.²⁰⁹ In September 1785 Gordon instructed Benson to proceed with the process of gaining approval for diverting the highway.²¹⁰ By December, Gordon was pressing Benson to expedite matters with the township of Portinscale and the Quarter Sessions, expecting to see work start in June 1786, and offering more funds if the road took his chosen

²⁰⁵ Green, *Guide*, vol.2, pp.108-9

²⁰⁶ CACW/DBen./1/1926

²⁰⁷ Gilpin, *Observations* 1776, p.162

²⁰⁸ CACW/DBen./1/1919

²⁰⁹ CACW/DBen./1/1919

²¹⁰ CACW/DBen./1/1919

course.²¹¹ John Nicholson was engaged to survey various routes and then to draw up plans for the one chosen by Gordon, and to present it to the Justices.²¹² Gordon wished to take the road well above his enclosed lands, as far up the fellside as was practicable. By January 1787, James Wilson had let the making of the road on the high route and had met with the Justices, though the route had not been approved.²¹³ Henry Skrine, touring in 1787, noted that:-

Lord William Gordon in particular is now employed upon building a noble road, carried for a considerable extent on a raised terrace above the lake, which vies with the magnificence of a Roman work; and when finished, will present a scene almost rivalling the beauties of the opposite shore. I traced it for some distance as far as it was passable, and had a more complete view than I could before gain of the whole lake with its islands immediately below me, while the close-impending cliffs of Barrowside made a bold finish to the opposite view, and Skiddaw on the left closed up the amphitheatre²¹⁴

The local people felt differently. Gordon's road climbed to 200m, clearing his enclosures by 50m to enter the enclosed land below Gutherscale at 100m. The new road, though with excellent viewpoints, formed an unnecessarily high and exposed terrace with steep ascent and descent. On 7 January 1787, Benson wrote to Gordon explaining the opposition from Borrowdale people.²¹⁵ Gordon had installed an estate manager, Samuel Culling, at Silver Hill, 'a pretty cottage, of one story, designed and built by Mr Cullen, when he was steward to Lord William Gordon'.²¹⁶ Culling and Benson were to undertake the necessary lobbying and hospitality, while Gordon would write any necessary letters. His letters to Benson were not good models: 'with respect to the danger of being on a hill – I think that must be a joke in a Borrowdale man. However ... I will engage to build a wall on the part of the hill where they apprehend the danger to be – close to the road if they chuse it- 4 or 5 feet high ...'. But 'if the road cannot be made in the highest place I will have nothing to do with it ... I will not enter into any dispute with the

²¹¹ CACW/DBen./1/1920

²¹² CACW/DBen./1/1905

²¹³ CACW/DBen./1/1905

²¹⁴ Skrine, *Travels*, p.28

²¹⁵ CCAW/DBen./1/1922, refers to this letter.

²¹⁶ Green, *Guide*, vol.2, p.112

people of Borrowdale on the subject & ...if they chuse rather to repair the old road at their own expence, than have a new one made at mine – they may indulge themselves whenever they please'.²¹⁷ Gordon completed the road, without consent, in 1788, as shown on Crosthwaite's map of December 1788.²¹⁸

Next Gordon instructed Benson to draw up a certificate to be signed by the owners of rights on the common, by which they would consent to his enclosing some or all of the land, over 100 acres, 'below the new road lately made', such as Lord Egremont might consent to.²¹⁹ The draft agreement was dated 5 May 1789, and never used.²²⁰ Benson was also Lord Egremont's steward, and is unlikely to have progressed Gordon's proposal to enclose Lord Egremont's common without consent. But Benson would also have known that the scheme was both impractical and could not transfer ownership. Benson missed the meeting of the Justices in 1789 which considered the objections of the township of Portinscale, and his report to Gordon provoked an impatient reply dated 12 June. 'I thought it all had been settled prior to beginning to make the Road - & as it has been a very long & very expensive job, I wish you would endeavour to get it finally settled'.²²¹ He would offer £50 to £100 to the township of Portinscale to include future repairs, but wished 'you would take an early opportunity of effectively concluding this Business & of obtaining the leave to enclose the Common at the same time'.²²² It was now clear why Gordon had wished to have the road at the highest level and was happy to build a wall for safety. He wished to enclose the steep fellside common below the road and, presumably, to plant it for ornament.

Gordon had found the limit of his influence. The route of the new road, already built, was not accepted. Budworth noted the failure of the road project in 1792:-

²¹⁷ CACW/DBen./1/1922

²¹⁸ Peter Crosthwaite, *Seven maps of the Lakes. 1. An accurate map of the matchless Lake of Derwent, 1788*

²¹⁹ CACW/DBen./1/1960

²²⁰ CACW/DBen./1/1960

²²¹ CACW/DBen./1/1944

²²² CACW/DBen./1/1944

The owner of it [Silver Hill] ...has made a road along the side of the mountain, ... to induce the country people to prefer it to a lower one they have always been accustomed to; but they are either afraid of being blown into the lake in rough weather, or are so fond of the old path, they are returned to it again, and the new one is a defacement to the hill.²²³

A third road was built on the common, just above the existing enclosures northwards from Brandelhow, but at Manesty the new third road did not climb steeply around Scalethorns, but rather the old road was followed into Gordon's Scalethorns, and thence diverted above Brandelhow. According to Housman, publishing in 1800, it was 'an excellent new road, made by Lord WILLIAM GORDON and just finished: it is easy, smooth and perfectly safe, and, from its elevation, commands a complete view of the lake and its accompaniments'.²²⁴ By 1800 this third road was the only one passable.²²⁵ The proposal to enclose the common was not proceeded with. Later, Gordon extended the ownership behind Water End by some 160 acres through the enclosure and division of Swinside stinted pasture. This enclosure was by a private agreement of 1814, which was the consequence of a petition to Parliament in 1813 to enclose some or all of the commons within the manor of Braithwaite and Coledale.²²⁶

Gordon's wish to control the setting of his lake shore extended also to the islands in the lake. The smaller islands near the western shore came with the purchases above, but ownership of the four main islands was not available to him. From Water End he looked out onto St Herbert's Island, owned and used as a pleasure ground by the Lawsons.²²⁷ Lords and Rampsholme Islands were in hand with the Greenwich Hospital and planted, and were distant from Gordon's property, but they were part of the prospect from Water End. On 3 August 1785 the General Court of the Hospital had acceded to Gordon's request to be made

²²³ A Rambler, [Joseph Budworth], *A fortnight's ramble in the Lakes in Westmoreland, Lancashire and Cumberland*, London, 1792, p.174

²²⁴ Housman, *Tour*, p.97

²²⁵ Peter Crosthwaite, *Seven maps of the Lakes. 1. An accurate map of the matchless Lake of Derwent*, 1800

²²⁶ CACW/DLec./136, CACW/DLec./265/18

²²⁷ CACC/DNT/6

gamekeeper for the manors of Castlerigg & Derwentwater and Thornthwaite.²²⁸

On 2 October 1786 Gordon quietly took a 21 year lease, renewed in 1807, on both Lords and Rampsholme Islands as pleasure grounds, at a nominal rent of two guineas a year, with neither the required advertising nor any Board or Court minute.²²⁹ The Receivers were to 'shew his Lordship every civility'.²³⁰ Gordon had very limited rights on these islands. He was not to be allowed to graze any animal on Lords Island, nor make avenues opening onto the lake, but might make 'errections or alterations' on Rampsholm, where the wood was 'of little or no value'.²³¹ The agreement between Gordon and the Hospital on leasing the islands had the effect, if not the intent, of excluding Lords Island and Rampsholm Island from any touristic application, which might have produced more than two guineas a year for the Hospital.

Gordon's leasing of the islands coincided with the re-letting by the Hospital of the main lakeshore farms of Old Park and Stable Hills. Old Park, closest to Pockington's Island and the site of the boathouses and jetties, had been allotted to Joseph Pocklington as highest bidder as discussed above, and he took possession in April 1787, building stables and other conveniences for his island.²³² Stable Hills was the equivalent property for Lords Island and had been previously let, with the Hospital's rights on the lake, to Governor Edward Stephenson (d.1764) of Keswick, to whom William Bellers had dedicated the first view of Derwent Water in 1752.²³³ Rowland Stephenson, the London banker and now Whig Member for Carlisle after the disputed mushroom elections, had inherited the lease.²³⁴ Stephenson had recently developed the Low Door Hotel and falls, marked on Crosthwaite's map of 1784, and the control of boats had secured him

²²⁸ The National Archives (TNA): Public Record Office (PRO), ADM67/12, p.112

²²⁹ ADM76/83, lease of Lords and Rampsholme islands to Lord William Gordon

²³⁰ ADM66/121, Receivers to Wren, 30 July 1786

²³¹ ADM66/121, Receivers to Wren, 30 July 1786

²³² CACC/DSen./14/6

²³³ ADM66/121, Receivers to Stephenson, 4 November 1786; Peter Bicknell, *The picturesque scenery of the Lake District*, Winchester, Ominographics, 1990, p.21; JW Kaye, 'Governor's House, Keswick', *Transactions CWAAS CW2*, 1956, pp.339-46, for Edward Stephenson

²³⁴ ADM66/121

an important position in the regattas which Pocklington led through the 1780s.²³⁵

The new lease for Stable Hills, from 5 April 1787, excluded the water rights and part of the lake shore, which the Hospital now took in hand for planting, but Stephenson was still disappointed and disbelieving to have been outbid for the new lease.²³⁶ Gordon and the Hospital had prevented the commercial development of other islands and had established control over the use of the water.

Was it Gordon's intention to create a private residence and park for his own enjoyment, or was he responding to West's call for protection of woodland in 1780 and Gilpin's picturesque management proposal from his tour of 1776?²³⁷ Gilpin prepared the observations for publication in 1789 after the creation of Pocklington's Island and its buildings, but before he knew of Gordon's picturesque park. Gilpin added 'I have heard, that, since these observations were made, the lake of Keswick ... hath been injured by some miserable, and tasteless ornaments'. Fortunately, Gilpin was made aware of Gordon's project in time to add a footnote to the printer's proofs; 'From this censure I should wish to exclude some improvements, which have lately been made on the Western side of the lake by Lord William Gordon. I never saw them; and only accidentally heard of them, since this work went to press; but from what I learn, I should suppose they are made, as far as they go, on the principles here laid down'²³⁸ The association between Gilpin's ideas and Gordon's practice was therefore obvious to at least one reader of the manuscript, and Gilpin recognised his ideas in Gordon's project, whether or not Gordon admitted that he was following Gilpin.

Gordon's actions appear to support the suggestion that he was creating a park in an iconic location, which would be primarily used and appreciated by tourists, to promote his responsibility in rescuing the woods and taste in laying out grounds. The house was not a practical residence but a pavilion which was

²³⁵ See Figure 5-6; Alan Hankinson, *The Regatta men*, Milnthorpe, Cicerone Press, 1988

²³⁶ ADM66/121

²³⁷ Gilpin, *Observations 1776*, p.162

²³⁸ Gilpin, *Observations 1776*, p.172

part of the picturesque creation. The two islands were distant from Gordon's property and of little practical value, but he controlled their use and therefore protected the prospect of the lake. But most importantly, the road was not moved simply to provide seclusion for his house and pleasure grounds at Water End, which were not annoyed by the existing highway. The impractical highest line of the new road would have provided both the most Gilpin-esque prospects of the lake, plus the opportunity to plant the common below it, to provide picturesque prospects from the eastern shore. It is hard to envisage any other reason to take such a high line enclosing fell-side land of little economic value.

An intention to impress others with his responsibility and taste would require that people of rank and fashion, who wrote and drew and spoke of their experience, should be encouraged to tour through his estate on foot. There would be two routes on the western side, the new highway above giving panoramic prospects, but also a picturesque pedestrian route through the estate. In 1800 even the minor local gentry, living in reduced circumstances, could record that they had 'walked to Water-End – feasted on gooseberries at Silver hill', presumably using the old footways shown on Figure 5-4.²³⁹ Those who approached from the head of the lake in 1805 found:-

... a path recently led through the wild woods of Lord William Gordon, who has a pretty Cottage orne washed by a bay of the Lake: the wood walks of his garden are tastefully embroidered with all the rich varieties of fir and ash [*Fraxinus excelsior*], and afforded a delicious retirement: at intervals we snatched a glimpse of the water, and from a high point of ground, called the silver field, gazed upon the empurpled majesty of Skiddaw'.²⁴⁰

It does seem clear that the tourists were to be encouraged to walk through and admire his estate.

Gilpin's words, 'as far as they go' are important in pointing to Gordon's inability to complete a scheme of overall picturesque occupation of

²³⁹ Dorothy Wordsworth *The Grasmere and Alfoxden journals*, ed. Pamela Woof, Oxford, OUP, 2002, p.17

²⁴⁰ *The Gentleman's Magazine*, December 1805, Vol.75, p.1012

Derwentwater.²⁴¹ Firstly Gordon could obtain only the western shore, and could therefore not lay out the whole of the perimeter of the lake, to control the prospect of one shore from the opposite one. Secondly, he was unable to complete his full scheme on the western shores because his road line was unacceptable to local inhabitants, and he underestimated the ability of these local people to defend their interests against aristocratic influence. He could not enclose and plant the common above Hause End and Brandelhow. The parkland was limited to Water end, Fawe Park and Parkside, plus the shoreline and Brandelhow Woods, but the structure of closes of the other component farms was little changed, as can be seen from Figures 5-4 & 5-6. While Parkside and High Hause End were no longer dwellings, Brandelhow and Low Hause End continued as farm houses, from the parish registers, though the farm estate was kept in hand, and not let.²⁴²

In the later years of his ownership and life, and perhaps having less need to impress others, Gordon did allow the wood to grow excessively at Faw Park and Water End, at the expense of picturesque beauty and prospects, as is evident from the sustained critique of William Green in his detailed guide of 1819.²⁴³ At Brandelhow, in Gordon's lifetime, the woods were cleared and the land was pasture in 1824 when the estate was surveyed for sale. William Green regretted that by 1819 'passing from Brandelhow to Manesty ... not a tree remains – all is barrenness and sterility'.²⁴⁴ In the early 1820s Gordon extended the pavilion as a more practical villa for residential use, which was incomplete when he died.²⁴⁵ After Gordon's death in 1823, and before Woodford took the estate in 1834, Gordon's trustees obtained an income from the estate, partly by thinning and harvesting wood, and they replanted Brandelhow for future value. The Receivers of the Greenwich Hospital reported in 1831 that:-

²⁴¹ Gilpin, *Observations* 1776, p.172

²⁴² CACC/PR120/7, registers of St Kentigern, Crosthwaite

²⁴³ Green, *Guide*, Vol. 2, p.109

²⁴⁴ Green, *Guide*, Vol.2, p.69

²⁴⁵ CACW/DWM/11/249/9

... those [woods] belonging to the representatives of the late Lord Wm Gordon on the opposite side, were within the last thirty years covered with ancient timber, that the whole has been taken down on the former property [Stephenson's Manesty], and a great part on the latter [Gordon's], and that the ground is now occupied by thriving young trees.²⁴⁶

The above has addressed Gordon's responses to aesthetic cultural value. His response to the social cultural values being created by discourse in the ordinary inhabitants of the English Lakes appears very straight forward, and unsurprising because his creative period predates the main period of social romanticism. It is clear that Gordon consistently put his own interests first, irrespective of the effect on the local inhabitants. Tenants of purchased properties were removed as necessary, but within the contractual agreements and always in favour of aesthetic benefits rather than economic benefit, which was of little consequence to Gordon. The economic identities of the old tenements were lost as they were incorporated into the estate, though names were retained. On the attempted sale of the property in 1824, all of the 530 acres were in hand except for three peripheral closes of twenty acres total, let as pasture.²⁴⁷

Conclusion

Gordon made a deliberate, voluntary decision to intervene by purchasing the western shores between 1781 and 1787, as soon as he had access to funds through marriage, and by taking personal charge of laying out grounds and planting. Unlike the Hospital, Gordon was a private owner, and could, within his limited resources, indulge his interest and pleasures in the management of his estate. Gordon had no previous known connection with Derwentwater, and appears to have chosen it because its growing reputation provided an opportunity to display his picturesque taste and his new personal responsibility, building on his success in the Green Park. Gordon's main personal focus was on the favour of royalty and the patronage that he desired. The good opinion of the King could never be obtained, since Gordon had eloped with his favourite lady of the Court

²⁴⁶ ADM66/94, 24 March 1831

²⁴⁷ CACW/DWM/11/249/9

in 1769. However, through Lord North, Gordon was made vice admiral of Scotland in 1782 and he voted with Pitt in the first Regency crisis. His longer term hopes of preference rested with the Prince of Wales, whose Regency household Gordon eventually joined in 1817, as Receiver of the Duchy of Cornwall. Gordon's pavilion at Water End was completed in 1787 and appears to flatter, by modest imitation, the Prince of Wales, who took occupation of his original Marine Pavilion at Brighton, a French neo-classical design by Holland, in July of that same year.

The Cumberland property, primarily the Water End estate, was the only property that Gordon ever owned. His purpose was probably to rescue an important piece of land from productive but aesthetically displeasing use, and to create a picturesque park that had little productive economic purpose. His intervention is seen as a response to criticism by West, published in 1780, of the management of Lord Egremont's woods, though many were then freehold. Gordon, who was a neighbour in Piccadilly and an associate the third Lord Egremont, George O'Brien, purchased those woods and used planting as his main tool of park creation.

His model appears to be that proposed by Gilpin in his observations of 1776. Gilpin's work had been published in manuscript in Gilpin's social circle. Gordon and Lord Adam Gordon were practitioners of Gilpin's style in the Green Park and Scotland, and Gilpin recognised his proposed model in Gordon's treatment of Derwentwater. Gordon does not appear to have achieved his full plan, which involved the raising of the public road to a terrace even higher up the fellside than that which survives. However he did succeed in purchasing the whole of the eastern shore and of laying out Water End as a picturesque park.

The study of the acquisition and management of the estate has shown that Gordon attempted to own or control as much of the environs of Derwentwater as possible, enlisting the co-operation and support of the Greenwich Hospital through the Admiralty and, by implication, of Lord Egremont where necessary.

Gordon shared an objective of being noticed and appreciated with the third main eighteenth-century owner, Joseph Pocklington. By 1787, together with the minor owner Rowland Stephenson, they occupied the Derwentwater shore. Pocklington, a man of superior financial means, was squeezed out of further ownership as Gordon effectively completed the picturesque occupation of Derwentwater. When taste in landscape gardening changed from the classicism of Capability Brown to the picturesque of Repton, the compacted classicism of Pocklington's Island found itself in the past, and the vanguard taste of Gordon became mainstream. The judgement of Gilpin, in a note to his publication of 1789 endorsing Gordon and condemning Pocklington, marks the turning point.

It is concluded that Gordon was creating a park primarily for display and public use and appreciation, rather than a private park for personal enjoyment. He built only a small summer pavilion at Water End in 1787, the more substantial present dwelling being unfinished at his death in 1823. While the new public road outside of his estate might suggest exclusion of the local inhabitants, the primary purpose of the higher and abandoned road appears to have been to create picturesque prospects by planting on the common below the road, and to create elevated viewpoints for picturesque prospects of Derwentwater, following Gilpin's brief. The final compromise road of the 1790s achieved his objectives only partially.

Driven to maximise the aesthetic value of Derwentwater, Gordon had underestimated the ability of local people of Borrowdale and Portinscale to resist the disadvantageous road diversion, and had underestimated the attachment of the Braithwaite and Coledale commoners to their commons rights. In the mid 1780s the discourse of the social cultural value of the 'statesman' was not developed, but there was sufficient in discourse concerning the inhabitants of Borrowdale for Gordon to be aware of potential resistance. In trying to move the road unnecessarily high, Gordon was not looking for economic benefit or exclusion of others, but was intervening to an extraordinary degree based on the

high aesthetic cultural value of Derwentwater. Through over-estimating his power over the inhabitants, he failed to complete the full scheme.

The study has shown that Gordon should be seen as an absent owner who sought to improve his public image and prospects at court, and to gain favour and good report within community who shared his interest in the creation of picturesque scenery. As such he was responding to the discourse of Derwentwater and its growing role in picturesque tourism, and was materialising the aesthetic cultural values of picturesque taste in its early days.

Chapter 6. John Marshall and his relationship with William Wordsworth, 1795-1845

Introduction

Chapters 6 and 7 will consider the estates of John Marshall of Leeds, the principal flax spinner in England. Figure 6-1 provides the relevant genealogy of the Marshall family, based on Rimmer but completing the third generation in the English Lakes.¹ Chapter 6 will establish the general relationship between Marshall and Wordsworth, while Chapter 7 will examine the creation and management of the extensive estates in the English Lakes from 1810.

Neither the process nor purpose of Marshall's estate creation been studied fully before. Rimmer, in *Marshalls of Leeds*, included much general and factual information on the family in the English Lakes, to give context to the business study of a family firm.² More recently Jacob has evaluated Marshall's contribution to mechanical science in industry, which provides an understanding of his personal level of involvement.³ Marshall had a long relationship with Wordsworth, but while the relationship has provided a minor source of material in numerous studies of Wordsworth, there has been no study of the effect of this relationship on Marshall's estate management in the English Lakes.

Walton states that Wordsworth's 'views [from the guide text of 1810] made little immediate impact, running as they did directly counter to the prevailing currents of political economy'.⁴ Marshall, despite being a political economist and utilitarian, would seem to be the obvious landowner to examine for the early materialisation of ideas associated with Wordsworth. The relationship with and influence of Wordsworth provides the theme of the study of Marshall. This study does not attempt to offer new insights into the character or

¹ W G Rimmer, *Marshalls of Leeds, flax spinners 1788-1866*, Cambridge University Press (CUP), 1960, facing p.326

² Rimmer, *Marshalls*

³ Margaret C Jacob, 'Mechanical science on the factory floor: the early industrial revolution in Leeds', *History of science*, xlvi, (2007), pp.197-221

⁴ J D Marshall & J K Walton, *The lake counties from 1830 to the mid twentieth century*, Manchester, Manchester University Press, 1981, pp.205-6

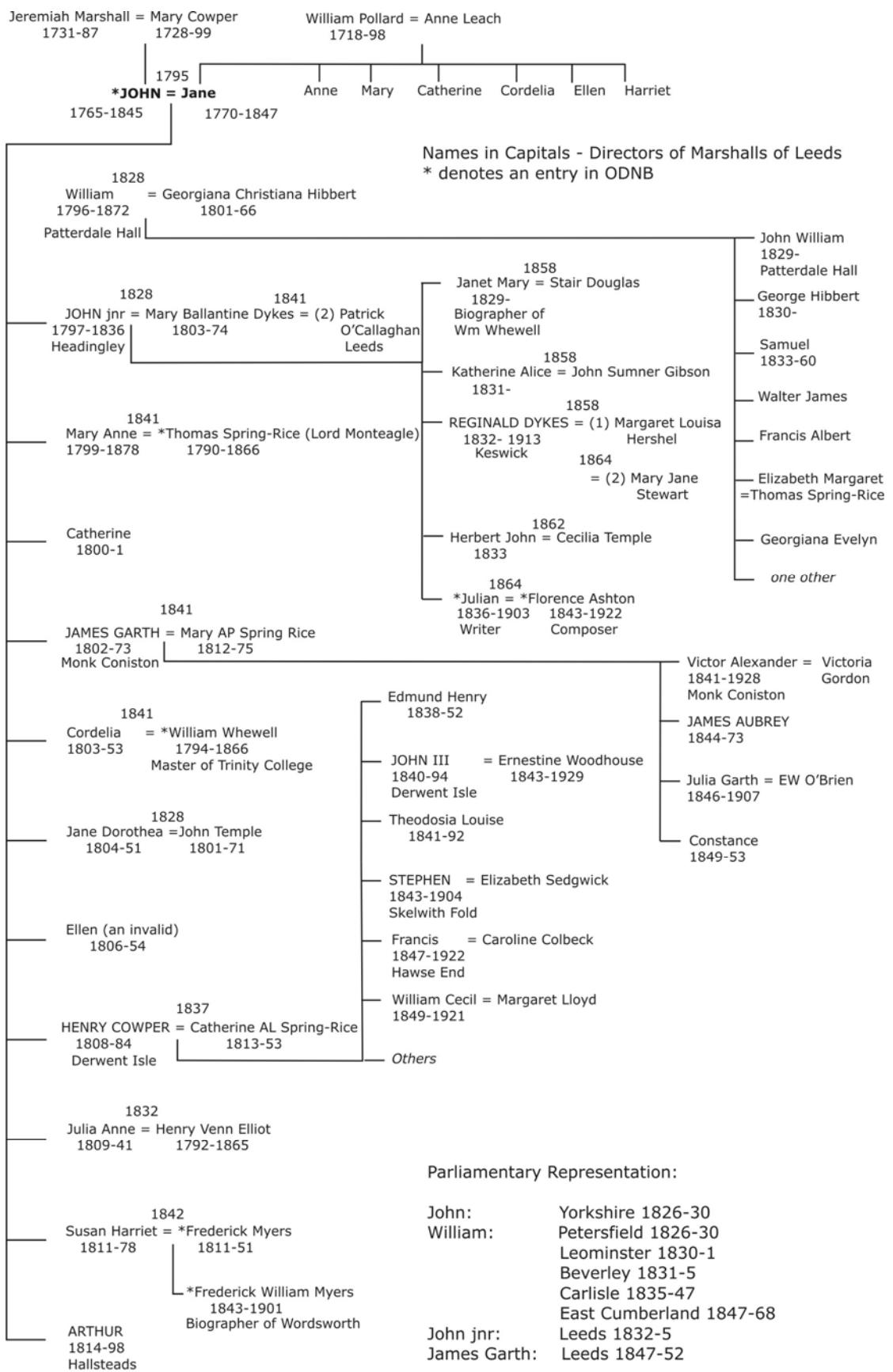


Figure 6-1. The Marshall Family

work of Wordsworth himself, but draws from relevant expert studies to create a basic sketch of Wordsworth to facilitate the study of Marshall. Gill's biography has been used as a general source on Wordsworth.⁵

Section 6-1 examines the relationship between Marshall and Wordsworth, to understand why two such different people had to retain a long-term social relationship, and the conflicts and opportunities that arose from it.

Section 6-2 considers the relationship from 1807, when they began to find the common ground in planting and property, that would inform the creation and management of Marshall's estates.

Section 6-3 draws out their different views on the politics of landed property and tenants, as necessary to understand Marshall's objectives in estate ownership and management.

6-1. The relationship between John Marshall and William Wordsworth

John Marshall's choice of Cumberland for his country seat, and his enduring relationship with William Wordsworth, appears to have been a consequence of his marriage in August 1795 to Jane Pollard.⁶ The ceremony was attended by Dorothy Wordsworth, who had established a sisterly relationship with Jane, through school and chapel during Dorothy's nine years as an orphan in Halifax.⁷ Dorothy had written to Jane enthusiastically about the Vale of Keswick in April 1794, during her holiday with William at Windy Brow.⁸ After the marriage the Marshalls spent 'three weeks in the Lake District', including the Keswick area.⁹ That marriage created a relationship between two opposites, Marshall and Wordsworth, which they maintained until Marshall's death in 1845.

Marshall first visited the Wordsworths at Grasmere in September 1800, but they are not known to have met again until 1807, when the whole

⁵ Stephen Charles Gill, *William Wordsworth: a life*, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1969

⁶ Rimmer, *Marshalls*, p.68

⁷ Pamela Woof, *Dorothy Wordsworth, writer*, Grasmere, Wordsworth Trust, 1988, p.8

⁸ William & Dorothy Wordsworth, *The letters of William and Dorothy Wordsworth*, 8 vols, ed. de Selincourt, 2nd edition revised by Alan Hill, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1967-1993, DW to Jane Pollard, April 1794

⁹ Rimmer, *Marshalls*, p.68

Wordsworth family visited the Marshalls at Headingley.¹⁰ Then John and Jane Marshall spent a day with the Wordsworths prior to touring Scotland.¹¹ The relationship intensified from 1810, when the Marshalls took a property at Watermillock on Ullswater.

Marshall and Wordsworth were the most unlikely associates, brought together and kept together by the bond between Dorothy and Jane, in a relationship mediated by the two women. The improbable relationship was observed by Mr Justice Coleridge's record of his tour of 1836, guided by Wordsworth. 'We called on our way and took our luncheon at Hallsteads [country seat of John Marshall], and also called at Patterdale Hall [seat of William Marshall]. At both it was gratifying to see the cordial manner of W.'s reception: he seemed loved and honoured; and his manner was of easy, hearty, kindness to them'.¹² Coleridge was happy to name Wordsworth's gardener elsewhere, but would not identify the Marshalls except as 'them'. Frederic WH Myers (1843-1901) was more explicit in his biography of Wordsworth.¹³ Myers was the son of John Marshall's youngest daughter, Susan Harriet, and Frederic Myers (1811-1851), who was appointed as the first perpetual curate at St John's Church, Keswick, built by the late John Marshall junior (1800-1836).¹⁴ Referring to the hospitality afforded to the Wordsworths at Hallsteads, at Patterdale Hall, and in London, Myers wrote:-

One of the houses where Mr. Wordsworth was most intimate and most welcome was that of a reforming member of parliament, who was also a manufacturer, thus belonging to the two classes for which the poet had the greatest abhorrence. But the intimacy was never for a moment shaken, and indeed in that house Mr. Wordsworth expounded the ruinous tendency of Reform and manufactures with even unusual copiousness,

¹⁰ Mark L Reed, *Wordsworth: the chronology of the middle years, 1800-1815*, Cambridge, Mass., Harvard University Press, 1975, p.357

¹¹ Brotherton Library Manuscripts, Marshalls of Leeds, MS200/63, p.18. [Original notebook pages are un-numbered, page is used here for a double page opening]

¹² William Wordsworth, *The prose works of William Wordsworth: For the first time collected, with additions from unpublished manuscripts*, ed. Grosart, Cirencester, Echo Library, 2005, p.524

¹³ Alan Gauld, 'Myers, Frederic William Henry (1843-1901)' *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, OUP, 2004

¹⁴ JH Lupton, 'Myers, Frederic (1811-1851)', rev. George Herring, *ODNB*, OUP, 2004

on account of the admiring affection with which he felt himself surrounded.¹⁵

Myers would not name his own grandfather anywhere in a biography of Wordsworth, and his father, Marshall's son-in-law, had not taken up Thomas Carlyle's suggestion in 1847 that Myers should write a biography of Marshall: 'Or if you prefer a modern subject . . . Did I not know a man called *John Marshall* ... whom and whose life ... the whole world might be better for knowing! A man, I very deliberately say, whose History well written might be a real possession even now.'¹⁶ These silences seem indicative of the Victorian third generation of the family having discomfort with the founder's history, and distancing themselves from his manufacturing business, his utilitarian ideas and politics, and probably his secularism, though not from the money.

On those subjects of manufacturing and reform, Wordsworth and Marshall were so far opposed and committed, that there was no room for discussion. By 1800, when they first met, both men had passed through testing experiences during the 1790s, which had formed and hardened their beliefs, providing the foundations of two exceptionally strong egos.

By 1800 Wordsworth had to come to terms with a condition of genteel poverty, which was consequent upon Lord Lowther's refusal to pay debts owing to Wordsworth's late father. In 1794 he still considered himself a democrat, against monarchic or aristocratic government, but his confidence in the practicality of reform had been shaken by the failure of the French revolutionaries to live up to his expectations.¹⁷ He rationalised this, in part, by developing the strong belief that the natural maintenance of social order and cohesion in the lower orders was founded upon the domestic affections of settled communities, dependent on the land and in harmony with nature. By 1800, and now in Grasmere, the political philosophy of his poems promoted

¹⁵ FWH Myers, *Wordsworth*, London, MacMillan, 1880, [Project Gutenberg etext 8747]

¹⁶ Thomas Carlyle to Frederick Myers, 4 November 1847, Carlyle Letters (CL), CL 22: 145-146

¹⁷ Wordsworths, *Letters*, WW to W Matthews, June 1794

stable agricultural communities, which he saw being threatened by the displacement of people from the land, particularly by the unnatural manufacturing system:-

... the most calamitous effect, ...is a rapid decay in the domestic affections of the lower orders of society. ... recently by the spreading of manufactures through every part of the country, the bonds of domestic feeling among the poor, ... have been weakened and in innumerable instances entirely destroyed.¹⁸

For Wordsworth, a manufacturing town displaced the rural workforce into an unnatural and unstable assemblage, inherently pathological. The need for artificial disciplines to replace those of a natural occupation was clearly expressed in later private correspondence on the different requirements of libraries for rural and manufacturing poor, whose need for book-learnt morality arose from their disconnection with nature as a teacher:-

The situation of Manufacturers is deplorably different. The monotony of their employments renders some sort of stimulus, intellectually or bodily, absolutely necessary for them. Their work is carried on in clusters, Men from different parts of the world, and perpetually changing; so that every individual is constantly in the way of being brought into contact with new notions and feelings, and of being unsettled in his own accordingly.¹⁹

By 1800 Wordsworth had accepted a Burkean conservatism, promoting stable, traditional communities which might be almost self-regulating, with authority and leadership being based on qualities developed through a widely distributed ownership and stewardship of landed property:-

In the two poems, 'The Brothers' and 'Michael' I have attempted to draw a picture of the domestic affections as I know they exist amongst a class of men who are now almost confined to the North of England. They are small independent proprietors of land here called statesmen, ... But if they are proprietors of small estates, which have descended to them from their ancestors, the power which these affections will acquire amongst such men is inconceivable by those who have only had an opportunity of observing hired labourers, farmers, and the manufacturing Poor.²⁰

The poem, 'Michael', sent to Fox and others with political purpose, illustrated some of the mechanisms by which small farm proprietorships were

¹⁸ Wordsworth, *Letters*, WW to Charles James Fox, 14 Jan 1801

¹⁹ Wordsworth, *Letters*, WW to Francis Wrangham, 5 June 1808

²⁰ Wordsworth, *Letters*, WW to Charles James Fox, 14 Jan 1801

now being lost to family ownership.²¹ The equity in Michael's property was reduced by his standing surety for a relative, who ultimately failed and caused land to be sold. The failure of the generational transfer of the tenement was symbolised by the uncompleted building of a sheepfold with son, Luke, whose domestic affections were outweighed by the attractions of city life, and who necessarily failed to prosper.

Wordsworth's life project, which was the objective of his retirement to the English Lakes, was to write a work of philosophical poetry, *The Recluse*, which would establish the proper relationship between man, nature and society.²² When he viewed the landscape of the English Lakes, his aesthetic appreciation was not based on picturesque principles, but in part on a view of how the landscape should visually reflect a stable relationship between nature and man in society. By 1800, Wordsworth's aesthetic appreciation of landscape, and of specific places, had a high cultural component associated with human activity, whether real or imaginary. An uninhabited wilderness was not attractive. Mr Justice Coleridge, after a tour guided by Wordsworth in 1836, observed the results of the process by which 'his favourite spots had a human interest engrafted on them, some tradition, some incident, some connection with his own poetry, or himself, or some dear friend. These he brought out in a striking way.'²³

John Marshall's experience of the 1790s and the French wars differed greatly, but left him with equally strong beliefs, and material success. By 1793 Marshall had borrowed heavily to move his business from the small Scotland Works in Adel to the large site in Leeds, in partnership with Fenton.²⁴ The wartime loss of mercantile credit created a cash-flow crisis in the young business, which would have failed without a further personal loan of £1200,

²¹ William Wordsworth, *Lyrical Ballads, with other poems in two volumes*, London, Longman, 1800, Michael, a pastoral poem'

²² Gill, *Wordsworth*, pp.133,271

²³ Wordsworth, *Prose*, p.524

²⁴ Rimmer, *Marshalls*, p.36

secured on his house at Mill Hill.²⁵ His partner's interest was wiped out. Looking back in 1796 Marshall noted, 'I have reason to think that the breaking out of war at that time, the most fortunate event that could have happened for me. If we had not received some such check, we should have gone on thoughtlessly with a ruinous expense, which we should have probably been unable to retrieve'.²⁶ Marshall was just able to pay creditors, but became secure enough to marry by 1795.²⁷ The check of 1793 confirmed his belief that success came from a single focus: 'I was at the Mill from six in the morning to nine at night, and minutely attended to every part of the manufactory'.²⁸ It also engendered a close future attention to financial management and stimulated a strong belief in the tenets of political economy.

Marshall was motivated from the start by the search for 'distinction and riches' through entrepreneurship.²⁹ Rimmer describes how the business conducted through the war from 1803 to 1815 made him notably wealthy, with an estate valued at £400,000.³⁰ In 1800 Marshall was wholly a man of business, and could demonstrate the benefits of industry to Wordsworth through his far superior material status, having a net estate of some £23,000, a good house at Mill Hill in Leeds and a growing family.³¹ William and Dorothy Wordsworth's living conditions at Grasmere were poor, and Marshall evaded hospitality at Townend on 8 September 1800, arriving after breakfast at the inn at Grasmere on the ninth.³²

Wordsworth's capital was cultural rather than material, and his retirement into simple living in Westmorland was intended to place him in a position to write poetry of cultural value, rather than work that would sell. But Marshall was not a man to appreciate Wordsworth's cultural capital, because literature and

²⁵ Rimmer, *Marshalls*, p.40

²⁶ John Marshall 'Sketch of his own life', p.8, in Rimmer, *Marshalls*, p.41

²⁷ Marshall 'life' p.11, in Rimmer, *Marshalls*, p.68

²⁸ Marshall 'life' p.8, in Rimmer, *Marshalls* p.41

²⁹ Marshall 'life' p.5, in Rimmer, *Marshalls*, p.22

³⁰ Rimmer, *Marshalls*, p.321

³¹ Rimmer, *Marshalls*, p.321

³² Wordsworths, *Letters*, DW to Jane Marshall, 10 September 1800

poetry were of little interest or value to him. Taking stock of his life in 1828 Marshall identified 'the study of Political economy and the moral improvement of society, [which] have always been my favourite pursuits', identifying 'a taste for paintings ... a taste for natural scenery and for laying out ornamental grounds ... the improvement of land by draining and fencing, and the increase of its value by planting'.³³ His interest was in the visual arts; not in those which depended on the use of language and an establishment education, Wordsworth's stock-in-trade.

Because Marshall did not appreciate Wordsworth's poetry, or literature generally, he could not be a worthy patron. Wordsworth did not acknowledge the substantial material support, by way of hospitality, that Marshall provided later. Rather, Wordsworth blamed his lack of writing on his Irish tour, of 1829, on his travelling too quickly in Marshall's 'carriage-and-four'.³⁴ Similarly, Marshall's intellectual interests could not be shared because Wordsworth had no respect for political economy or natural philosophy, the pursuit of scientific knowledge on which Marshall's business depended. The character sketches of De Quincey criticised Wordsworth for his one-sidedness, or his dismissive treatment of literature or subjects that he did not value, whereby he would 'dismiss political economy from his notice, disdainfully, as a puerile tissue of truisms, or of falsehoods not less obvious ...'.³⁵ The two men inhabited separate cultural domains.

In 1800 John Marshall made a tour of Cumberland and Scotland, alone except for a period of three days, 9-11 September, which he spent with the Wordsworths. There are only two known records of this tour; a long letter of 10 and 11 September from Dorothy to Jane which included Marshall's visit, and John

³³ Marshall, 'Life', p.30, in Rimmer, *Marshalls*, p.91

³⁴ Wordsworth, *Prose*, p.396

³⁵ Thomas De Quincey, *Literary reminiscences: from the autobiography of an English opium-eater*, Boston 1851, pp.249-251,254

Marshall's two touring notebooks.³⁶ The first was as a tourist, recording his touring route, roads, scenery, inns, towns, sea bathing, textile and other industry, and his general observations.³⁷ The second was as flax spinner examining the local textile businesses, their products, technology and markets.³⁸ The careful separation illustrates his character. A third notebook, not on tour, covered natural philosophy.³⁹

His notes illustrate his lack of personable sociability, and his limited views on social politics, a subject of such importance for Wordsworth. According to Dorothy's letter, Marshall spent three days with the Wordsworths, and yet his tour, usually written in the third person, recorded only the scenery and facilities as if he were alone, suggesting that the social experiences of the tour were unimportant to him.⁴⁰ He made no record of the Wordsworths or Coleridge. Similarly, neither Coleridge nor Wordsworth were sufficiently impressed on meeting Marshall to record him in any surviving text, and only Dorothy wrote any account of what must in reality have been an uncomfortable three days.⁴¹ On 9 September Marshall toured on and around Rydal and Grasmere Lakes with William, Dorothy and John Wordsworth, and on 10 September he walked with William and John to Keswick, had supper with Coleridge, who had recently moved into Greta Hall, and then stayed at the Royal Oak with Wordsworth.⁴² On 11 September they toured through Borrowdale to Watendlath, and then via the Honister Pass to the Buttermere Valley. In Borrowdale, William felt unwell and returned to Grasmere, leaving John Wordsworth and John Marshall to tour Buttermere, Crummock and Loweswater.⁴³ They slept at Scale Hill at the foot of Crummock, and parted on 12 September, Marshall touring to Ennerdale and

³⁶ Wordsworths, *Letters*, DW to Jane Marshall, 10 September 1800

³⁷ Brotherton, MS200/63

³⁸ Brotherton, MS200/62 notebook contains records of meetings and sketches of machinery

³⁹ Brotherton, MS200/42

⁴⁰ Brotherton, MS200/63, pp.7-8

⁴¹ Wordsworths, *Letters*, DW to Jane Marshall, 10 September 1800

⁴² Wordsworths, *Letters*, DW to Jane Marshall, 10 September 1800; Brotherton, MS200/63, p.5

⁴³ Wordsworths, *Letters*, DW to Jane Marshall, 10 September 1800

Wastwater.⁴⁴ At Crummock, Marshall noted a property for sale but 'the most desirable place to live at would be the head of Windermere, it is in the center of the lakes & less out of the way'.⁴⁵ Here he more clearly demonstrated a lack of sociability, noting that it was odd that the new families building at Windermere 'have no taste for the beauties of the country but spend their time in visiting & card parties'.⁴⁶ Rimmer notes his lack of sociability; 'away from people, alone or with a few acquaintances in the wilderness, "the whole scene is wild and savage, with scarcely any trace of cultivation", he refreshed his solitary nature'.⁴⁷

The people who were noticed and named by Marshall in his notebooks were the owners of large estates, or the occasional list of the company at an inn, but most frequently the proprietors of the textile factories that he visited.⁴⁸ The views of Mr Benson on flax spinning techniques were noted in detail during Marshall's visit to Benson and Braithwaite's Ambleside mill, on the day before the unrecorded first meeting with the Wordsworths.⁴⁹

While Wordsworth made no record of Marshall's visit, it is possible to detect a negative impression from the content of the socio-political poem, *Michael*, which was in composition from October to early December.⁵⁰ The adverse effect of textile manufacturing was represented by the lost domestic employment of Michael's wife: '...two wheels she had/Of antique form; this large, for spinning wool; That small for flax; and, if one wheel had rest,/ it was because the other was at work'.⁵¹ While the domestic spinning of wool connected directly to Michael's role as a shepherd, the inclusion of domestic flax-spinning into the poem appears to be an artifice which ignores the new

⁴⁴ Brotherton, MS200/63, pp.5,7-8

⁴⁵ Brotherton, MS200/63, pp.7-8

⁴⁶ Brotherton, MS200/63, pp.7-8

⁴⁷ Rimmer, *Marshalls*, p.100

⁴⁸ Brotherton MS200/62, records discussions with manufacturers

⁴⁹ Brotherton MS200/62, p.3

⁵⁰ Reed, *Chronology*, pp.95-105

⁵¹ Wordsworth, *Lyrical Ballads*, 1800, 'Michael', lines 82-5

opportunities for domestic weaving, providing a public criticism of Marshall, the leading English importer and spinner of flax.

The tour notebook confirms Marshall's strong appreciation of natural scenery, and of the English Lakes in particular. Mountainous terrain, 'bold rocks and beautiful woods' especially the crags at Wythburn and Honister, impressed him with their visual qualities, but his strongest interest was in woodland.⁵² 'The head of Cromack Water is bare & uninteresting – there is a beautifull view from the foot of the lake – the same from the head of Loweswater, an estate ... at the foot of Cromack some of it beautifully wooded, ...'.⁵³ The landscapes he appreciated were unpopulated, and the wilder and more naturalistic they were, the better his response. There was no appreciation of picturesque inhabitants or structures, no classical or other allusion, no spiritual or socio-romantic response; just an unmediated emotional response to dramatic natural scenery. His aesthetic appreciation of rural landscape differed from Wordsworth's, lacking the human associations and the marks of an approved occupation which were important to Wordsworth's appreciation. Marshall distinguished between land valued for natural scenery and land that was for economic exploitation and improvement, with only planting having a place in both domains of value. In towns, Marshall was interested in population and employment, appreciating the improvements of new purpose-built towns such as Maryport and Whitehaven, 'a large well built town, the streets laid out regularly at right angles like the American towns', but unhappy with the organic development of Workington, 'a dirty, ill-built disagreeable town'.⁵⁴

Before his visit, Marshall may have been unaware of Wordsworth's developing opinion, as yet unpublished, that the spread of manufactures had a calamitous effect on the bonds of domestic affection of the lower orders, that being the main cause of social disorder in England. But it is unlikely that

⁵² Brotherton MS200/63, pp.2,7

⁵³ Brotherton MS200/63, pp.7-8

⁵⁴ Brotherton MS200/63, p.9

Marshall left after three days without the subject having been discussed, or without having been shown the Cumberland 'statesmen's' dwellings and their relationship with nature, land and landscape. An indication of such a discussion appeared in the notes of the most northerly part of Marshall's tour. He reached Aberdeen on 7 October 1800, noting:-

A great many highlanders settle here & are trusty valuable servants [manufacturing employees]. In their own country they are remarkably idle, but when settled in the lowlands they become industrious. A Gentleman built a Cotton mill in the highlands expecting to have labour cheap, but nobody would work at it & he was obliged to abandon it.⁵⁵

Here Marshall voiced the negative representation of marginal mountain communities.⁵⁶ What might be 'peace, rusticity, and happy poverty' in Gray's vision of Grasmere in 1769, became the ignorance of Borrowdale men for improvers such James Clarke, or a lack of ambition for the Board of Agriculture's surveyors in Cumberland, or idleness for those who wished to clear the Highlands for sheep.⁵⁷ The tendency for populations in mountainous marginal areas to rise to the subsistence limit, requiring the emigration of surplus people, can be represented in different ways by selecting evidence and applying tropes. The negative Highlands model suited Marshall and provided him with a justification of manufacturing as a system that improves the excess people it employs, perhaps an answer to Wordsworth.

It was not until after 1815, according to Rimmer, that Marshall began to take an active interest in socio-politics, first through institutions in Leeds and then nationally, as a full and enthusiastic supporter of utilitarianism, and of its political application through the philosophical radicals.⁵⁸ From 1825 or before, the dominant political influence on Marshall was Henry Brougham, who

⁵⁵ Brotherton MS200/63, p.16

⁵⁶ Sidney Pollard, *Marginal Europe the contribution of marginal lands since the middle ages*, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1997. Chapters 3&4 present the positive and negative views

⁵⁷ William Mason, *The poems of Mr Gray. To which are prefixed memoirs of his life and writings*, York, 1775, p.151

⁵⁸ Rimmer, *Marshalls*, Chapter 3, 'Gentleman Flax-Spinner, 1815-1826', pp.91-161, contains a sufficient, factual overview of Marshall's activities outside of the business, though without the benefit of seeing *The economy of social life*

succeeded to Marshall's seat for Yorkshire in 1830. The relationship with Brougham placed Marshall in direct opposition to the Wordsworth/Lonsdale relationship.⁵⁹ Marshall's passion in socio-politics became practical, secular education for all, including infant education.⁶⁰ As a founding committee member of Brougham's *Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge*, and with Brougham's endorsement, Marshall published his only book in 1825, *The Economy of Social Life, for the use of schools*.⁶¹ In this short work of instruction on political economy, Marshall aligned himself with Bentham, James Mill, Malthus and Ricardo, using economic benefit as both the dominant element of human motivation and the domain within which the 'greatest happiness' would be measured.⁶²

Within utilitarianism, the improvement theme was dominant, and the manufacturing system was beneficial to those it employed. Within *The Economy of Social Life*, Marshall developed his Highlands observation into a coherent and modern justification of the manufacturing town, which depended on a geographically specialisation by industry, and the mobility of labour:-

A man by confining his attention to one object attains a much greater degree of skill in the construction and use of tools, and in the application of improved methods of labor.

A number of men, devoting their time and attention to one branch of business are stimulated by emulation and competition to exert their inventive faculties to improve it.

A division of labor brings men together in large numbers, and induces a communication of their ideas, by which the powers of their minds are improved, and advances are made in every department of management, and particularly in those manufactures in which mechanism is most employed.⁶³

The politics of education was an unbridgeable divide. The essential difference between Marshall's and Wordsworth's socio-political views lay in the idea in human perfectibility, and the degree to which economic motivation and practical

⁵⁹ Edward Baines, *The life of Edward Baines, late M.P. for the Borough of Leeds*, London, Longmans, 1851, pp.149-51

⁶⁰ Rimmer, *Marshalls*, pp.106-8

⁶¹ JM [John Marshall], *The economy of social life, for the use of schools*, Leeds, 1825

⁶² Marshall, *Economy*, pp.33-4

⁶³ Marshall, *Economy*, pp.14-5

education could improve the lower orders and engender social stability. Such a belief was an essential component of utilitarianism, and therefore of Marshall's politics.⁶⁴ Universal male suffrage was the reform which made the Government the most representative of the people, and therefore promoted their greatest happiness through the distribution of the 'materials of happiness'.⁶⁵ Democracy was justified empirically for Marshall, and not by any application of abstract concepts of rights, such as the social compact. Marshall was no Jacobin, Owenite or socialist. The universal education of the populace, according to their station in life, was the mechanism by which the newly enfranchised would come to know their true interest. The *Economy of Social Life*, and the building of schools, was Marshall's personal contribution to that process in education, and in it he clearly removed any discipline based on religion from the supposedly empirical political economy, which should be the basis of political government:-

Chapter XIII

What is the use and object of Civil Government?

Civil institutions are associations of individuals for the purpose of protecting their lives and properties.

The necessity of labor for obtaining the means of subsistence, and the desirableness of securing to every man the produce of his own labor, are the primary causes of civil institutions.

The proper object and end of a civil institution is, so to distribute the materials of happiness, as to secure to the whole community the greatest possible sum, and to each individual such share as may arise from the produce of his own exertions.

The power, or authority, requisite to effect this security, is by general consent lodged in a greater or smaller number of individuals, who are called the government, and whose duty it is to act for the general good of the community.⁶⁶

Wordsworth effectively renounced at least the practicability of the principle of human perfectibility after the terror in France had demonstrated the practical dangers of that principle. Wordsworth had been heavily influenced by Godwin, the main proponent of the ability of reason to overcome the passions through education, through visits in 1795, but with the new influence of Coleridge had

⁶⁴ Rimmer, *Marshalls*, pp.109-10

⁶⁵ Marshall, *Economy*, p.33

⁶⁶ Marshall, *Economy*, pp.33-4

rejected Godwin's philosophy by 1797.⁶⁷ For Wordsworth, universal education was as important as it was to Marshall, but it had an essentially disciplinary function, requiring a religious foundation and oversight. Therefore Wordsworth and Marshall found themselves in disagreement of the form, function and control of education. Wordsworth supported and taught in Bell's school system, controlled by the Church of England, while Marshall was 'a foremost Patron of the Lancasterian School established in Leeds' on the model of the dissenters, though he was not an original trustee in 1811-2.⁶⁸

Their religious differences followed the pattern. Marshall separated the religious domain from the political and economic, and relied on economic motivations and disciplines, which the utilitarians and philosophical radicals in politics claimed to be based on empiricism rather than abstract or transcendental beliefs:

We possess a great variety of books which explain and inculcate our religious duties, and many which delineate also our social and moral duties, but we have none which appear to me to give true ideas of the mechanism of society, of the relevant bearing of the different classes of mankind, of the objects and interests of each, and in short the rudiments of economical science.⁶⁹

For a utilitarian, political economy was an empirical science upon which a science of government could be based. It follows that, for Marshall, politics and governance was a secular process, and religion was a private belief and practice. In 1825, Marshall was a founder of the Brougham-led project to create what became the University of London, as an establishment open to all, including Jews and Catholics.⁷⁰ Wordsworth's opposition was plain; 'I hear that Mr Marshall is a members of the Lon. Coll. Committee – and active in all the *improvements* now going forward. – It cannot be doubted that a main motive

⁶⁷ Gill, *Wordsworth*, pp.85-6,111

⁶⁸ HR Fox Bourne, *English merchants: memoirs in illustration of the progress of British commerce*, London, 1866, p.231

⁶⁹ Marshall, *Economy*, p.iii

⁷⁰ RV Taylor, *The Biographia Leodiensis*, London, 1865, p.413

with the Leaders of this and similar Institutions is to acquire influence for political purposes'.⁷¹

Marshall was raised mainly as a Unitarian of the Mill Hill Chapel, and therefore did not subscribe to a conventional Christianity.⁷² There is no recorded indication of any personal belief or practice after the tours of 1800 and 1807, where he recorded attending one Church of England and one Church of Scotland service.⁷³ Marshall's separation of religion from his two main interests, the study and support of natural philosophy, or science in all its branches, and his utilitarianism and its political application, was not inconsistent with religious belief in the form of deism or with Paley's 'watchmaker' creation myth, separating a mechanistic, designed creation from the creator who sets it in motion. He cannot be labelled an agnostic or an atheist, but rather someone who fully separated the *mythos* from the *logos*. Beresford's conclusion that 'It would seem that, like many dissenting manufacturers in Leeds, he had attached himself in later life to the Church of England' is not credible, being based on an erroneous belief that Marshall rebuilt All Saints church at Watermillock.⁷⁴

Wordsworth's spiritual and religious beliefs were far more important to his work, much better evidenced, and of a more holistic nature than Marshall's, as is evident from the 'Immortality Ode'.⁷⁵ As Batho states, 'The problem with Wordsworth's religious beliefs is sometimes confused with that of his attitude towards ecclesiastical organisation, even, in its simplest form, the question whether he went to church or not'.⁷⁶ Like Southey, Wordsworth increasingly supported the Church of England, particularly through church building, as the established church with an essential role in social discipline and national

⁷¹ Wordsworths, *Letters*, WW to Lord Lonsdale, 15 August 1825

⁷² Rimmer, *Marshalls*, p.14

⁷³ Brotherton, MS200/63

⁷⁴ Maurice Beresford, 'Marshall, John (1765–1845)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography (ODNB)*, Oxford University Press (OUP), 2004

⁷⁵ William Wordsworth, *The complete poetical works of William Wordsworth; with an introduction by John Morley*, London, Macmillan, 1888, 'Ode – intimations of immortality', 1804

⁷⁶ Edith C Batho, *The later Wordsworth*, London, CUP, 1933, p.270

cohesion.⁷⁷ Wordsworth strongly opposed the political emancipation of Catholics in England and Ireland, while Marshall had spoken in the commons in 1828 in support of Russell's motion to repeal the Test and Corporation Acts.⁷⁸ This difference could not have helped their joint tour of Ireland in 1829.

According to Piper, Wordsworth saw man as part of nature and in communion with nature, rather than a separate creation.⁷⁹ In this he was close to the Unitarian ideas of Priestley, which saw all creation and matter composed of interacting forces with divine origin. Wordsworth was not a Pantheist, in the sense of Spinoza's alignment of the deity with the creation, but also rejected Paley's separation of the deity and the creation; 'She condemns me for not distinguishing between Nature as the work of God, and God himself. ... Whence does she gather that the author of *The Excursion* looks upon Nature and God as the same? He does not indeed consider the Supreme Being as bearing the same relationship to the Universe, as a watchmaker bears to a watch'.⁸⁰ Wordsworth's Wanderer asserts that 'an active principle pervades the Universe, its noblest seat the human soul ...'.⁸¹ Consequently Wordsworth rejected the physics of Newton, which was the scientific basis of Marshall's mechanistic industrial processes, but which divided the Universe into physical objects acted on by physical forces:-

Alas the Genius of our age from Schools
Less humble draws her lessons, aims and rules.
To Prowess guided by her insight keen,
Matter and Spirit are as one Machine;
Boastful Idolatress of formal skill,
She in her own world would merge the eternal will:
Expert in paths that Newton trod,
From Newton's Universe would banish God.⁸²

⁷⁷ Gill, *Wordsworth*, p.344

⁷⁸ Gill, *Wordsworth*, pp.361-2; Parliamentary Debates [Hansard], 2nd series, 26 February 1828, Cols.701-2

⁷⁹ HW Piper, *The active universe, pantheism and the concept of imagination in the English romantic poets*, London, The Athlone Press, 1962

⁸⁰ Wordsworth, *Letters*, WW to Catherine Clarkson, December 1814

⁸¹ William Wordsworth, *The excursion, being a portion of the recluse, a poem*, London, Longman, 1814, Book 9, Argument

⁸² William Wordsworth, *The complete poetical works of William Wordsworth; with an introduction by John Morley*, London, Macmillan, 1888 , 'Stanzas suggested in a steam-boat off St Bee's Heads' 1835

For Wordsworth analytical science was invalid, because any natural object was more than the sum of its physical components.

6-2. Planting and property; the second tour of 1807 and finding the common ground

The above has presented two men, each with internally consistent philosophies and views, who met in opposition in 1800 and grew further apart as Marshall's socio-political views and activities developed and were acted on from 1815. The common ground lay in Marshall's 'taste for natural scenery and for laying out ornamental grounds'.⁸³ While Marshall's introduction to the English Lakes in 1795 may have been consequent on his choice of wife, there is no doubt that his appreciation of natural scenery and of the particular merits of the English Lakes, were well established before the tour of 1800, and were not inspired by Wordsworth. In 1800 Dorothy Wordsworth noted that Marshall had seen Grasmere and Rydal lakes before and that 'from the excessively accurate ideas which he had of the relative situations of places we knew that they had in former times been deeply impressed upon his mind'.⁸⁴ By 1800 Marshall had therefore developed an understanding and appreciation of the aesthetic value of the English Lakes.

The shared interest in planting developed in 1807, and required an understanding on the larch (*Larix decidua*). In 1805, aged forty, Marshall leased the mansion and 450 acre estate at New Grange in Headingley, and was developing his interest in planting within the extensive parkland around the mansion.⁸⁵ On 10 June 1807 the whole Wordsworth household left the Beaumonts at Coleorton in Leicestershire to travel back to Grasmere via Halifax and New Grange.⁸⁶ Reed notes that 'Probably July 3-July 6. The Ws proceed to New Grange with Mrs Rawson. They remain there visiting John Marshall and JPM

⁸³ Marshall, 'Life', p.30 in Rimmer, *Marshalls*, p.91

⁸⁴ Wordsworths, *Letters*, DW to Jane Marshall, 10 September 1800

⁸⁵ Eveleigh Bradford, *Headingley, this pleasant rural village; clues to the past*, Northern Heritage Publications, 2008, pp.139-49

⁸⁶ Reed, *Chronology*, p.356

[Jane Pollard Marshall] until, probably, 6 July. (MY1, 153, 157-58)', described only as this 'cheerful, pleasant place'.⁸⁷ In late July, John and Jane Marshall, with at least one Pollard sister, set off for Cumberland and Scotland.⁸⁸ On 25 July Marshall left the party on Windermere, to examine the Backbarrow cotton mill, but then recorded that on 'July 26th Sunday – a rainy day – went to Grasmere & spent the day with the Wordsworths – could only take a short walk in the afternoon. The evening was fine and we had a pleasant ride to Keswick'.⁸⁹ Marshall's party spent four nights in Keswick, noting on 27 July that 'The views of the lake from above Lord Wm Gordons are very fine', before leaving on 30 July for Carlisle and a tour of Scotland.⁹⁰

It is clear from later letters that during the wet day of 26 July 1807, Marshall and Wordsworth discussed their shared interest in the laying out of grounds and planting.⁹¹ Marshall had the parkland at New Grange to lay out. Wordsworth at the time was taking a greater interest in Landscape gardening. Since late 1805 he had advised Sir George Beaumont of his general views on the laying out of grounds and their relationship with a large house.⁹² At Coleorton in 1807, Lady Beaumont was 'very busy planting and laying out the grounds'.⁹³ Also, Wordsworth was developing a relationship with Lord Lonsdale through advice on planting at Lowther, together with Thomas Wilkinson of Yanwath.⁹⁴ The ideas which would become public through the guide in 1810 were being formed and practised.

The role of the larch was a serious issue, Wordsworth's objections to it being expressed in aesthetic terms, as developed in the guide, but also being based on a preference for native trees rather than foreign species, out of place

⁸⁷ Reed, *Chronology*, p.357

⁸⁸ Brotherton MS200/63, p.17

⁸⁹ Brotherton MS200/63, p.18

⁹⁰ Brotherton MS200/63, p.18

⁹¹ Wordsworth Trust Manuscripts, (WLMS)/A/Marshall, John 1, Letter to William Wordsworth, 1807

⁹² Wordsworths, *Letters*, WW to Sir George Beaumont, 17 October 1805 & 11 February 1806

⁹³ Wordsworths, *Letters*, DW to Jane Marshall, 18 October 1807

⁹⁴ Wordsworths, *Letters*, WW to Sir George Beaumont, 17 October 1805

in the English Lakes. In his *An inquiry into the changes of taste in landscape gardening and landscape architecture ...*, of 1806, Repton had invoked the three overused and misused 'foreigners', when regretting that modern plantations 'rather injured than benefitted the traveller, because all view is totally excluded from the highways by the lofty fences and thick belt with which the improver shuts himself up with his improvement. ... the pollard trees are taken away to make room for young plantations of firs, and larch and Lombardy poplars'.⁹⁵ Pell has studied the introduction of larch into the English Lakes, and noted the early plantations in enclosures by Robert Watson, Bishop of Llandaff, and John Christian Curwen, at Bassenthwaite, Culgarth and Claife Heights.⁹⁶ Some of these plantations would have been visible to Wordsworth in 1799 when he was 'disgusted with the new erections about Windermere'.⁹⁷

Marshall had a more practical appreciation of the larch for its superiority as the timber tree that could improve the value of poor mountainous land, while providing aesthetic benefit. At Edinburgh on 1 September, Marshall wrote a long letter to Wordsworth on the Scottish experience with the larch and his views on its proper application. This letter was derived from Marshall's tour and notebook entries, particularly on the practice of the Duke of Athol:-

My Dear Sir,

I hope you have made some progress in your proposed work which was the subject of our conversation at Grasmere.

What information I have met with respecting the present mode of planting in Scotland I send you just as I found it, without attempting to make it square with my favourite ideas. The Duke of Athol has been one of the earliest and most extensive planters in Scotland, and his experience is looked up to, He has a large tract of country, which is now of no value, & his object is to improve & cultivate it in the way that is most profitable. He plants with that view, and little if any for ornament. ... He has some larch planted 68 years ago, which are worth £10 or £12 each. The largest measure 11 feet in circumference at 4 feet above the ground. Some oaks [Quercus sp.] planted at the same time measure 8 feet in circumference. ...

⁹⁵ JC Loudon, *Repton's landscape gardening and landscape architecture*, London, 1840, p.362

⁹⁶ Charles John Pell, *Changing perceptions of larch in the Lake District since c1780*, Lancaster University Dissertation, 1994

⁹⁷ Wordsworths, *Letters*, WW to DW, 7 November 1799

The Scotch fir is falling into disrepute, and is considered an unprofitable tree. ... This circumstance however renders them ineligible, in point of profit, to the planter, compared with the larch, which produces as good timber in 50 years as the Scotch Fir does in 100. The Scotch Fir is now only planted in bogs or wet places where no other tree will grow except the Alder [*Alnus glutinosa*], or in the situation where wood is wanted for fencing it is planted among other trees and thinned out when young. ...

The larch thrives in all dry situations, and thrives most in high exposed ones, even amongst the rocks where there is little or no soil, and where scarcely any other tree will grow. In low situations and deep soils the larch grows fast, but produces timber of little value, it being nearly all sap. On the mountains it grows more slowly, but it is nearly all heart, & is valuable timber. In low situations it is also liable to blight, & to be injured by an insect, which checks its growth very materially. On their accounts the Duke of Athol now plants all his high mountain grounds with larch, but plants none of these in the lower grounds where other trees will thrive. In such situations he plants oak ash elm beech sycamore & a few limes & chestnuts, which are found to be more profitable than larch. He is now cutting down the Scotch firs in his lower grounds, & planting oaks where they stood.⁹⁸

This letter was one of only two from Marshall that the Wordsworths preserved.⁹⁹ The reference to the 'proposed work' confirms that that on 26 July 'W tells him [John Marshall] of plans for a composition, probably for a guide for travellers in the Lake District. They discuss planting and landscaping'.¹⁰⁰ The letter provided a reasoned preference for confining the larch to the higher dry slopes, displacing the Scots pine, while reserving the valley bottoms for native hardwoods. It allowed landowners to plant the larch where it was both economically most advantageous and, in Wordsworth's view, of least aesthetic offence.

On 19 September Dorothy advised Jane Marshall that 'My Brother was exceedingly obliged to Mr Marshall for his letter. I have just been taking a copy of it to send to Lord Lonsdale, who has had some talk with my Brother (when he was at Lowther with the Beaumonts) about planting, and William thinks Mr Marshall's observations so valuable, that he will take the liberty of sending them

⁹⁸ WLMS/A/Marshall, John 1, Letter to William Wordsworth, 1807. By permission of the Wordsworth Trust, Dove Cottage, Cumbria

⁹⁹ The other was WLMS/A/Marshall, John 2, Letter to William Wordsworth, 1833, quoted in Chapter 7

¹⁰⁰ Reed, *Chronology*, p.359

to Lord L.'.¹⁰¹ Dorothy continued on 18 October: 'My Brother has made great use of Mr Marshall's observations on planting, with which he has been greatly pleased, as they coincide with his own previous ideas of what *should* be. He recommends to everybody to plant larches on their *high* rocky grounds – and oak, ash, etc. etc. on their rich and low grounds'.¹⁰² Wordsworth might have used Marshall's letter with pleasure to exclude the larch at Lowther and Coleorton, which had no really high ground, but his alleged enthusiasm for recommending the larch anywhere seems doubtful. However, the grudging acceptance of some role for the larch, 'confined to the highest and most barren tracts', in the guide of 1810 was clearly based on Marshall's advice, and provided some basis for their future co-operation in planting Marshall's estates.¹⁰³

Marshall's letter refers to 'my favourite ideas' on planting but these were not written down.¹⁰⁴ Apart from species, the main issues of aesthetic concern were the shape of woods and plantations, and the method of management, as demonstrated in Chapter 4 by the Greenwich Hospital's disagreement with its Receivers on successive cropping versus clear felling. Marshall's opinion was clear by 1800, in favouring schemes of mixed planting which fitted with successive cropping, as practised in Yorkshire, and not with the clear felling of Scotland and the border counties. At Moffatt in 1800, Marshall noted that the Earl of Hopetown 'has planted a good deal round the town, & to be sure any trees are an improvement to that bare country, but the Scotch have a villainous taste for planting. They plant chiefly firs in square black patches, the trees sit in straight lines – why will they not plant the Beech (*Fagus sylvatica*), the Ash (*Fraxinus Excelsior*), the Birch (*Betula* sp.) which thrive so well with them? The

¹⁰¹ Wordsworths, *Letters*, DW to Jane Marshall, 19 September 1807

¹⁰² Wordsworths, *Letters*, DW to Jane Marshall, 18 October 1807

¹⁰³ William Wordsworth, *Guide to the Lakes*, ed Selincourt/Gill, Frances Lincoln, London, 2004, p.90

¹⁰⁴ WLMS/A/Marshall, John 1, Letter to William Wordsworth, 1807

Oak flourishes in some situations'.¹⁰⁵ It is clear that Marshall, like Wordsworth, had a preference for native English species and for naturalistic methods of planting and management. His interest in the aesthetics of woodland would naturally affect his schemes of planting and management of larches on higher ground, which could combine economic benefit with aesthetic value.

6-3. The politics of landed property and tenants

An understanding of Marshall's objectives in holding property in the English Lakes requires an analysis of his politics and economics of landownership, and of the appropriate relationship with tenants. In 1800 Marshall owned the land on which his business stood and a house in Leeds, but in moving to New Grange in Headingley in 1805 he rented its 450 acres at £500 per annum.¹⁰⁶ In 1818, now very wealthy, Marshall purchased Headingley House, and its much smaller parkland estate of 36 acres, from Thomas Bischoff.¹⁰⁷ Marshall had no wish to acquire extensive landed property in Leeds, or Yorkshire,

Porter notes that Marshall's purchases of land were not primarily for profit; 'But it was also a matter of vanity and emulation. Manufacturers rushed pellmell into land: Strutt himself, Marshall of Leeds, Arkwright, Horrocks and Peel all bought estates, and thereby status'.¹⁰⁸ Marshall, however, was not a manufacturer wishing to gain his wealth through trade and then join the establishment of Whig/liberal or Tory landed gentry, and Marshall did not rush into land or seek to emulate anyone. A utilitarian would not have agreed that status and political authority should lie in the hands of the aristocracy of land ownership. Marshall would rather promote an 'aristocracy' of industrial capitalism, known as the millocrats.¹⁰⁹ These views were retained throughout his life and promoted by his sons, notably James Garth Marshall, whose attacks on

¹⁰⁵ Brotherton, MS200/63, p.14

¹⁰⁶ Rimmer, *Marshalls*, p.67-8

¹⁰⁷ Rimmer, *Marshalls*, p.102

¹⁰⁸ Roy Porter, *English society in the Eighteenth Century* London, Pelican Books, 1990, p.73

¹⁰⁹ Stephen, Leslie, *The English utilitarians*, London, Duckworth, 1900, 3vols. This work has been used as to derive a general understanding of utilitarianism and the radical philosophical politics of John Marshall, together with his *Economy*

the alleged political failure of leadership of the landed aristocracy made him the named target of Holland's polemical book of 1841, *The Millocrat*.¹¹⁰

The question of where political authority should lie in industrialising Britain would inform Marshall's view of landownership. Political authority currently rested with the owners of land, being exercised in favour of rent. In the industrialising element of the British economy, the leadership lay with capital and the entrepreneurship that applied it for growth through profit. The democratic socialists, relying on the abstract rights of man, saw labour having emergent authority within the industrialising economy, to be exercised in favour of wages. Marshall's utilitarianism, contained in *The Economy of Social Life* and promoted politically through the philosophical radicals, consistently favoured capital and entrepreneurship as the driving force of future politics. Naturally, Marshall was a free trader and strongly opposed the corn laws of the landed interests. However, utilitarianism strongly supported the rights of property, other than slavery, and incorporated the Malthusian view of marriage, with its preventative check, as the means of managing the relationship between population, resources and property.¹¹¹

A large manufacturer was effectively in the business of generating labourers as well as manufactured product, and Marshall became well aware of his responsibilities and the political opportunities. Utilitarianism proposed that the interests of capital and labour were co-terminus, and not opposed. Education, as in *The Economy of Social Life*, would enable the labourers to see that their interests were served by their capitalists, and their votes, when enfranchised, should support the interests of capital rather than land. Consistent with these views, Marshall was a leader in providing education for

¹¹⁰ George Calvert Holland, *The Millocrat, Letters to J G Marshall*, London, Ollivier, 1841

¹¹¹ Leslie, *Utilitarians*, this paragraph from a general reading

his workers. His logic required this to be a voluntary provision, as being in the interest of the business and the nation.¹¹²

These principles caused Marshalls of Leeds, led by James Garth Marshall in the 1840s, to oppose Chartism, with its abstract socialist rights and its separation of the interests of capital and labour, and to lead the creation an alternative grouping, the Leeds Parliamentary Reform Association, which promoted the common economic interest of capitalists and workers. Ridiculed as the 'Fox and Goose Club', this was the short-lived and last serious manifestation of Bentham and James Mill's utilitarianism, demonstrating Marshall's consistency, or failure to change.¹¹³

In the science of governance, and in the relationships between employer and factory worker, and landowner and tenant, religion had no role according to the tenets of utilitarianism and Marshall. That belief in secularisation caused the utilitarians to be denounced as atheistic, but in Marshall's compartmentalism it meant that he considered religion a separate matter, with no role in business, employment or tenancy relationships.¹¹⁴ Thomas Carlyle provided the most appreciative small sketch of Marshall in his *Reminiscences*, and took Marshall as the model of a captain of industry in *Past and Present* in his search for a new political authority to replace the old aristocracy and its landed interest.¹¹⁵ But Carlyle, a mystical dissenter, found Marshall's qualifications lacking precisely because of that missing religious dimension in the management of work. Considering that for Carlyle *Operare est Orare*, or to work is to pray, it is unsurprising that he sought to combine Marshall's entrepreneurship and management with an example of a Quaker businessman, to produce the

¹¹² Leslie, *Utilitarians*, this paragraph from a general reading plus Marshall's *Economy*

¹¹³ Malcolm Chase, *Chartism, a new history*, Manchester, Manchester University Press, 2007, pp.153-5

¹¹⁴ Leslie, *Utilitarians*, plus Marshall's *Economy*

¹¹⁵ Thomas Carlyle, *Reminiscences*, ed. Froude, London, Longmans, 1881, Vol.II, pp.217-21; Thomas Carlyle, *Past and Present*, London, Chapman and Hall, 1843

composite new figure of political authority for the new industrial age.¹¹⁶ Writing to James Garth Marshall in 1841, Carlyle highlighted the perceived deficiencies of John Marshall, which made him an unacceptable model for the Victorian third generation of the family; 'We must have industrial barons, of quite a new sort; workers loyally attached to their taskmasters, related in God ... not related in Mammon alone! This will be the real aristocracy'.¹¹⁷ Marshall never shared the view, close to Ruskin's and reflecting Locker's, that the authority of an employer or landowner should have a religiously derived component, which compromised the theoretical autonomy of the employee or lessee.

Conclusion.

Marshall and Wordsworth were bound together in a relationship of opposites because of their principal attachments to Jane and Dorothy, who were as close as sisters and who mediated the relationship through the period from 1800, until Marshall's death in 1845. By 1800 Wordsworth had already formed a complete and coherent romanticism, and was developing and presenting the identity of the English Lakes in that context. Marshall, as a capitalist manufacturer and political economist, may not have developed his full support of utilitarianism and the political radicals at that time, but he developed his socio-politics in an equally coherent but opposite way. Marshall became the epitome of the Millocrat of modernity, as demonstrated by the utilitarian purity of *The economy of social life*, while Wordsworth represented the antithesis.

The common ground between them, a love of scenery such as the lakes and mountains provided, was worked on from 1807 to provide a basis for co-existence, and co-operation in a narrow field. Marshall's pleasure was in wild dramatic natural scenery, rather than the particular peopled landscape and its human associations that Wordsworth appreciated. A shared desire to see more

¹¹⁶ CR Vanden Bossche, *Carlyle and the search for authority* Columbus, Ohio State University Press, 1991, provides an assessment of Carlyle's appreciation of Marshall as a captain of industry

¹¹⁷ Thomas Carlyle to James Garth Marshall, 7 December 1741, CL13: 316-317

woods protected and planted formed a strong basis for a common approach. While they agreed on planting of native species on lower grounds, Marshall's appreciation of the larch on higher ground, as both attractive and productive, found only a very reluctant acceptance from Wordsworth.

Chapter 7. John Marshall and his estates in the English Lakes, 1810-

1845

Introduction

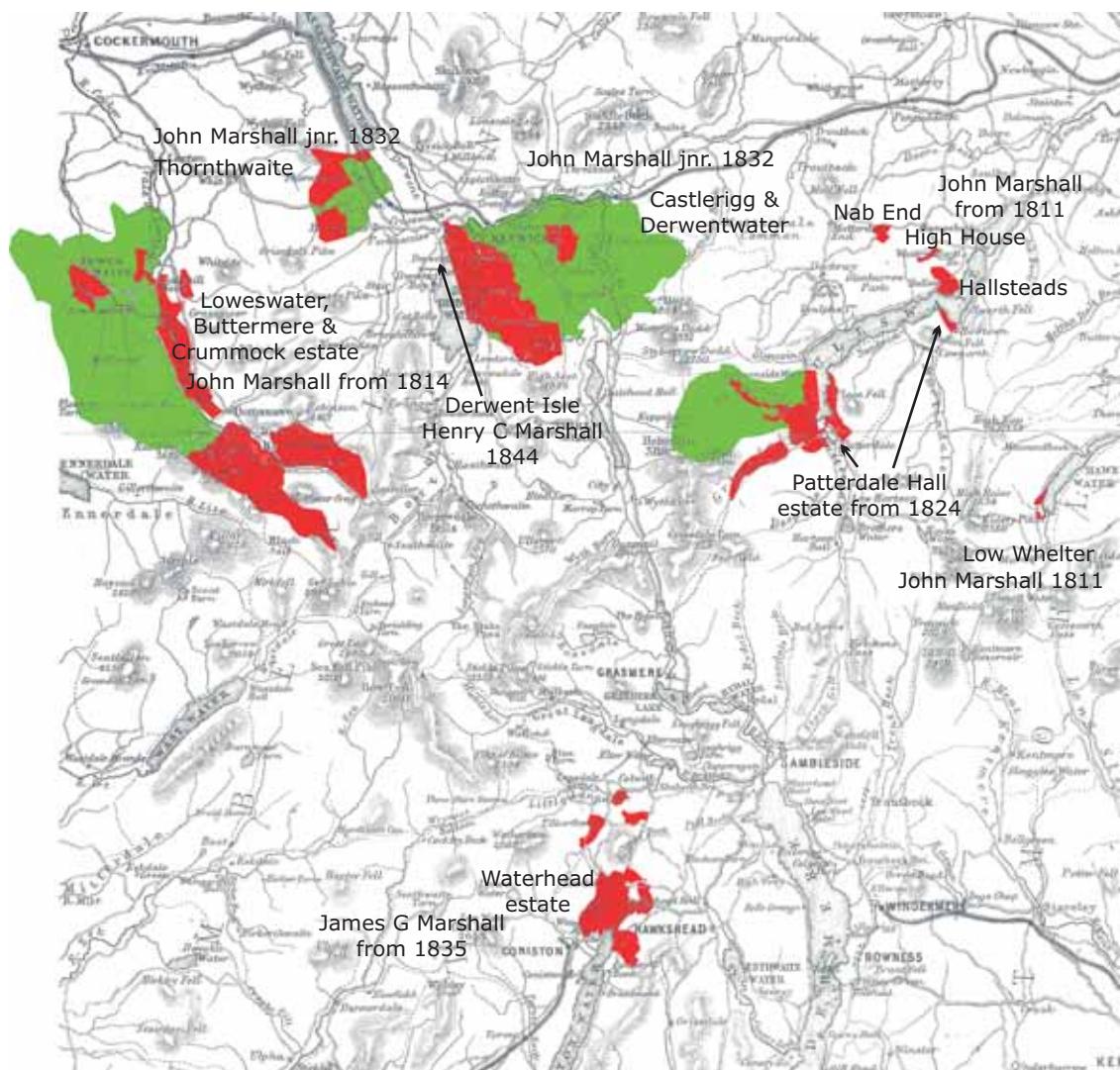
Chapter 6 has analysed the developing relationship between Marshall and Wordsworth as a context for the creation of Marshall's estates. This chapter will examine the creation and management of those estates. Figure 7-1 is a general location map of the Marshall estates, and Table 7-1 provides a chronological listing of the Marshall family purchases of property in the Lake Counties in the study period, and known capital projects. These are both outputs from the study, rather than a starting point.

Only two significant studies of small parts of the Marshall family activity in the English Lakes have been made, Armstrong's study of the building of St John's Church by John Marshall junior, and the National Trust's study of the historic landscape, buildings and gardens of the Monk Coniston estate, developed by James Garth Marshall.¹ This chapter will establish the extent of the Marshall estates up to 1845, the process of their creation, and Marshall's objectives in management. The relationship with Wordsworth will continue to provide the theme of investigation and evaluation.

Section 7-1 establishes the programme of purchases of the estates of John Marshall and his sons within his lifetime, to understand the factors influencing the growth and choice of estates, and the role played by Wordsworth.

Section 7-2 establishes the programme of purchases of the estates of Marshall's sons within his lifetime, and examines Marshall's role and objectives.

¹ Margaret Armstrong, *Linen and liturgy: the story of the Marshall family and the Parish Church of Keswick St John*, Keswick, Peel Wyke Publications, 2002; Chris Burnett Associates, *Tarn Hows historic landscape survey*, 2001; Chris Burnett Associates *Monk Coniston Restoration Plan*, 2003; Chris Burnett Associates *Monk Coniston walled garden survey*, 2007; Adam Menuge, *Monk Coniston Hall, historic building report*, 2007



Key:-

Coloured red - land and water owned as demesne, freehold or customary property by 1845 (but note that the Castlerigg & Derwentwater enclosure process was finalised by an award dated 1849)



Coloured green - other land within Marshall manors of Loweswater, Glenridding, Castlerigg & Derwentwater and Thornthwaite

Not included - Marshall estates at Kirkoswald and High Heskett

10 km

Figure 7-1. Location plan of Marshall family property in the English Lakes, to 1845

DATE	OWNER	PROPERTY	Acres (land) enclosed	PURCH PRICE	CUMUL PRICE	HALLSTEADS PRICE John/Jane	LBC PRICE John	PATTERDALE PRICE William	DERWENT PRICE John Jnr	WATERHEAD PRICE James G	ISLANDS PRICE Henry C
1811 Jane	Knott Estate, Watermillock, customary	42									
1811 Jane	High House Estate, Watermillock, customary	39									
1811 John for life	Low Wheler, Haweswater, Bampton, freehold	36									
1812 John	Old Church & Low Field, Watermillock, freehold	26									
1812 Jane	Nab End, Watermillock, customary	18									
1812 John gave Wm	Huddlesceugh, Kirkoswald, freehold (outside the Lakes)	195									
1812 John gave Wm	Todbank, Kirkoswald, freehold (outside the Lakes)	63									
1813 John&Jane	Knott End, Watermillock, customary	34									
1813 Jane	Timber on High House & Knott, from Duke of Norfolk	0									
1813 John & Jane	Rimmer's estimate of cost of property to date	0	10,000	10000	10000						
1815 John	Capital cost of building Hallsteads (Rimmer's figure)	0	11800	21800	11800						
1814 John	Manor of Loweswater, Holme 124a, Lake, Rigg Bank 44a desmense	168	10,500	32300		10,500					
1815 John	Buttermere Estate, Gatesgarth, Birkness, Hassness,	473	9,000	41300		9000					
1823 William (1st)	Patterdale Hall Estate, Glenridding Manor	247	10233	51533			10233				
1823 John	Netherclose Farm Loweswater	11		51533							
1824 John	Brackenthwaite Freehold estate plus Potter Gill Loweswater	430	10500	62033		10500					
1824 John	Croft Farm Buttermere, freehold	85	2995	65028		2995					
1826 William	Elm How estate, Patterdale, customary 4 tenements, 128 grasses	90	1800	66828		1800					
1832 William	Side Farm, Bear How, Harriman's Ten, Patterdale	69	2310	69138		2310					
1832 John2 (2nd)	Manors of Castlerigg&Derwentwater and Thurnthwaite, Keswick Estate	1900	48300	117438			48300				
1832 John&Jane	Greenah, Watermillock, customary	27		117438							
1834 John & Jane	Allotments as right in Watermillock	184	122	117560	122						
1834 Jane	Allotment for Greenah in Watermillock	31	0	117560							
1834 William	Low Blowicke & Cowperthwaite Field, Place Fell, Barton	35	800	118360		800					
1835 John	Hay Close Estate, Hesket (outside the Lakes)	450	12500	130860	12500						
1836 James G (3rd)	Waterhead estate, Monk Coniston	669	25460	156320			25460				
1836 James G	How Head Estate, Monk Coniston	44	1540	157860			1540				
1838 John	Corn How, Brackenthwaite, and exchange with Fisher		1220	159080	1220						
1838 Mary Dykes	St Johns Church building cost	0	4103	163183		4103					
1839 John	Loweswater School building cost	0	327	163510	327						
1839 James G	Tarn Hows estate	194	2900	166410			2900				
1839 James G	Yewdale and Tilberthwaite estates		10000	176410			10000				
1839 James G	Two dwells and premises called High House		1000	177410			1000				
1839 James G	Slate quarries at Tilberthwaite	0	80	177490			80				
1839 James G	Tent Lodge estate, Monk Coniston	99	5600	183090			5600				
1840 James G	Oxenfell estate		1400	184490			1400				
1841 James G	Atkinson Ground estate		1950	186440			1950				
1841 William	Waternook Farm, Martindale, Barton	26	980	187420		980					
1841 William	Mosses Estate, Patterdale	78	1800	189220		1800					
1844 James G	Stang End estate		350	189570			350				
1844 Henry C (4th)	Vicars Island, Derwentwater	6	3440	193010			3440				
1845 William	Freehold close Pollack Holme & 8 stints Glenridding	1		193010							
1845 James G	Yew Tree Estate, Coniston Quarter	156	5250	198260						5250	
1845 William	Scarr Side estate in Bampton		66	1800	200060			1800			
	TOTALS	5992	200060	200060	35969	32995	19723	52403	55530	3440	

Table 7-1. Purchases of property by the Marshall family, 1811-1845

Section 7-3 considers the management of Marshall's Loweswater, Buttermere and Crummock estates, primarily in relation to his intentions and achievements in planting.

Section 7.4 addresses Marshall's relationship with his manorial tenants, particularly through the attempts to enclose the commons.

Section 7-5 assesses his management of leasehold tenants, in the context of his socio-politics and belief in political economy.

7-1. Creating John Marshall's estates, 1810-1824

In 1810 John Marshall leased the Robinson mansion at Watermillock for five years, and by 1815 he had built the mansion called Hallsteads as his country seat, at Skelly Nab on Ullswater. Jane Marshall, rather than John, was responsible for taking Watermillock. As he later wrote, 'a principal inducement was the delicate state of my wife's health, which I hoped a change of scene and air would restore; to which was added a partiality for that country and a great enjoyment of lake scenery'.² That summer 'answered our utmost expectations both as to health and happiness' became annual and 'induced me to purchase land in the neighbourhood'.³

The Wordsworths gave advice and assistance in finding a suitable property to purchase or lease in 1809-10. Dorothy Wordsworth regretted in late 1809 that she could not 'find out a beautiful estate of two hundred acres and place you and your Husband and Children upon it in a good house'.⁴ By early January 1810, Jane Marshall had asked for advice on the purchase of Ormathwaite, north of Keswick.⁵ Dorothy advised that the house was small and in poor condition, and the price, previously £30,000, might be mitigated by selling surplus land. Wordsworth, who owned a small estate close by at Applethwaite, had volunteered

² John Marshall, 'Sketch of his own life', p.17 in WG Rimmer, *Marshall's of Leeds, flax spinners 1788-1866*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press (CUP), 1960, p.100

³ Marshall, 'Life', p.17 in Rimmer, *Marshalls*, p.101

⁴ William & Dorothy Wordsworth, *The letters of William and Dorothy Wordsworth*, 8 vols, ed. de Selincourt, 2nd edition revised by Alan Hill, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1967-1993, DW to Jane Marshall, 19 November 1809

⁵ Wordsworths, *Letters*, DW to Jane Marshall, 1 January 1810

to inquire into the land value.⁶ By 13 April 1810 the Marshalls had taken the Robinson house at Watermillock unseen, advised by Mrs Rawson of Halifax.⁷ Dorothy wrote advising that it was unsuitable, the house being on the road with no views, though it was large enough.⁸

The first Marshall purchases were completed in the first quarter of 1811, and therefore agreed in 1810.⁹ They included part of the land for Hallsteads, but also two disconnected purchases, the High House estate in Watermillock, and Low Whelter on Haweswater.¹⁰ The High House estate was a forty acre customary tenement containing some picturesque woodland. Marshall let it as a farm and gained control of the woodland by purchasing a release of the timber from the Duke of Norfolk, lord of the manor, in 1813.¹¹

Marshall's purchase of Low Whelter on Haweswater was a better guide to future plans, being a freehold estate in the township of Bampton in Westmorland, containing 36 acres at the head of Haweswater, below the picturesque Whelter Knotts.¹² Figures 7-2 and 7-3 provide a location plan and photograph of Low Whelter. It was Marshall's first purchase in the English Lakes, which he held and leased out for his lifetime substantially unchanged. It had been enfranchised by Thomas and Mary Robinson in May 1810, and was sold to John Marshall on 12 February 1811.¹³ The price is unknown, but the rental in 1856 was just £35 and it was sold by William Marshall in 1861 for £1460.¹⁴ The purchase appears too trivial and poor for an economic investment, and too small and remote for a country seat. It therefore appears to have been purchased by Marshall for its scenic beauty, and as a freeholder he was able to control the woodland.

⁶ Wordsworths, *Letters*, DW to Jane Marshall, 1 January 1810

⁷ Wordsworths, *Letters*, DW to Jane Marshall, 13 April 1810

⁸ Wordsworths, *Letters*, DW to Jane Marshall, 13 April 1810

⁹ Cumbria Archive Centre, Carlisle (CACC)/DBS/Marshall/box616

¹⁰ CACC/DBS/Marshall/box616

¹¹ CACC/DBS/Marshall/box616

¹² Cumbria Archive Centre, Kendal (CACK)/WRDC/8/208, tithe commutation, Bampton, 1839

¹³ CACC/DBS/Marshall/box611

¹⁴ CACC/DBS/Marshall/box611

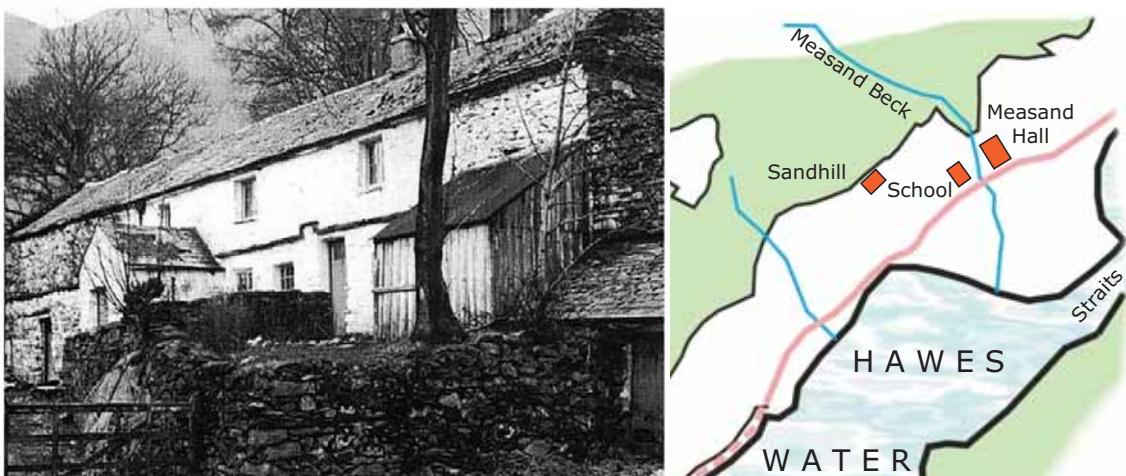


Figure 7-3. Low Whelter Farmhouse, twentieth century photograph

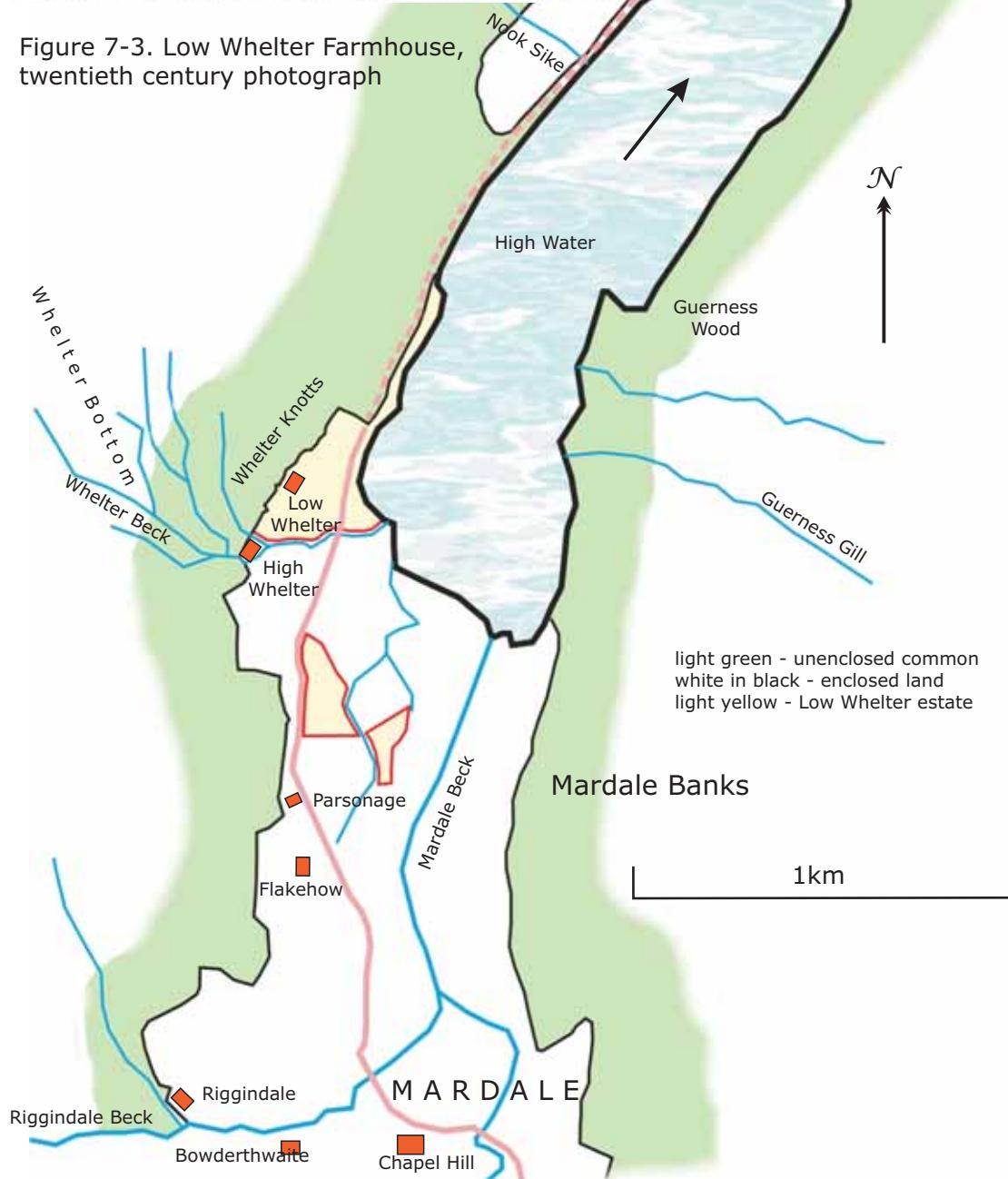


Figure 7-2. Plan of Low Whelter on Haweswater, purchased by John Marshall in 1811

Haweswater had a special appeal for Wordsworth. As he had written in the guide of 1810, 'From Pooley Bridge, at the foot of the Lake [Ullswater], Haweswater may be conveniently visited. Haweswater is a lesser Ullswater, with this advantage, that it remains undefiled by the intrusion of bad taste'.¹⁵ Haweswater's appeal was supported by associations of 1799, as Wordsworth told Mr Justice Coleridge in September 1836; 'on 22nd we had an open carriage, and proceeded to Haweswater. It is a fine lake, entirely unspoilt by bad taste. ... Wordsworth conveyed a personal interest to me by telling me that it was the first lake which my uncle [Samuel Taylor Coleridge] had seen on his coming into this country: he was in company with Wordsworth and his brother John'.¹⁶ Marshall's purchase would have found favour with Wordsworth.

Watermillock being insufficient, Marshall created a new estate, and house, to meet his needs for both accommodation and prospects. The promontory on Ullswater called Skelly Nab, was still in Watermillock township but was contiguous with Gowbarrow Hall and Park, owned by Charles Howard, Duke of Norfolk. It provided a fine prospect up Ullswater to the Helvellyn range. Marshall considered this new property, which became Hallsteads, 'as beautiful a situation as any upon the Lakes'.¹⁷ Figure 7-4 shows the lakeside properties and enclosures on James Clarke's plan of 1787.¹⁸ The creation of Hallsteads itself, the estate to the south of the public road, required the purchase of two properties. The customary Knott Estate, otherwise Low Knott, had been purchased in 1811, but it was the purchase of the adjacent lakeshore freehold closes from the Duke of Norfolk in 1812 which confirmed Marshall's decision to build his country residence here, and

¹⁵ William Wordsworth, *Guide to the Lakes*, ed Selincourt/Gill, Frances Lincoln, London, 2004, p.40

¹⁶ William Wordsworth, *The prose works of William Wordsworth ...*, ed. Grosart, Cirencester, Echo Library, 2005, p.524

¹⁷ Marshall, 'Life', p.18, in Rimmer, *Marshalls*, p.99

¹⁸ James Clarke, *A Survey of the Lakes of Cumberland, Westmorland, and Lancashire ...*, London, 1787, plate 3

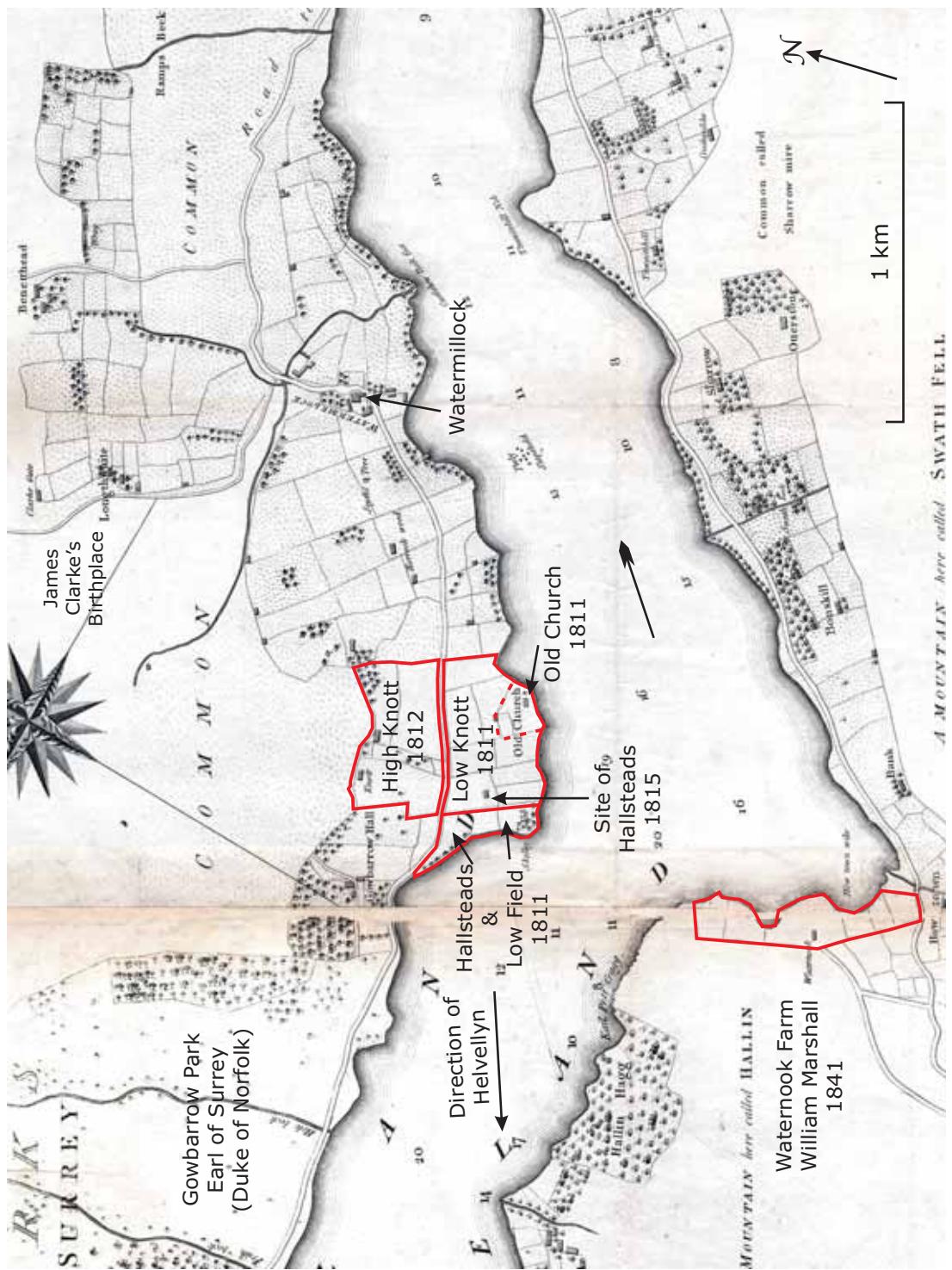


Figure 7.4 The origins of the Hallsteads estate at Watermillock, based on James Clarke's survey of 1787

indicates the support of the Duke, as lord of the manor.¹⁹ Marshall purchased Old Church plus two closes belonging to Gowbarrow Hall, called Hallsteads and the Low Field. The nature of Marshall's relationship with Charles Howard and his successor is unrecorded, but politically they were closely aligned. Charles Howard, as Earl of Surrey, had been MP for Carlisle from 1780 to 1786, when his elevation to the Lords as Duke caused him to propose Rowland Stephenson in the mushroom elections. A longstanding opponent of the Lowther interest, Howard came from a Catholic family, but had converted, and was 'a strenuous advocate of Reform' in Parliament, opposed the American and French wars and supported the abolition of slavery.²⁰

Those purchases provided the land for Hallsteads, but Watermillock was a customary manor, even after enclosure, and Marshall could not enfranchise the Knott estate. In 1813 he purchased High Knott, which was contiguous with Hallsteads above the road, and was in hand by 1829.²¹ In December 1813 he was permitted to purchase the timber and the right to plant on the customary Knott and High House estates.²² Marshall was then free to cut timber and to plant Hallsteads. Whilst the freehold property was conveyed to John Marshall, the four customary tenements in Watermillock were conveyed to Jane Marshall, who was the customary tenant and had therefore joined the statistics of the Cumberland 'statesmen'.²³ When claiming allotments on Watermillock commons in 1829, Jane held 133 acres of customary land and John Marshall held just 26 acres of land.²⁴ After the enclosure they held 346 acres in Watermillock plus 21 stints on the stinted pasture, making Jane Marshall the individual with the highest number of stints, and the second largest contributor to the cost of the enclosure after the

¹⁹ CACC/DBS/Marshall/box616

²⁰Richard Saul Ferguson, *Cumberland and Westmorland MPs; from the restoration to the reform bill of 1867*, Carlisle, Thurnam, 1871, pp.386-7

²¹ CACC/DBS/Marshall/box616

²² CACC/DBS/Marshall/box616

²³ CACC/QRE/1/17

²⁴ CACC/DBS/202/box1000, Watermillock inclosure

Duke of Norfolk.²⁵ The allotment of the 42 acres of a poor hill called the Knotts, above Knott Farm, allowed Marshall to plant an important feature in their prospect to the north-west.

Marshall laid out the 68 acres of Hallsteads as a private park with little distinctiveness from the parks of others. Figure 7-5 is based on a twentieth century plan of the Hallsteads and Knott estates which includes the enclosure allotments from 1835, when the farm was in hand.²⁶ The house itself, shown in photographs in Figure 7-6, was a functional Georgian neoclassical block with a portico. On his 1807 tour, Marshall had admired plain functional buildings, as in Glasgow where 'the style of building is improving. The new houses are not so fine & overloaded with ornaments, but more simple & elegant than those which have been built 10 or 20 years'.²⁷ The house was placed to provide lake prospects, but its bulk would intrude as little as possible into the prospect from the lake. The roof line was kept low, the long front elevation was oriented to the north-west, orthogonal to the lake, and planting hid much of the building. Hallsteads was the only new residence that Marshall built, and occupied the site of old buildings on Clarke's plan.²⁸

Hallsteads was completed in 1815, and Dorothy wrote to Jane there on 13 October.²⁹ In early December William and Dorothy Wordsworth walked from Patterdale 'to Hallsteads (Mr Marshall's new house, built upon Skelly Nab)' and stayed a night there.³⁰ The house provided for the whole Marshall family, a large staff, and for hospitality on a considerable scale. The ground floor provided five reception rooms, with a further large drawing room on the first floor.³¹ In the 1930s, there were ten principal and six secondary first-floor bedrooms, with a

²⁵ CACC/QRE1/17; CACC/DBS/202/box1000

²⁶ CACC/DBS/Marshall/box614, plan of Hallsteads and Knott Farm

²⁷ Brotherton Library Manuscripts, Marshalls of Leeds (MS200), MS200/63, p.37 [pages are not numbered, p. here is a double page opening]

²⁸ Clarke, *Survey*, plate 3

²⁹ Wordsworths, *Letters*, DW to Jane Marshall, 13 October 1815

³⁰ Wordsworths, *Letters*, DW to Catherine Clarkson, 23 December 1815

³¹ CACC/DBS/Marshall/box614, sales particulars, 1930s

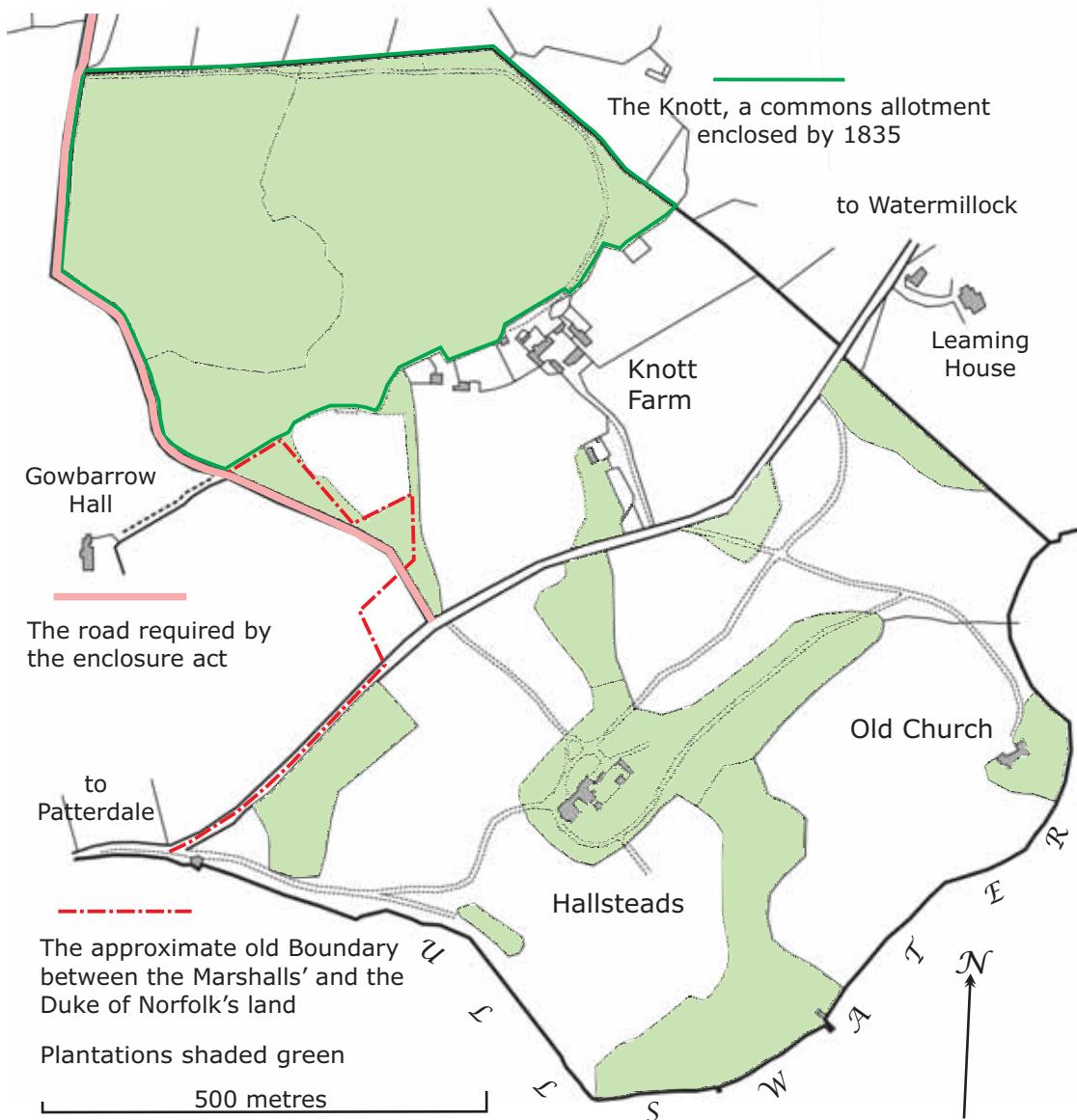


Figure 7-5. Plan of Hallsteads estate in the 1930s, with enclosure changes of 1835
(sources: CACC/DBS/Marshall/box614; CACC/QRE/1/17)



Figure 7-6. Photograph of the Hallsteads mansion by Abrahams

further five on the second.³² The domestic offices were in a separate wing and practically the whole house was cellared.³³ Further facilities were created at New Church, to provide an annexe, and a summer residence for the Pollard sisters. Rimmer gives the cost of the house as £11,800, and the annual cost of running Hallsteads as £3,000.³⁴ Rimmer quotes £10,000 for estate purchases by 1812, including the 264 acres of Huddlesceugh and Todbank in Kirkoswald in Cumberland, where by 1837 Marshall had 40 acres in hand as plantations.³⁵

Hallsteads would provide hospitality for the numerous guests who were offered the opportunity to view Marshall's estates in the English Lakes. Those visitors will not be listed here, but Carlyle summarised Marshall's position in retirement and his hospitality. 'He had made immense moneys ("wealth now no object to him, Darwin told us in the name of everybody"), by skilful and altogether human conduct in his flax and linen manufactory at Leeds ...'.³⁶ 'We never made it out together [with Jane] that often urged "visit to Hallsteads" (grand mansion and establishment, near Greystoke, head of Ullswater in Cumberland). I myself, partly by accident, and under convoy of James Spedding, was once there, long after, for one night; and felt very dull and wretched, though the old man and his wife etc. were so good. Old Mr Marshall was a man worth having Known; ...'.³⁷

In 1814, Marshall began to purchase his estate around the three north-western lakes of Loweswater, Buttermere and Crummock, starting a programme that took ten years. He had no residence there, but acquired the roles of lord of the manor, landowner of tenanted estates, owner and occupier of woodland and water, and proprietor of the Scale Hill Inn, which provided accommodation for Marshall and his visitors. That estate provides the main opportunity to interrogate

³² CACC/DBS/Marshall/box614, sales particulars, 1930s

³³ CACC/DBS/Marshall/box614, sales particulars, 1930s

³⁴ Rimmer, *Marshalls*, pp.99-101

³⁵ Rimmer, *Marshalls*, p.101; Cumbria Archive Centre Whitehaven (CACW)/DLec./ATK/box194

³⁶ Thomas Carlyle, *Reminiscences*, Froude, J A, ed., London, Longmans, 1881, Vol.II, p.217

³⁷ Carlyle, *Reminiscences*, Vol.II, p.219

his management and the influence of Wordsworth in management rather than purchase. Figure 7-7 illustrates the area and Marshall's estate. Touring developed alongside these three lakes in the 1770s, when the new turnpike road between Keswick and Cockermouth allowed West's guide to include a popular circuit from Keswick through Borrowdale, or alternatively Keskadale, to Buttermere, returning via Lorton and the turnpike over the Whinlatter Pass.³⁸ Both Buttermere and Loweswater villages had a place in the social romanticism associated with the native inhabitants; Buttermere through the publication by Budworth in 1792, and Loweswater through the notes by Housman in Hutchinson's History of 1794.³⁹

Wordsworth had affection for Loweswater, partly because of the perceived qualities of its inhabitants, many of whom were 'statesmen'. This agricultural manor was in customary tenure, apart from the lord's holdings and the 82 freehold acres of Mill Hill. Wordsworth had shown the prospects of Loweswater and Crummock to Coleridge in November 1799, whose notes convey the romantic relationship between place and the built environment of the inhabitants:-

We pass the Inn at Scale Hill, leaving it to our right & and to our right is Lowes Water which we see – tis a sweet Country that we see before us, Somersetshire Hills & many a neat scattered House with Trees round of the Estates Men. — the White Houses here beautiful & look at the river & its two arched Bridges – We have curved around the hill – the Bridge, the Plain & Lowes Water are at my Back – and before me – O God, what a scene. – the foreground a sloping wood, sloping down to the River & meadows, the serpent River beyond the River & the wood meadows terminated by Melbreak walled by the Melbreak⁴⁰

Wordsworth also combined aesthetic and social values in the first text of his guide of 1810 on Loweswater, though this and other descriptive content was removed from later editions:-

I am not sure that the circuit of this Lake can be made on horseback; but every path and field in the neighbourhood would well repay the active exertions of the Pedestrian. Nor will the most hasty Vistant fail to notice

³⁸ Thomas West, *A guide to the lakes: ...*, London, Editions 1778, folding map

³⁹ William Hutchinson, *The history of the County of Cumberland and some places adjacent ...*, Carlisle, F Jollie, 1794, Vol.II, p.135, Housman's notes; A Rambler, [Joseph Budworth], *A fortnight's ramble in the Lakes in Westmoreland, Lancashire and Cumberland*, London, 1792, Chapters VIII & IX, pp.188-204

⁴⁰ Samuel Taylor Coleridge, *The notebooks of Samuel Taylor Coleridge*, ed. Kathleen Coburn, London, Routledge, 1957, Vol.1, p.539

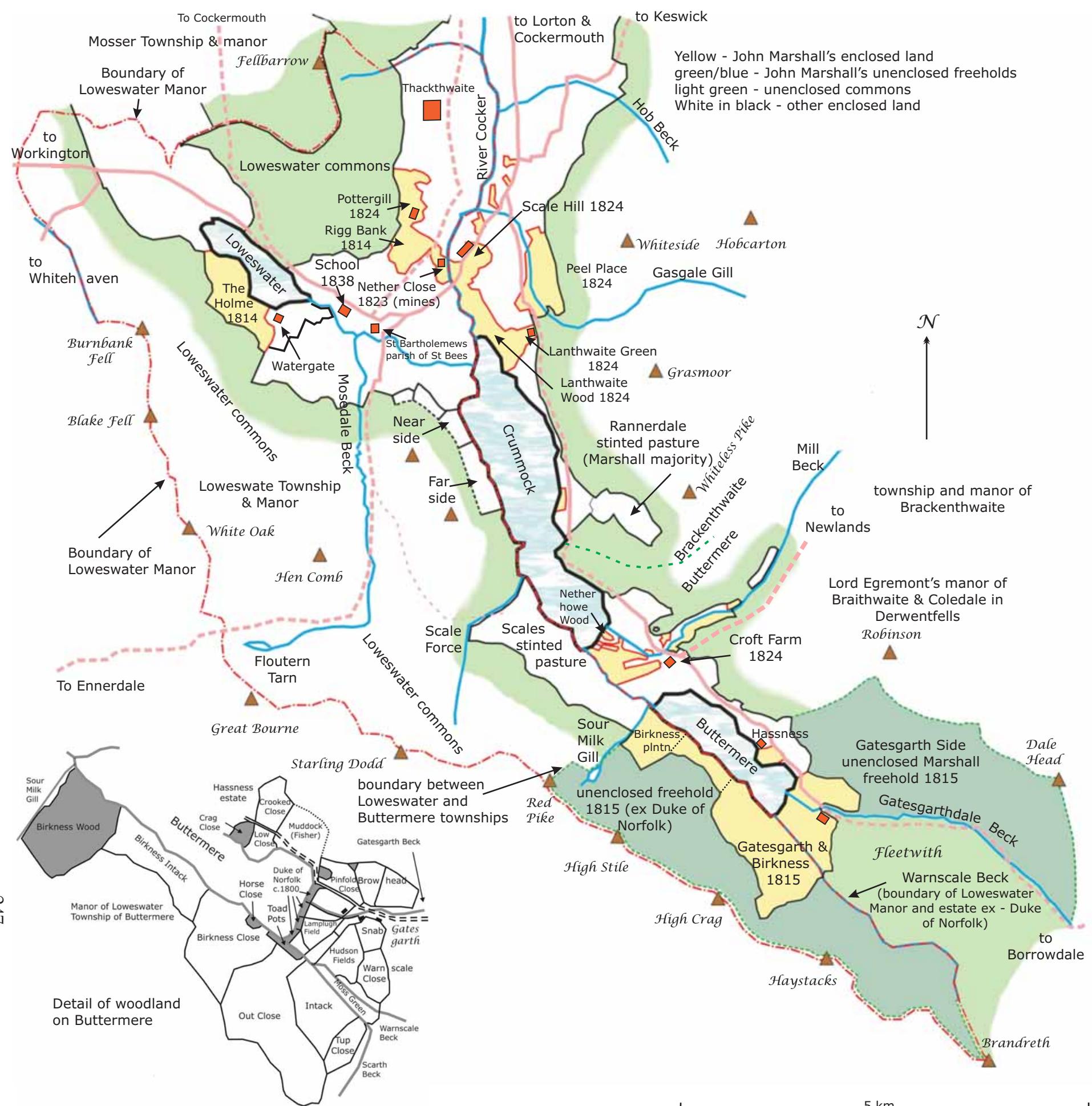


Figure 7-7. Plan of John Marshall's estate at Loweswater, Buttermere and Crummock, 1845

with pleasure, that community of attractive and substantial houses which are dispersed over the fertile inclosures at the foot of those rugged Mountains, and form a most impressive contrast with the humble and rude dwellings which are usually found at the head of these far-winding Dales. It must be mentioned also, that there is scarcely anything finer than the view from a boat in the centre of Crummock-water.⁴¹

Loweswater was also the township and the parochial chapelry where the Rev. Robert Walker, called Wonderful Walker for his life and thrift, had been village schoolmaster in the early eighteenth century. Wordsworth had examined the parish records, probably in September 1812, to support Walker as a model for the pastor in Book XIII of the *Excursion*, published in 1814.⁴² He noted in the fourth edition of the *Guide*, in 1823 'in a few [parish registers] of this country, especially in that of Loweswater, I have found interesting notices'.⁴³

The involvement of the Wordsworth family can be easily seen in the acquisition of this estate. On the third day of his visit in 1800, Marshall toured these three lakes with John Wordsworth, staying the night at Scale Hill.⁴⁴ Marshall noted that an estate in Brackenthwaite, at the 'beautifully wooded' foot of Crummock, which included the inn, was for sale, but was too 'out of the world' as a place to live.⁴⁵ That freehold estate was purchased in 1805 by Joshua Lucock Bragg of Lorton Hall, who decided to place it in the trusteeship of Richard Wordsworth, William's attorney brother at Grays Inn, probably to exclude it from rights of dower.⁴⁶

Joshua Lucock Bragg (1772-1809) was born Joshua Lucock, and was the grandson and eventual heir to Joshua Lucock (1710-1782) of Cockermouth. Wordsworth was closest to Joshua Lucock Wilkinson (1769-1802 or later),

⁴¹ Wordsworth, *Guide*, p.151

⁴² Mark L Reed, *Wordsworth: the chronology of the middle years, 1800-1815*, Cambridge, Mass., Harvard University Press, 1975, p.512; William Wordsworth, *The poetical works of William Wordsworth (The Excursion)*, ed. Selincourt/Derbyshire, Oxford, 1949, Book VIII, lines 341-51

⁴³ Wordsworth, *Guide*, p.73

⁴⁴ Brotherton MS200/63, p.8

⁴⁵ Brotherton MS200/63, p.8

⁴⁶ CACC/DNT/31

another grandson of Joshua Lucock and author of *The Wanderer*.⁴⁷ He shared lodgings at Lincoln's Inn with Richard Wordsworth in the 1790s.⁴⁸ Wordsworth and Joshua Lucock (Bragg) were acquainted, and in December 1805, Bragg carried a Wordsworth manuscript from Grasmere to London in his carriage, following a previous theft from the post.⁴⁹

In 1800, Joshua Lucock had purchased Lorton Hall and set about creating a large landed estate in Lorton, Loweswater and Brackenthwaite townships. In 1805 Lucock became the residual legatee of the estate of his maternal uncle, Joseph Bragg of Moseley Vale in Liverpool, on condition that he changed his name.⁵⁰ In 1807 Joshua Lucock Bragg purchased, at auction, the combined manor of Loweswater, Thackthwaite & Brackenthwaite, with freehold land, from the trustees of the late Sir Wilfred Lawson of Isel Hall.⁵¹

Bragg died in 1809, leaving a widow and six at children at Lorton Hall.⁵² His properties were left to trustees, who would need to manage and sell property as necessary for the long-term support the family at Lorton Hall, the heir, Raisbeck, and three other children becoming lunatics from 1816.⁵³ His three trustees were Matthew Smith of Cockermouth, who managed the estate, Rev. James Satterthwaite of Bootle, and Rev. Robert Wilkinson who ran the school at Heath, near Halifax, all well known to the Wordsworth family.⁵⁴

The Loweswater manor and estate were offered for sale in 1813, and as Marshall's first purchase in the area the reasons for the purchase are the key to

⁴⁷ Katherine Turner, 'Wilkinson, Joshua Lucock (bap. 1769, d. in or after 1802)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography (ODNB)*, Oxford University Press (OUP), 2004

⁴⁸ Turner, 'Wilkinson'

⁴⁹ Wordsworths, 'Letters', DW to Lady Beaumont, 25 December 1805

⁵⁰ Joseph Boult, 'The historical topography of Aisburgh and Garston', *Transactions of the historical society of Lancashire and Cheshire*. New Series, Vol.VIII, Session 1867-8, pp. 147-90, p.179; The National Archives (TNA): Public Record Office (PRO)/IR/26/304, Joseph Bragg of Moseley Vale, d.1805

⁵¹ CACW, wills and administrations of the Deanery of Copeland, Joshua Lucock Bragg, Lorton, 1809

⁵² CACW, wills and administrations of the Deanery of Copeland, Joshua Lucock Bragg, Lorton, 1809

⁵³ TNA/PRO/C211/4, Lunacy of Raisbeck Lucock Bragg

⁵⁴ CACW, wills and administrations of the Deanery of Copeland, Joshua Lucock Bragg, Lorton, 1809

the whole estate.⁵⁵ Wordsworth & Addison handled and advertised the offer in London for Matthew Smith, and had been given the power to sell at the asking price of £11,000.⁵⁶ The manor, based on the 1576 bounder that Smith supplied and which Bragg had ridden, extended along the whole of the mountain watershed above the west bank of Crummock Water and Buttermere to the Three Footed Brandreth, then down Dubbs and Warnscale Becks.⁵⁷ It included Scale Force and much mountain scenery, but did not include Crummock or Buttermere lakes, nor the rights to the free rents, soil or minerals in Brackenthwaite.⁵⁸ The property included the lordship of the combined manors of Loweswater, Thackthwaite and Brackenthwaite, the lake of Loweswater, the Holme of 124 acres on the scarp side of the lake, let as grazing land, and a small estate of 44 acres called Rigg Bank, which was promoted as the possible site of an owner's residence.⁵⁹ The scope for improvement and a financial return was said to lay in the enclosure of the extensive commons, where the lord would entitled to 'an immense allotment' for manorial right.⁶⁰

Bragg had purchased the estate for £14,100 in 1807, plus auction duty, but had raised £1,500 in 1808 by felling the 'large quantity of Oak [Quercus petraea] and other Timber Wood, growing upon the Customary Estates' that had been noted in the 1807 sales particulars.⁶¹ Marshall engaged John Norman of Kirkandrews to give a valuation.⁶² Norman was one of the principal authors of enclosure maps in Cumberland, and had surveyed the estate for the Lawson trustees before the sale in 1807.⁶³ In his rough valuation for Marshall, of 11 January 1814, Norman valued the estate at £8,550, including a very generous

⁵⁵ CACW/DWM/11/249/17, particulars 1813

⁵⁶ CACW/DWM/11/249/17, particulars 1813

⁵⁷ CACC/DLaw./1/249; CACW/DWM/11/172, Smith to JM 29 January 1814

⁵⁸ CACC/DLaw./1/249; CACW/DWM/11/172, Smith to JM 29 January 1814

⁵⁹ CACW/DWM/11/249/2

⁶⁰ CACW/DWM/11/249/17

⁶¹ CACW/DWM/1/36/14, plan of the Holme and Lake by Norman, 1807

⁶² CACW/DWM/11/249/2

⁶³ Roger Kain, John Chapman & Richard Oliver, *The enclosure maps of England and Wales, 1595-1918*, Cambridge, CUP, 2004, p.61

£2010 for the general fines.⁶⁴ Norman had heard that the Duke of Norfolk was interested in the estate.⁶⁵ Marshall replied, suggesting that he might offer £10,000.⁶⁶ From Smith's surviving second letter, of 29 January 1814 to Marshall at New Grange, it appears that three offers had been received by Wordsworth & Addison, in addition to Marshall's.⁶⁷ In negotiations with Smith, Marshall was given first refusal, with two other offers remaining in reserve from gentlemen in London and Bath.⁶⁸ Taking ownership on 13 May 1814, Marshall eventually paid £10,500, which was £500 below the asking price but £2,000 above Norman's investment valuation.⁶⁹

Marshall did not purchase the Loweswater manor and estate as an investment or residence, nor as an estate for one of his sons, the eldest being seventeen and the location too remote. The initiative and timing was that of the trustees, not Marshall, and he clearly responded to an opportunity where Wordsworth had an interest and involvement but was powerless himself. Wordsworth would have seen and regretted in 1812 that the late Bragg had cut the timber in Loweswater, and Wordsworth might have encouraged Marshall's purchase.⁷⁰

In 1815 Marshall purchased the estate at Gatesgarth in the township of Buttermere, which was mainly a freehold property, descended from the medieval vaccary which had existed at the head of the valley.⁷¹ This property was purchased from Charles Howard, Duke of Norfolk, from whom Marshall had purchased property for Hallsteads, and from other minor holders of rights.⁷² The purchase was completed for £9,000 on 23 November 1815, shortly before the

⁶⁴ CACW/DWM/11/249/2

⁶⁵ CACW/DWM/11/249/2

⁶⁶ CACW/DWM/11/249/2

⁶⁷ CACW/DWM/11/172, Matthew Smith to John Marshall 29 Jan 1814

⁶⁸ CACC/DNT/30, indenture of sale

⁶⁹ CROC/DNT/31, indenture of sale

⁷⁰ Reed, *Chronology*, 1812

⁷¹ Angus JL Winchester, 'Demesne livestock farming in the Lake District: the vaccary at Gatesgarth, Buttermere in the later thirteenth century', *Transactions of the Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian & Archaeological Society (CWAAS)*, CW3, 2003, pp.109-18

⁷² CACC/DNT/31

Duke's death on 16 December.⁷³ It fitted well with the Loweswater estate, and was consequent upon that purchase.

The estate was principally 473 acres of enclosed land, but included extensive unenclosed grazing rights on the fellsides. On the west side of Buttermere, between Sour Milk Gill and Warnscale Beck, the freehold included all the grazing in that part of Marshall's Loweswater manor.⁷⁴ Marshall was now lord and freeholder of Warnscale and Birkness, and might expect to do as he wished with it.

The land to the east of Warnscale Beck was in the manor of Derwentfells, within Lord Egremont's Honour of Cockermouth, as were the lakes of Crummock and Buttermere, in which Marshall now had a moiety of the fishing. While most of this property had been enfranchised in 1799, a part was customary, representing £1,500 of the price, and Marshall put the customary tenancy in the name of his first son William.⁷⁵ The purchase included the 488 acres of ancient fellside grazing land called Gatesgarth Side, enfranchised in 1777 with the normal reservations.⁷⁶ It had once been enclosed but fences had long been dilapidated, and enclosure, according to Lord Egremont's agent, would now require an Act and compensation.⁷⁷ Marshall did not enclose it.

The purchase is likely to have been agreed directly between Marshall and the Charles Howard, and there is no record of Marshall having a valuation made. The agricultural rental justified no more than two thirds of the £9,000 paid, and with no significant value in timber and no rights of lordship, it appears that Marshall paid a considerable premium over the investment value.

After 1815, Marshall made no more purchases in the English Lakes until 1823. In 1823-4 he purchased a number of farmsteads in Brackenthwaite,

⁷³ Nicolas Harris, *The historic peerage of England*, London, Murray 1857, p.354

⁷⁴ CACW/DWM/11/408/1, plan of Duke of Norfolk's estate; CACC/DHG/14, bounder in Derwentfells; CRO/C/D/Lons25/2/19/11, riding of 1812

⁷⁵ CACC/DNT/31

⁷⁶ CACC/DNT/31; CACW/DWM/11/302, epitome of Marshall title

⁷⁷ CACW/DWM/11/249/13, Thompson to Marshall, 7 November 1818

Loweswater and Buttermere, developing control of the land to the east of Buttermere and Crummock, and of the two lakes themselves. The largest purchase was of the Brackenthwaite estate which he had admired in 1800 containing the 'beautifully wooded' Lanthwaite, which was young oak and larch [Larix decidua].⁷⁸ Marshall purchased, from Bragg's trustees, all their farm tenements and rights that lay in Loweswater and Brackenthwaite, but not the productive estates in Lorton, distant from lake scenery. The Brackenthwaite estate had changed since 1800, in that Lanthwaite Gate had been sold by Bragg, but customary property at Lanthwaite Green had been purchased. This had allowed Bragg to make it freehold, and to extend Lanthwaite Wood from 35 to 79 acres, along the eastern shore of Crummock. Adding Potter Gill in Loweswater, there was 365 acres of land, plus the other moiety of the fishing in Crummock. In November 1823, John Norman valued this property at approximately £11,000, but with a deduction of at least £1,000 for the poor condition of buildings and fences, and further reductions due to the poor state of the land.⁷⁹ Marshall's purchase for £10,500 in May 1824 was at least ten per cent above the investment value.⁸⁰ Separately, in 1823 Marshall purchased Nether Close in Loweswater, the location of his leased lead mines, and Croft Farm in Buttermere in 1824.⁸¹ Croft Farm gave him much of the delta and woodland between Crummock and Buttermere.

By 1824, following these purchases, the Loweswater, Buttermere & Crummock estate was essentially complete. Marshall had spent £33,000 on the purchase prices of property and rights which were clearly focussed on the control of lake scenery.

⁷⁸ Brotherton MS200/63, p.7

⁷⁹ CACW/DWM/11/249/17

⁸⁰ CACC/DNT/31

⁸¹ CACW/DWM/11/302; CACC/DB/Marshall/box611

7-2. John Marshall and his family estates, 1823-1845

Rimmer covers the origins of Marshall, the children from his marriage to Anne Pollard, and the third generation, to the extent that it was relevant to the business and their role in it.⁸² Bradford covers the Headingley estate.⁸³ The estates of the sons will be considered in the context of an understanding of John Marshall himself, and the extent to which he and Wordsworth were in control of creating the overall estate. All resources originated from Marshall's business, and so the sons' ownership of estates derived from gifts of money or estates, or of partnerships within the company.

In both his business and family life Marshall appears autonomous and autocratic. In his final years, from 1839, Carlyle described 'the old man ... full of respect for intellect, wisdom and worth (as he understood the terms); low voiced, almost timidly inarticulate (you would have said); yet with a definite and mildly precise imperativeness to his subalterns, ... was an amicable, humane, and thoroughly respectable phenomenon to me'.⁸⁴ Marshalls of Leeds was a family business, which did not rely on others, and the sons did not or could not choose other occupations. The family did not intermarry with families from other manufacturing or allied interests, as was typical of the cotton master families described by Howe.⁸⁵ John Marshall's sons bore his expectations and direction from an early age. They were to be country gentlemen as well as businessmen and leaders in the development of science and industry. Carlyle noted the position around 1839; 'Certain of his sons were carrying on the Leeds "business" in high, quasi-"patriotic" and "morally exemplary," though still prudent and successful style; the eldest was in Parliament, "a landed gentleman" etc.etc.; wife

⁸² Rimmer, *Marshalls*, Chapter III

⁸³ Eveleigh Bradford, *Headingley, this pleasant rural village; clues to the past*, Northern Heritage Publications, 2008, pp.139-49

⁸⁴ Carlyle, *Reminiscences*, Vol.III, p.218

⁸⁵ Anthony Howe, *The cotton masters*, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1984, pp.72-80

and daughters were the old man's London household, with sons often incidentally present there'.⁸⁶

Marshall's planning and directing of his sons is illustrated by the eldest, William, named after Jane's father rather than the father whom Marshall did not respect, Jeremiah.⁸⁷ Rimmer states that 'after a private education, William entered the Inns of Court and in due course was called to the bar. During his residence in London, he lived in style, drawing £700 a year from his father, apart from the cost of fees, books and Lodgings'.⁸⁸ According to Debrett's, William attended St John's College, Cambridge.⁸⁹ Mrs Hudleston's letter of September 1819 to her son confirmed that 'William Marshall has taken his degree and is now of Lincoln's Inn ...'.⁹⁰ He was called to the bar at the Inner Temple in 1823.⁹¹ William was presented with the Patterdale Hall Estate in 1823, a purchased seat in Parliament in 1826, and with sums that Rimmer estimates at £150,000, before inheriting his father's estates in 1845.⁹²

'The four younger sons – John II, James, Henry, and Arthur – were destined for the flax business. ... John Marshall II entered the family business as his father had done at the age of seventeen. Five years later, in 1820, his father gave him capital of £5,000 and made him a partner'.⁹³ The other sons joined the firm and became a partner in the same way as John Marshall junior. Their estates, as will be shown, were selected by John Marshall, often with help from Wordsworth, to create a major family estate of lake and mountain scenery. Wordsworth's respect for and involvement with the sons was much less. Henry Crabb Robinson noted, on first visiting Wordsworth at the Marshall's house in

⁸⁶ Carlyle, *Reminiscences*, Vol.II, p.218

⁸⁷ Marshall, 'Life', p.5 in Rimmer, *Marshalls*, p.22

⁸⁸ Rimmer, *Marshalls*, p.114

⁸⁹ Robert Henry Mair, *Debrett's Illustrated House of Commons, and the Judicial Bench*, 1867, p.159

⁹⁰ CACC/DHud./13/9/9

⁹¹ Mair, *Debrett's*, p.114

⁹² Rimmer, *Marshalls*, p.114

⁹³ Rimmer, *Marshalls*, p.114-5

London in 1839, that 'The Wordsworths were attached to the old lady and Gentleman. But the respect did not descend on either side ...'.⁹⁴

By 1845 the estates created by or for John Marshall's sons exceeded his in extent and value, as shown in Table 7-1. The estates of the sons in the English Lakes were established in strict order of seniority, though it is not suggested that there was an initial plan. The Patterdale Estate was purchased for William in 1823, the Keswick Estate for John junior in 1832, and the Waterhead estate was purchased by James Garth in 1836. The death of John junior in 1836 upset the sequence, but the next son, Henry Cowper, effectively took on that estate, partly as a trustee but then more practically by purchase of Derwent Island and its house as a country seat in 1844. Arthur, less capable than the others, used Hallsteads.

Marshall's position at Hallsteads, within the Duke of Norfolk's Barony of Greystoke, would have enabled him to hear swiftly of the opportunity to purchase the Patterdale Hall estate from the Mounseys. There seems to have been no public offer. The house had been rebuilt by John Mounsey in a modern style in about 1800.⁹⁵ Many, particularly William Green, considered it not in good taste, though its setting, planting and gardens were appreciated.⁹⁶ The inheriting John Mounsey agreed to sell to Marshall in October 1822 for £10,750, the sale to be complete by 26 April 1823.⁹⁷ The property description included the Patterdale Hall estate, the manor of Glenridding and the Island of Wall Holm, plus the Grisedale estate of 67 acres, outside of his manor.⁹⁸ Mounsey was to give a bond of £2,000 to guarantee the wood on Glenridding wastes free of lawsuit, suggesting problems with retained rights of the Duke of Norfolk. The plan of the Marshall's Patterdale Hall estate, in Figure 7.8, shows these holdings at the head of

⁹⁴ Henry Crabb Robinson, ed. Edith Morley, *Henry Crabb Robinson on books and their writers*, London, Dent, 1938, Vol.II, p.570

⁹⁵ John Martin Robinson, *A guide to the country houses of the north-west*, Constable, London, 1991, p.284

⁹⁶ William Green, *The tourist's new guide*, Kendal, 1819, Vol.I, pp.339-40

⁹⁷ CACC/DBS/Marshall/box621, 21 October 1822

⁹⁸ CACC/DBS/Marshall/box621, 21 October 1822

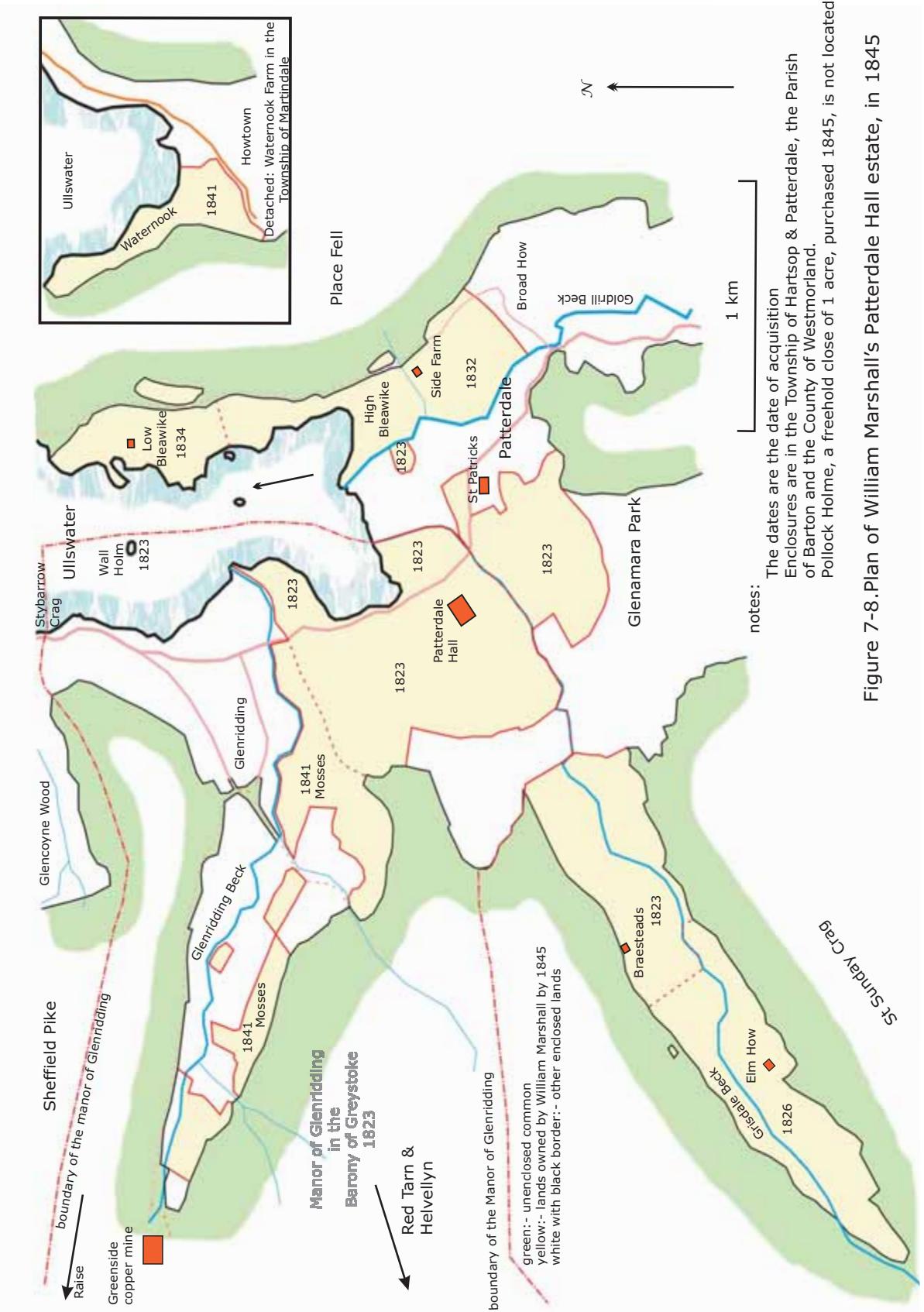


Figure 7-8. Plan of William Marshall's Patterdale Hall estate, in 1845

Ullswater, and the extent and significance of the manor, stretching to the head of Helvellyn. William required a main residence rather than a summer residence or retirement, and also needed to be reasonably close to Cumberland county society. The Patterdale estate had an existing house and park, and could be used in conjunction with Hallsteads.

The purchase was handled by Bleaymire of Penrith, but Marshall himself exercised a close and detailed control of the process.⁹⁹ Marshall sent at least thirteen letters to Bleaymire during the complex purchase, after which Marshall paid the reduced sum of £10,233. The property was conveyed to William Marshall on 2 December 1823, including a half share of Greenside Mine which Mounsey had sought to exclude.¹⁰⁰ Before William's marriage in 1828, John Marshall 'fitted up and furnished the house ... where he intends chiefly to reside'.¹⁰¹ Anthony Salvin's alterations to Patterdale Hall followed John Marshall's death.¹⁰²

The addition of extra estates was usually handled by William, though John Marshall paid for them.¹⁰³ The main purpose of the subsequent purchases of Side Farm, and High and Low Blowicke, was presumably to gain control of the enclosed land on the eastern shore at the head of Ullswater below Place Fell. Here Wordsworth had noted in the Guide that:-

The axe has here indiscriminately levelled a rich wood of birches [Betula sp.] and oaks, that divided this favoured spot into a hundred pictures. ... those beautiful woods are gone, which perfected its seclusion;¹⁰⁴

Adjoining Side Farm, up Goldrill Beck, was Broad How, which Wordsworth had purchased for £1000 in 1806, with a £200 gift from Lord Lonsdale. Wordsworth had told Sir George Beaumont he thought it worth £700.¹⁰⁵ In 1833 Wordsworth saw that Broad How might be sold and offered it to John Marshall, not involving William:-

⁹⁹ CACC/DBS/Marshall/box621

¹⁰⁰ CACC/DBS/Marshall/box623, abstract of conveyance

¹⁰¹ Marshall, 'Life', p.21, in Rimmer, *Marshalls*, p.114

¹⁰² Robinson, *Country Houses*, p.284

¹⁰³ CACC/DBS/Marshall/box621, Bleaymire to JM, 25 February 1832, payment for Side farm was from Marshall & Co.

¹⁰⁴ Wordsworth, *Guide*, p.39

¹⁰⁵ Wordsworths, *Letters*, WW to Sir George Beaumont, 5 August 1806

... Wilson Innkeeper of Patterdale ... said he expected me to ask a £1000 for it, but was not prepared to give what I asked, £1200 ... having made for so many years a pecuniary sacrifice for the sake of taste, I must seek for some return.¹⁰⁶

Marshall replied brusquely, noting that:-

I am desirous that we should understand on another respecting your Patterdale property.

... I have had a valuation made of it by my steward, & the whole value is £644, independent of what it will bring for the beauty of the situation. ...

I really wish to decline the purchase ... but if you should not succeed ... I will take it at £1000.¹⁰⁷

Marshall wished to clarify their relationship, and to make explicit the difference between a purchase and a disguised subsidy. It was purchased by Wilson.¹⁰⁸ This correspondence also clearly shows that John Marshall had a continuing control over aspects of William Marshall's estate.

The timing of the sale of the Keswick Estate, in April 1832, was decided by Greenwich Hospital, as examined in Chapter 4, and John Marshall responded to the opportunity to purchase for John Marshall junior. By 1832 James Garth Marshall and Henry Cowper Marshall had joined John junior as directors of the business, though John Marshall retained half the shares.¹⁰⁹ The politics of industry and commerce were to be the role of John junior, not William, in addition to a major role in the business. He stood for the Whigs, as the local candidate with outsider Macauley, for the new constituency of Leeds in the reformed Parliament, in the contested election of December 1832.¹¹⁰ It is therefore unsurprising that John Marshall would handle the purchase of the Keswick Estate.

It is questionable whether there was any plan for the Marshall estates to go beyond those of John Marshall and William, until the Keswick Estate was offered for sale. John junior and the younger sons were resident in Leeds as Directors, and were part of Leeds society and politics. In 1828 John junior had

¹⁰⁶ Wordsworths, *Letters*, WW to JM, late November 1833

¹⁰⁷ Wordsworth Library Manuscripts, (WLMS)/A/Marshall, John 2, JM to WW, 28 November 1833. By permission of the Wordsworth Trust, Dove Cottage, Cumbria

¹⁰⁸ CACK/WRDC/8/189, Tithe commutation, Patterdale & Hartsop, 1839. Owned by Mrs. Wilson

¹⁰⁹ Rimmer, *Marshalls*, p.312

¹¹⁰ RJ Morris, *Class sect & party: the making of the British middle class, Leeds 1820-1850* Manchester, Manchester University Press, 1990, pp.125-8, for Leeds politics in 1832

married Mary Ballantine-Dykes of Dovenby Hall, north of Cockermouth.¹¹¹ John Marshall had purchased Headingley Lodge, adjoining Headingley House, as their home, keeping John junior under close control in Yorkshire as William was in Cumberland.¹¹² There is no evidence that John junior needed or wanted an estate in Cumberland.

John junior took possession of the Keswick Estate on 20 October 1832, becoming lord of the manors of Castlerigg & Derwentwater and Thornthwaite.¹¹³ These two parts are illustrated in Figures 7-9 and 7-10, as at 1849 after the enclosure of the commons. But John junior's tenure of the property was short, because 'in April 1835 a pulmonary disease recurred, compelling his retirement from active affairs; eighteen months later he died after an operation at the age of thirty nine'.¹¹⁴ His active ownership was therefore only thirty months, and he made few changes. His death in 1836 left the Keswick Estate in the hands family trustees, whose position was analogous to that of the Greenwich Hospital, in being required to generate an income from the estate for a Leeds family. In 1841 Mary Ballantine Marshall married again to Patrick O'Callaghan of Cookridge Hall near Leeds.¹¹⁵

The purchase of the Keswick Estate provides an opportunity to examine the sale of an estate which had acquired aesthetic cultural value, restricting the owner's freedom to exploit it and affecting its investment value. There were 'certain expences attaching to this Property, which are necessary to preserve the appearance of it, which diminish our annual Net Receipt to the Hospital, but which will probably not lessen the price'.¹¹⁶ It is clear that the Commissioners expected to sell the estate to 'some Capitalist for the purpose of making it his

¹¹¹ Rimmer, *Marshalls*, p.116

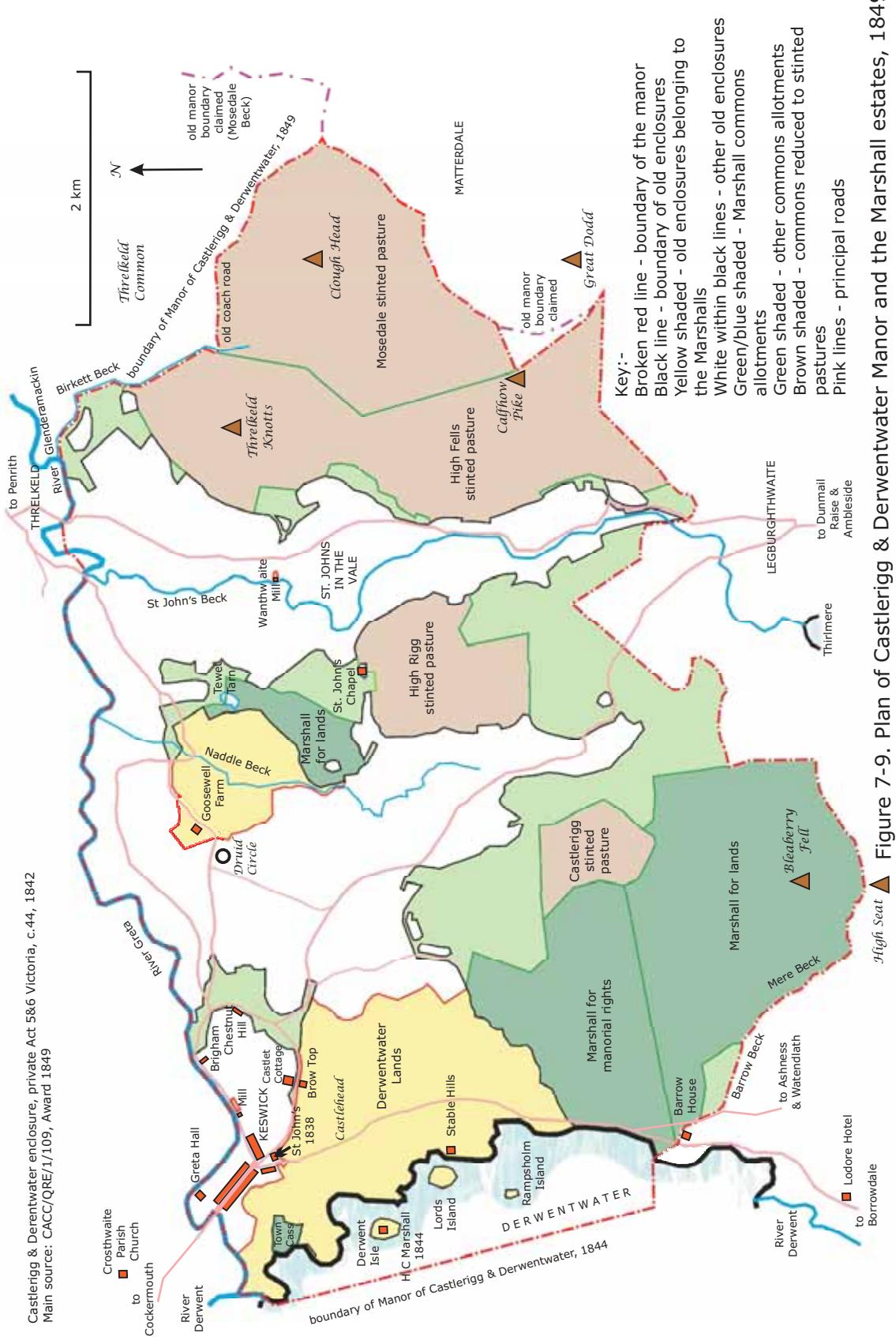
¹¹² Bradford, *Headingley*, p.140

¹¹³ CACC/DX73/2 Account of Markland and Wright. Gives a detailed chronology of the purchase process

¹¹⁴ Rimmer, *Marshalls*, pp.185-6

¹¹⁵ <http://www.freebmd.org.uk>

¹¹⁶ The National Archives (TNA)/Public Record Office (PRO), records of the Admiralty (ADM) 65/79, Receivers to Hooper, 19 July 1831



▲ Figure 7-9. Plan of Castlerigg & Derwentwater Manors and the Marshall estates, 1849

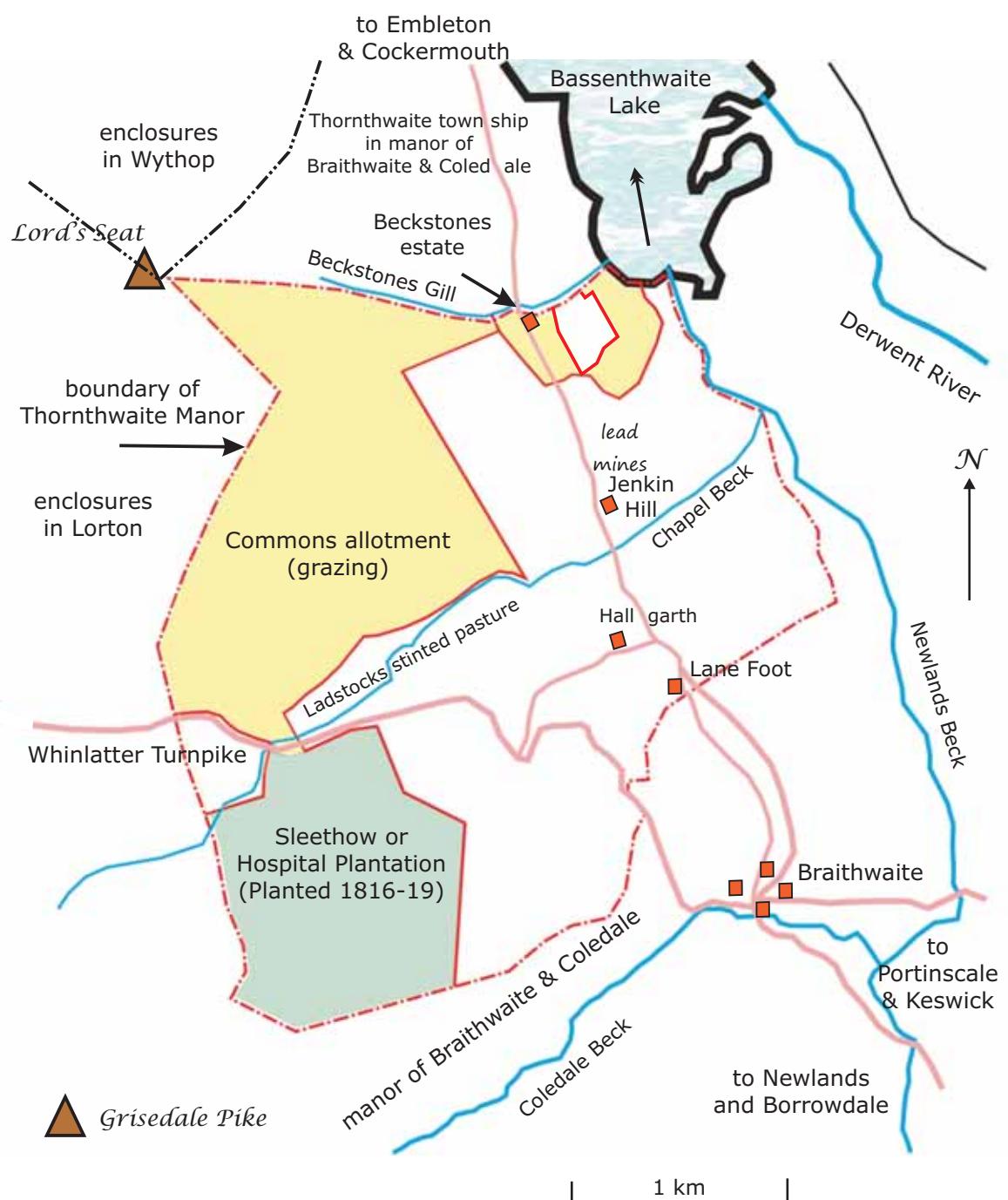


Figure 7-10. Plan of the Thorntwaite manor and estate of John Marshall jnr, acquired in 1832

'summer residence', and not to someone who might develop the new town of Keswick towards Derwentwater, as suggested in Robins' sale particulars, or as proposed by William Green in his Guide in 1819.¹¹⁷ Marshall had already created Hallsteads and his Loweswater, Buttermere and Crummock estate, had seated one son on the Patterdale Hall Estate. And had been High Sheriff of Cumberland. His interests and mode of management, especially of woodland, were very clear and well known, not least through recent guide books.¹¹⁸ He was the obvious potential purchaser.

George Robins' instructions were confirmed only on 28 January 1832.¹¹⁹ His descriptions and valuations were notoriously florid and ambitious, and in February Marshall arranged for a survey and valuation by Richard Atkinson.¹²⁰ A record and assessment of February 1832, in the hand of John Marshall junior, records Atkinson's valuation and that of Younghusband for wood.¹²¹ The Marshalls also considered the alternative of purchasing the Water End estate of the late Lord William Gordon.¹²² Having failed to sell in 1824, the trustees of Water End had felled the mature timber and let the farming and houses, to provide an income. There was little mature timber left to interest John Marshall.¹²³

After the sale of the Keswick Estate had been advertised, Wordsworth had told Sir Robert Ker Porter on 23 February that 'this event will throw onto the market some of the finest situations for rural mansions in Great Britain. ... the passing of this Beautiful Property into many hands may exceedingly disfigure a neighbourhood ...'.¹²⁴ In late February Wordsworth replied to a request from Marshall for advice, favouring the Hospital's Estate and showing concern about property speculation:-

¹¹⁷ ADM65/79, Receivers to Hooper, 6 December 1831; Green, *Guide*, Vol.II, pp.484-95

¹¹⁸ Green, *Guide*, Vol.I, p.327; Edward Baines, *A companion to the Lakes ...*, London, Simpkin and Marshall, 1830, pp.175,202,209

¹¹⁹ ADM67/83, p.32

¹²⁰ Robin Myers, 'Robins, George Henry (1777-1847)', *ODNB* OUP 2004

¹²¹ Brotherton, MS200/18/8, Derwentwater notes, 1832

¹²² CACW/DWM11/249/9, sale particulars of Water End and Derwent Bank estates, 1824

¹²³ MS200/18/8, Derwentwater notes, 1832

¹²⁴ Wordsworths, *Letters*, WW to Sir Robert Ker Porter, 23 Feb 1832

I should say ... that the purchase of the Derwentwater Estate, to sell out again in parcels, would be a promising speculation – provided the Purchaser did not care about disfiguring the Country when he came to divide it. ... One of my neighbours, a friend, has an eye to purchase with that view ... the beauty of that neighbourhood would be destroyed. Two or three Gentlemen's Houses might be erected under good taste with advantage, because it might lead to the preservation of the woods But if the most beautiful and commanding sites were broken up for paltry cottages, rows of lodging houses, and inns with stables etc., which would be the most likely way to make money of the thing. ... A house of moderate size would stand most charmingly, even magnificently, upon a field flanked by Friar's Crag on the right, with Cockshut hill and Castlet ... behind and on the left.

... The lake never presents itself with dignity form the Gordon grounds ... but ... abounds in beauty and is unannoyed by the Town. Your Son would observe that the woods upon it are much inferior in character to the other, having few trees that can be called Timber.

... I should prefer the Gch HI estate.

... I agree with your Son John that the Gordon Estate is overplanted.¹²⁵

John junior had therefore been involved in the survey and the decision of which to purchase, the intention being for him to have the estate, taking a loan from his father at three per cent.¹²⁶ He valued the Gordon property at £14,000, including wood at £5,330.¹²⁷ The Greenwich Hospital's estate he valued at £37,800 including the 'land covered with wood' but not the wood itself, which Younghusband valued at £16,688, making £54,488 in total.¹²⁸ The Greenwich Hospital Directors hoped for £61,000 in total.¹²⁹

On 16 April, three days before the sale, Robins held at least two meetings; one with John Marshall's solicitors, Markland and Wright of the Temple, and the other with the Directors of the Greenwich Hospital, at which they set the reserve price of 29,500 guineas, plus the wood at valuation.¹³⁰ They had underestimated the value of the land and overestimated the value of the wood, by including the value of the woodland in the value of the wood. Their reserve of 29,500 guineas was based on the rental and did not include the value of the 300 acres of woodland in Keswick and the 341 acres of the Hospital

¹²⁵ Wordsworths, *Letters*, WW to JM, late February 1832

¹²⁶ Brotherton, MS200/18/8, Derwentwater notes 1832

¹²⁷ Brotherton, MS200/18/8, Derwentwater notes 1832

¹²⁸ Brotherton, MS200/18/8, Derwentwater notes 1832

¹²⁹ ADM65/79, Receivers to Hooper 19 July 1831

¹³⁰ ADM67/83, p.116

Plantation in Thorntwaite, where they had spent £2,500 on fencing and planting.¹³¹ Marshall and his solicitor required 'certain alterations in the conditions', and were referred to Mr Bicknell, the Hospital's solicitor.¹³² Markland met Bicknell on 17 April concerning alterations to timber valuation terms, then twice met Robins that day to agree, note and communicate the revisions.¹³³ On 19 April Marshall and Markland attended the auction where '... the enchanting Keswick estate was sold to Mr Marshall, ..., the first and only bidder, for £30,000 guineas'.¹³⁴ It seems that it was clear before the auction that Marshall would purchase, what the price would be, and that the wood valuation would be lower than the Hospital expected. John Marshall, rather than his son, handled the whole of the purchase. On 30 May the Hospital appointed Mr Corfield as its wood valuer, his valuation being £23,800, and after Mr Douglas had acted as umpire the valuation was agreed at £16,768, only £100 above the valuation made by Younghusband for Marshall.¹³⁵ The deeds were executed on 20 October.¹³⁶

Effectively the Hospital had set a reserve that placed no value on the 650 acres of woodland, to make a sale of an estate that it was no longer able to protect, and where there was no purchaser who would pay the full economic value. In this purchase, Wordsworth had played the same protective role with Marshall as Southey had previously done with Locker. In May 1832 Wordsworth wrote to Marshall; 'It gives me much pleasure to learn that you are the Purchaser of the Derwentwater estate. ... Great mistakes can be made in valuing the wood. ... It will give me much pleasure to go over the Estate, with you, Mr Southey will be pleased to hear that you are the Purchaser, as will all men of taste, especially when they know your chief inducement for buying the

¹³¹ ADM79/59, pp.59-60

¹³² CACC/DX73/2, account of Markland and Wright

¹³³ CACC/DX73/2, account of Markland and Wright

¹³⁴ John Sykes, *Local records; or historical register of remarkable events which have occurred in Northumberland and Durham*, Vol.II, Newcastle, 1833, p.353

¹³⁵ Brotherton, MS200/18/8, Derwentwater notes 1832

¹³⁶ CACC/DX73/2, account of Markland and Wright

property'.¹³⁷ It is clear that Marshall saw himself as protecting the property from adverse development, and that others were expected to recognise his intervention to protect the aesthetic value of Derwentwater's setting. Southey, however, disliked industrialists and reform even more than Wordsworth. Writing from Keswick to Rickman on 12 December, the time of the Leeds elections, he reported; 'You know the fate of the Greenwich property here, sold for two thirds of its estimated value. Marshall, the cotton [sic] king, intends it as an appanage for his son, John, the Leeds candidate, and when that son called on me not long ago, I expressed a wish that he would ornament the unsightly and swampy ground at the foot of the lake, by planting; and I said that alders would grow well there. He answered immediately, "that alders were worth only fourpence a foot".'¹³⁸

John junior took a personal hand in planning the management of the Dewentwater woods in 1833. Wordsworth wrote to a correspondent on 23rd September:-

Mr Marshall's 2d son ... has purchased the Greenwich Hospital Estate at Keswick, and he is Lord of Derwentwater – and this morning has invited me to meet him at Keswick, which I cannot do, for my advice on some plantations which he meditates; so we hope that the beauty of the country will not suffer from this princely Estate falling into his hands.¹³⁹

There were no new significant plantings added to those of the Greenwich Hospital before John junior's illness in April 1835. What John Marshall and John junior did was to protect the existing woods, and this can be seen in his will of 1833. With his new responsibilities as landowner and father, he entailed the whole estate and stipulated that the high figure of 300,000 cubic feet of wood was to be left on the estate at all times.¹⁴⁰ While such conditions were common in entails to protect the value of an estate, such a high figure would limit the clearance of woodland for building or other purposes.

¹³⁷ Wordsworths, *Letters*, WW to JM, late May 1832

¹³⁸ John Wood Warter, *Selections from the letters of Robert Southey*, Vol.IV, London, Longman, 1856, Robert Southey to John Rickman, 12 Dec 1832, pp.314-5

¹³⁹ Wordsworths, *Letters*, WW to John Kenyon 23 Sept 1833

¹⁴⁰ TNA/PRO/Prob.11/1871, Will of John Marshall junior, proved 1837

John junior's entry in the *Biographia Leodiensis*, approved by his widow, stated that 'if he had lived, it was his intention to build a mansion for himself on the borders of the lake', but he may have planned to purchase the Water End estate and pavilion.¹⁴¹ Fisher writes of Sir John Woodford that in 1834: 'before he saw the property he agreed to sell it to Mr John Marshall, jnr., father of Mr R Dykes Marshall, the present owner of the Manor of Castlerigg and Derwentwater. But Mr John Marshall junior died somewhat suddenly and the treaty went off. Sir John does not seem to have visited the property till October, 1835'.¹⁴² The purchase of the Gordon estate would have given John Marshall junior an almost complete control of the environs of Derwentwater, as in the vision of Gilpin.

John junior might also have bought Derwent Island to provide a residence, because General Peachy had let it be known to Southey that he was willing to sell to the right person.¹⁴³ In 1844, Henry Cowper Marshall purchased Derwent Island as a summer residence for £3,440, from the widow of General Peachy, creating the first local Marshall presence.¹⁴⁴ The extension of the Pocklington house, by Salvin for Henry Cowper Marshall, was not undertaken until 1850.¹⁴⁵

Following the purchase of the Derwentwater Estate in 1832, John Marshall sought an estate for his third son, James Garth Marshall (1802-1873). In late 1832 John Marshall again enlisted the help of Wordsworth: 'I did not find the owner at home, but I left your Queries at his house. ... I feel ... the Estate is not ... worth your looking at ... without a stick of timber. You have heard me speak of the Estate at Brathay ... and must come to the Market if the present owner has the power of selling it'.¹⁴⁶ In May 1833 Wordsworth informed Marshall that 'the Brathay Estate is now surveying by the Proprietor with a view to its being offered

¹⁴¹ RV Taylor, *The Biographia Leodiensis*, London, 1865, John Marshall, Jun, Esq, MP, p.364-6

¹⁴² J Fisher Crosthwaite, *A brief memoir of Sir John Woodford*, London, Kent, 1883, p.42

¹⁴³ British Library (BL)/Manuscripts/Add28603, f3, Robert Southey to General Peachy, 15 May 1808

¹⁴⁴ CACC/DNT/6

¹⁴⁵ Robinson, *Country houses*, p.104

¹⁴⁶ Wordsworths, *Letters*, WW to JM, 'late 1832'

for sale. The House is large and has been built at great expense ... As a Lake property the domain is entitled to great consideration'.¹⁴⁷ Marshall commissioned Richard Atkinson, who valued the 479 acres estate, including 245 acres of coppice woods, at £15,418 plus timber.¹⁴⁸ The estate was sold to Giles Redmain, a silk mercer of Bond Street, but it is not known if Marshall bid for it.¹⁴⁹

The advice of the impending sale of Knott's property at Waterhead, at the Head of Coniston in Lancashire, came from Wordsworth via letter from Mary Wordsworth to Jane Marshall in December 1834: 'The beautiful Property of the late Mr Knott of Coniston Waterhead will be offered for Sale by Advertisement early next month. The improvement which Mr K has lately made there, are very great – and it is one of the most elegant residences in the Lake district'.¹⁵⁰ Again, Richard Atkinson valued the property, being careful to avoid cultural valuations, adding in his report to John Marshall; 'The above is my value of the Coniston Estate for Investment. As to the Beauty of the Place and the additional value of the House, you can fix your value upon it better than any other person'.¹⁵¹ The freehold Waterhead estate at the head of Coniston contained 669 acres and was valued at £23,348, including the mansion house, the inn and 195 acres of woodland, with its coppice woods and timber trees valued at £4,515.¹⁵² The small disconnected How Head Estate, of 49 acres, was a farmstead separated from the lake by a narrow strip of land. Atkinson valued this at £1,364.¹⁵³ The Marshalls purchased those two lots without the two lots distant from the lake. It is not known who bid at the auction in Kendal on 10 September 1835, but the price paid was £27,000, some nine per cent above the investment valuation of £24,712.¹⁵⁴ It was Wordsworth who found the property, John Marshall who

¹⁴⁷ Wordsworths, *Letters*, WW to JM, 7 May 1833

¹⁴⁸ CACW/DWM/11/249/17

¹⁴⁹ Wordsworths, *Letters*, WW to John Kenyon, 23 Sept 1833

¹⁵⁰ Mary Wordsworth, *The letters of Mary Wordsworth, 1800-1855*, ed. Mary Burton, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1958, Mary Wordsworth to JM, 27 Dec 1834

¹⁵¹ CACW/DLec./ATK/box194

¹⁵² CACW/DLec./ATK/box194

¹⁵³ CACW/DLec./ATK/box194

¹⁵⁴ CACC/DBS230/box946

decided that the property should be bid for, and James Garth Marshall who completed the purchase, taking ownership in 1836.

As with the Patterdale estate, there was a recently rebuilt mansion at Waterhead, the creation of the Knott family in the modern Gothic style.¹⁵⁵ It was not extended by Salvin before John Marshall's death and nor was the Waterhead Inn, on the lake, and in the prospect from the house, removed and replaced by a modern facility a distance away until after Marshall's death.¹⁵⁶ Thus the Marshall policy that had become apparent, making minimal change to the built environment, was maintained at Waterhead as well as at Patterdale Hall and Derwent Isle through John Marshall's lifetime. James Garth Marshall, rather than his father, expanded this estate into the Monk Coniston estate through further purchases around the head of Coniston, and then pushing north in this period to hold most of the enclosed land below Colwith Beck.¹⁵⁷ Figure 7-11 illustrates James Garth Marshall's Waterhead estate in 1845.

7-3. The creation and management of Marshall's woodland.

Marshall's political principles would oppose the existing primacy of land and rent, and he did not buy estates for political status. Nor did he invest in estates in the English Lakes as economic assets, paying too much in private deals for his own estates, but never being seen, as a man of business, to pay too much at auction. When needing an asset in land he purchased Hay Close in Heskett in 1834, as a property for a marriage settlement.¹⁵⁸ Nor was the Loweswater, Buttermere and Crummock estate created as a seat either for himself or for his family. That estate was chosen and acquired with the involvement of Wordsworth, contained some of the finest lake and mountain scenery, and was held by both freeholders and customary tenants. It provides an opportunity to analyse Marshall's

¹⁵⁵ Robinson, *Country Houses*, p.122

¹⁵⁶ Adam Menuge, *Monk Coniston Hall, historic building report*, 2007, pp.1,11

¹⁵⁷ Cumbria Archive Centre, Barrow, (CACB)/WRSD/NL/Acc.2890, includes James Marshall's conveyances

¹⁵⁸ CACC/DBS/Marshall/Box616, purchase; CACW/DWM/Marshall/box499, schedule of deeds

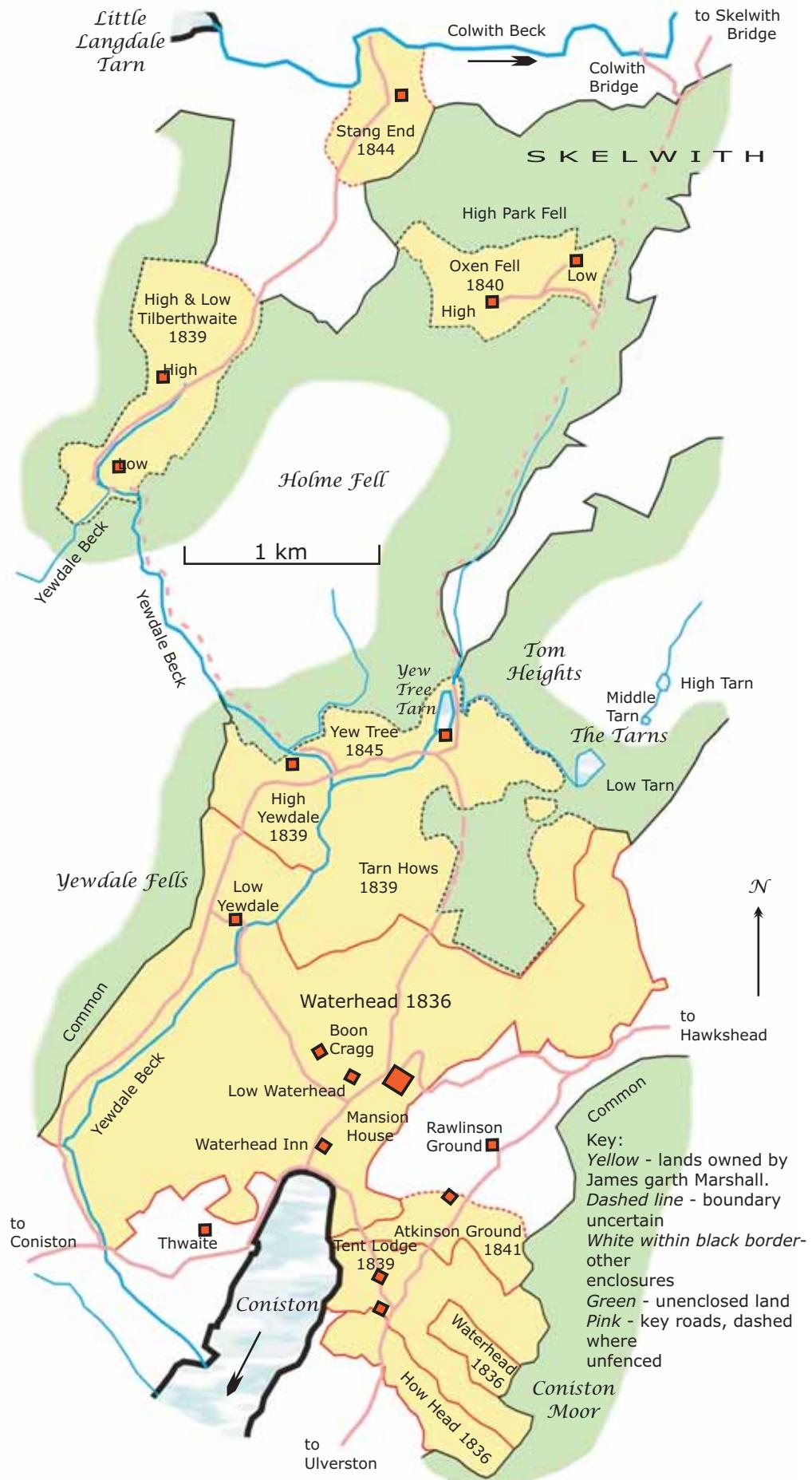


Figure 7-11. Plan of James Garth Marshall's Waterhead estate, in 1845

responses to cultural value in representations of place and people, though clearly the influences on Marshall were not simply discursive, as with Gordon. Wordsworth had a direct influence which reinforced Marshall's own wish to plant and protect woodland. However, as an industrialist and political economist Marshall was out of place in Loweswater, Buttermere and Crummock, in the principal Region of Romance. The tensions in that position should show in his estate management.

After Hallsteads, Marshall built no residences but used the inn at Scale Hill when visiting, and purchased it in 1824. Though he used the inn for hospitality and developed the fisheries it exploited, it was not extended from its eighteenth century form and it was tenanted in the normal way:

The views from a lofty wooded hill close to the Inn are of the most sublime description; and that in particular from a seat called after John Marshall, Esq. (the proprietor of this fine estate), is one of the most magnificently beautiful in this romantic region.¹⁵⁹

Woodland was Marshall's main interest. Throughout the manor of Loweswater, Bragg had cut the wood in 1808 on customary premises, raising £1500, and had fenced the land for springing.¹⁶⁰ These woods were carefully noted on Marshall's manor map of 1819.¹⁶¹ In late 1815, after purchase of the Loweswater and Gatesgarth estates, Marshall was lord of the manor of the Buttermere and Loweswater fells, and freeholder of much of the south-western lakeshore prospects from the head of Buttermere to the head of Loweswater, opposite the public roads. His approach to managing and planting this estate was clear from the involvement of Wordsworth, with female entourage, in a three day visit to Scale Hill in October 1816:-

William [Wordsworth] and I spent three days, the week before last, with Mr Marshall at Scale Hill, Lowess Water, Buttermere, & Crumock, viewing his estates and manor there, and planning his proposed plantations and Improvements. He is going to plant very largely by the side of the two last

¹⁵⁹ TC Hofland, *The British angler's manual: or the art of angling in England, Scotland, Wales & Ireland*, London, Bohn, 1848, pp.306-7

¹⁶⁰ CACW/DWM/11/403/1, advertisement 1807, notes the wood; CACW/DWM/11/249/17 particulars 1813, notes the cutting six years ago

¹⁶¹ CACW/DWM/1/105

lakes – and, as he will only plant native wood, and in no wise sacrifice beauty to convenience, we expect that his labours will not only be profitable but ornamental.¹⁶²

Three days' duration suggests a detailed joint survey, rather than a viewing and approval. In the event, Marshall's planting plan and choice of species were rather different from those that Sara Hutchinson noted.

The largest plantation by Marshall was of the 124 acres of the Holme, on the south-west shore of Loweswater and the fellside above. In both 1807 and 1813 the Holme was let as pasture, in 1813 at a rent of £68, but in the plan drawn by Norman from a survey in May 1819 the Holme was woodland.¹⁶³ Here Marshall put in place his general larch scheme, as in his letter of 1807, planting native deciduous hardwoods alongside the lake, and larch higher up the fell. Just over 2000 young larch trees, at 11d each, were sold as thinnings from the Holme in 1838.¹⁶⁴ Marshall probably wished to extend the Holme lake shore planting into the Watergate tenement. In September 1816 he demanded a fine from the customary tenant, John Harrison, on the basis of a wrongly worded admittance under Bragg in 1809, and in 1817 Marshall was pursuing Harrison's ejectment at the King's Bench.¹⁶⁵ In May 1817, Norman valued Harrison's property for Marshall, the inference being that Marshall was trying to purchase the property under duress.¹⁶⁶

In 1800, Marshall considered that the 'head of Cromack Water is bare & uninteresting'.¹⁶⁷ Figure 7-12 shows Crummock and Buttermere in William Green's sketch, published in 1814 but viewed around 1810. According to Green, the arable delta between Crummock and Buttermere, and the higher ground on its east, which formed the immediate prospect at the head of Crummock, was 'an

¹⁶² Sara Hutchinson, *The letters of Sara Hutchinson from 1800 to 1835*, ed. Kathleen Coburn, SH to Mr Monkhouse, 1 Nov 1816, p.93

¹⁶³ CACW/DWM/11/266/3, Smith to Atkinson and Bolland giving rents, 1814; CACW/DWM/1/36/14, plan of the Holme and Lake, 1807

¹⁶⁴ CACW/DWM/11/260/13

¹⁶⁵ CACW/DWM/11/403/6 & 254/2

¹⁶⁶ CACW/DWM/11/249/5

¹⁶⁷ Brotherton MS200/63, p.7



CRUMMOCK WATER AND BUTTERMERE.

Published at Ambleside Augst 1814 by W^m Green.

Figure 7-12. Drawing of Crummock Water and Buttermere by William Green, 1814



Figure 7-13. Photograph of Loweswater School, circa 1900

enclosed and verdant plain, beautifully ornamented with woods and hedgerow trees'.¹⁶⁸ Marshall, however, was no Arcadian and preferred natural, uninhabited and wilder scenery. In 1816 Marshall had no control of this delta, in the manor of Derwentfells, but in 1818 he had John Hudleston survey Croft Farm, which had six acres of the oak wood and much of the delta land and hedgerows.¹⁶⁹ In 1824 Marshall purchased Croft Farm and could control much of the delta woods including Nether Howe Wood.¹⁷⁰

The head of Buttermere had no wood of note in Green's drawing and guide. He described woodland only on the inhabited north-eastern shore, criticising the recent villa at Hassness, the only new gentry estate, for its plantings of larch on the higher ground, and exotics in the lower grounds.¹⁷¹ Along the head of Buttermere, the Duke of Norfolk had fenced off and planted four acres, described in 1815 as new plantations.¹⁷² Marshall's plantings, following the survey with Wordsworth, can be established from his estate map of 1838, drawn up by Richard Atkinson.¹⁷³ Marshall's plantings appear to have included the three acres of Cragg Close adjacent to Hassness.¹⁷⁴ On the south-western side of the lake, and the inlet of Warnscale Beck, Marshall planted two small existing closes of four acres, Toad Pots and Horse Close.¹⁷⁵ In Birkness, Marshall enclosed 132 acres in two new closes, Birkness Intack and Birkness Wood, otherwise Burtness Wood.¹⁷⁶ Marshall let Birkness Intack with the farm, but Birkness Wood was kept in hand as a new plantation of 79 acres by 1820, rising high up the fell side, abutting Sour Milk Gill and the Scales stinted pasture.

While the name Birkness remembers ancient birch, the plantation was mainly

¹⁶⁸ Green, *Guide*, 1819, Vol.II, p.179

¹⁶⁹ CACW/DWM/11/249/3

¹⁷⁰ CACC/DBSMarshall/box611

¹⁷¹ Green, *Guide*, Vol II, p.196

¹⁷² CACW/DWM/11/302, epitome of title to the Buttermere, Crummock and Loweswater Estate, 1934, pp.5-6

¹⁷³ CACW/DWM/1/36/6, plan of Marshall's estate at Buttermere; CACW/DLec./ATK/box194, JM to Atkinson, 6 October 1838, confirms date and Marshall's amendments

¹⁷⁴ CACW/DWM/1/36/6

¹⁷⁵ CACW/DWM/1/36/6

¹⁷⁶ CACW/DWM/11/408/1, the estate under the Duke of Norfolk, shows this land unenclosed.

larch. Records do not show any other ornamental plantings that Marshall may have made on the Buttermere lakeshore.

Between Sour Milk Gill and Scale Beck, along the south-western banks of Buttermere Dubs and Crummock, lay the ancient Scales stinted pasture. This land supported the most trees, according to Green's drawing. While those trees on customary land were Marshall's property, and had presumably escaped Bragg's harvesting, Marshall was unable to plant the land. Nor could he plant on the common or the Near Side and Far Side stinted pastures which abutted the Loweswater enclosures. The whole of the south-western shore of Crummock was unavailable for planting. In 1816 he had the Low Park estate of Fletcher Pearson valued, which had the enclosures with greatest frontage at the foot of Crummock and the Cocker, to the south-west, but he did not or could not purchase.¹⁷⁷

In 1824, Marshall showed his priorities by attempting to obtain Scales stinted pasture, plus adjacent common along Crummock, through a proposal to reduce the rest of the commons to a stinted pasture.¹⁷⁸ His allotment would represent payment for enfranchising the customary tenants. The land he wished to obtain was very poor, and not a sufficient recompense from an economic viewpoint. It made sense only if his priority was to plant for ornament from Birkness along the south-western shore of Crummock, with larch on the fellside and birch or other water-tolerant species by the lake. He could not gain acceptance of this proposal, even though it would seem to benefit the tenants in the same way as the Greenwich Hospital had done unwittingly at Thorntwaite.

Also in 1824, by purchasing the Brackenthwaite estate he obtained the 'beautifully wooded' Lanthwaite wood, now increased in extent to 79 acres. This wood was oak and larch in 1804, the larch pre-dating Bragg's ownership.¹⁷⁹ As was his practice, Marshall took it in hand from the Scale Hill estate. In 1835, when handing over the management of this commercial woodland to Richard

¹⁷⁷ CACW/DWM/11/249/5

¹⁷⁸ CACW/DWM/11/249/19

¹⁷⁹ CACW/DWM/11/245

Atkinson, Marshall advised that 'the Lanthwaite Oak Wood has been cut as coppice & since I bought it I have only cut the thinning, & I have about 200 acres new plantations to thin'.¹⁸⁰ Marshall was allowing the oak wood to grow to timber. He instructed Atkinson in 1836; 'If Mr William Marshall goes over to Loweswater, I would have the wood cut as he orders John Clark. Those parts of Lanthwaite Wood that are to be cut as spring wood, should have their bounds set out, as much as convenience will allow, to avoid the appearance of square patches'.¹⁸¹ This management practice applied to the oak in 1837: 'I wish to cut as much Oak yearly as can be done without hurting the appearance of the wood, ..., and not to cut it in square patches, but to vary the outline of the part that is cut down You know that I wish to raise as much timber as I can, & to cut down only that standing on ground too poor to grow timber'.¹⁸² That is, he wished to grow timber rather than coppice.

On his freehold leased estates, Marshall exercised close control over the wood. The Misses Marshall were advised by Dorothy Wordsworth in 1829 that 'you will both want to look after the Scale Hill Trees which you have so heroically planted in the cold and wet. By the bye the scheme of improving the precincts of the Inn pleases me much ...'.¹⁸³ In 1841 Marshall wrote from Scale Hill to his steward, Atkinson; 'Dobinson [the tenant] will lay the two fields, in front of the house, together & leave the oak tree standing, & will clear away the brushwood along the wall in the field next the road, but I would not allow him to cut down any trees'.¹⁸⁴ The millionaire owner would make the decisions on wood personally, with site visits, and would be guided always by his wish to grow timber for both ornament and production.

¹⁸⁰ CACW/DLec./ATK/box194, JM to Atkinson, 22 Oct 1835

¹⁸¹ CACW/DLec./ATK/box194, JM to Atkinson 31 Oct 1836

¹⁸² CACW/DLec./ATK/box194, JM to Atkinson 15 Mar 1837

¹⁸³ Wordsworths, *Letters*, DW to Mary Anne Marshall, 19 Nov 1829, referring to Mary Anne and Ellen, an invalid

¹⁸⁴ CACW/DLec./ATK/box194, JM to Atkinson, 10 September 1841

7.4. Marshall and the Loweswater customary tenants and commons

Marshall's social intervention in Loweswater, outside of his estate management, was consistent with his principles already discussed. The records are silent on any involvement with religious life in this parochial chapelry, as in Watermillock. St Bartholemew's in Loweswater was rebuilt from 1827-9, without any known participation of the lord of the manor.¹⁸⁵ No early Marshall intervention was required in education, because the numerous dissenters were Quakers, with their own school at Pardshaw Hall.¹⁸⁶ In Loweswater the church school had occupied a small building since 1780 and Marshall left well alone until the inhabitants started a subscription for a new building.¹⁸⁷ He stepped in to pay for the whole building, which was placed in a prominent position on land provided by principal 'statesman'-landowner, John Hudson.¹⁸⁸ Provision would be made for a girls' school upstairs, a cause supported financially by Jane Marshall in Loweswater and Watermillock.¹⁸⁹ The school, shown unchanged in Figure 7-13, was completed in 1839 and run by a trust, which appointed the curate as the first master.¹⁹⁰

In 1814 Marshall became lord of the customary manor of Loweswater. He would not have seen merit in the communalism inherent in the management of the customary manor and commons, because communalism worked against individualism. Unfettered individual rights over land allowed the disciplines of political economy to operate, and people to improve and succeed through their own efforts, or learn through failure. The customary rights had failed to prevent the long-term loss of woodland, because the lord could not plant and protect timber on his common, and 'If a customary tenant plants wood, he cannot cut it

¹⁸⁵ AK Ames, *A short history of St. Bartholomew's Church, Loweswater*, undated. This and parish records show no Marshall involvement.

¹⁸⁶ Angus JL Winchester, *The diary of Isaac Fletcher of Underwood, Cumberland 1756-1781*, Kendal, CWAAS Extra Series XXVII, 1994, p.467

¹⁸⁷ CACW/DLec./ATK/box194, JM to Atkinson, 6 October 1838

¹⁸⁸ CACW/DWM/11/422, Loweswater School, Trustees minute book, p.1

¹⁸⁹ CACW/DWM/11/266/14

¹⁹⁰ CACW/DWM/11/422, 3 April 1840

without leave of the lord; in some cases, the lord claims it as his own'.¹⁹¹ The improvement of land and landscape by planting was Marshall's principal objective of ownership. The two failures mentioned in Section 7-2, the failure to obtain Watergate in 1817 and Scales in 1824, have been considered as failed planting projects. Here they form the basis of an analysis of his relationships with customary tenants and commons rights holders.

Marshall had difficulty exercising control over his customary tenants. The tenants of Loweswater were protective of their customs, and had needed to defend them in the past. A previous lord, Anthony Patrickson, had enclosed the Holme from the commons in the late sixteenth century, excluding the tenants from use and passage, and had demanded fines inconsistent with custom.¹⁹² Long, difficult and expensive legal process had confirmed their rights.¹⁹³ Many of the Loweswater manorial tenants had family histories that stretched to those times, and a necessary remembrance that the maintenance of their rights relied on defending custom, maintaining knowledge through generations, and performing necessary rituals. They would know how to handle a lord who wished to extract more than his share of the economic surplus, a Patrickson or Bragg, but not how to handle Marshall, nor he them.

Harrison of Watergate had been admitted by Bragg in 1809 on the death of John Harrison snr, and fined £16 for entry, but had been admitted for the life of Bragg, in error.¹⁹⁴ This simple mistake was Marshall's only grounds for demanding a fine from Harrison and for the ejectment on his refusal, which was successfully defended as 'an infringement upon our Custom'.¹⁹⁵ The attempted ejectment of Harrison would have put the tenants on their guard against future maladministration. In Loweswater, a general fine was paid on the death of a lord

¹⁹¹ John Bailey & George Culley, *General view of the agriculture of the County of Cumberland with observations on the means of improvement*, London, 1794, p.13

¹⁹² CACW/DWM/11/172, transcription the judgement of Sir Thomas Egerton, 15 April 1597

¹⁹³ CACW/DWM/11/172

¹⁹⁴ CACW/DWM/11/403/6, case for ejectment

¹⁹⁵ CACW/DWM/11/403/6, Fisher to Harrison, 9 September 1816 & Skelton and Harrison instructing Steel, 27 January 1817

who had made a general admittance, and Bragg was a purchaser.¹⁹⁶ The customary rental of the manor was only £31 per annum, but the tenants were assessed for general fines in 1806 and 1813, of around £650 each time, though they disputed the validity of the latter.¹⁹⁷ Marshall had to wait until the death of Henry Howard of Corby Castle in 1842, 'the survivor of the last admitting lords', to receive a general fine assessed at £640, and to admit the tenants in his own name.¹⁹⁸

The customary tenants also looked for opportunities to benefit. After the general fine of 1842, they called a meeting under the provisions of the recent Copyhold Act, to have the customary obligations commuted to a rent charge.¹⁹⁹ They presumably wished to avoid a further general fine on the death of the elderly and ailing Marshall. The Copyhold Commission advised that the lord could not be forced to comply, the tenants request was refused in 1843, and another general fine was collected in 1846 by William Marshall.²⁰⁰ The relationship between lord and manorial tenants in Loweswater was often a contest of wits, and it was risky for a tenant to deviate from well-known custom.

In 1824, after the purchase of the Brackenthwaite farms, Marshall proposed to enclose the Loweswater commons. As discussed above, his purpose was to obtain Scales stinted pasture and the common on Crummock's lake shore, presumably for planting, and his offer was generous but unconventional. John Fisher, the court keeper, noted:-

17th August 1824

Waited upon Mr Marshall at Scale Hill Joseph Skelton, Rcd Fisher Cold Keld, Skelton Wood, Wm Dixon

It was proposed that application be made to Parliament next session enabling the Landowners to enclose so much of the Waste Lands as might be thought proper [to pay] the expenses & to reduce the rest to a stinted pasture. ...

¹⁹⁶ CACW/DWM/11/172, transcription the judgement of Sir Thomas Egerton, 15 April 1597

¹⁹⁷ CACW/DWM/11/266/2, rental 1806; CACW/DWM/11/129/1, assessment 1813

¹⁹⁸ CACC/DWM11/148, assessment 1842; Henry Howard Esq of Corby Castle died 1st March 1842

¹⁹⁹ CACW/DWM/11/267/1

²⁰⁰ CACW/DWM/11/266/9, copyhold correspondence; CACW/DWM/11/149, assessment 1846

Mr Marshall proposed to enfranchise the Customary & fine certain tenements within the manor ... & to accept a portion of the Waste Lands for the Enfranchisement thereof provided the whole were laid in one plot and commenced at the termination of Mr Marshall's property at Gatesgarth: the tenants to give up their interest in the pasture called the Scale: which pasture to be considered a part of the Land to be set out for the Enfranchisement²⁰¹

The proposal was not a normal Parliamentary enclosure, which would involve only the commons, with allotments decided by a Commissioner. It was a hybrid arrangement involving the purchase of the customary rights in Scales stinted pasture, plus the fencing of the whole of the commons boundary, with a precondition that Marshall had a large freehold allotment, exactly where he wanted it. It would require all holders of grasses on Scales pasture, as customary tenants in common, to agree in advance to sell to Marshall, or to exchange their rights for his entitlement on the enclosed common. An assessment for a general fine in 1806 shows 47 grasses in the hands of fourteen owners, excluding those owned by the lord.²⁰² Some had been detached from the original tenement holdings. By purchasing Croft House Farm in Buttermere, Marshall had gained two Scales grasses.²⁰³ John Pearson of Lorton owned six in 1806, and with no other interest in Loweswater manor he could name his price, or refuse to sell.²⁰⁴ Such a scheme, designed to meet Marshall's needs, was impractical, even if the tenants trusted Marshall and agreed, which they did not. It shows that Marshall, like Lord William Gordon in Chapter 5, was determined to leap over entrenched customary hurdles to achieve a lakeshore planting, and like Gordon he failed.

The proposal to reduce the commons to a stinted pasture, rather than to enclose and divide, was a key issue. Reduction to a stinted pasture prevented overgrazing and avoided the costs of division. The aesthetic benefit of stinting was that the fell-sides were not blemished by rectilinear fences. The aesthetic argument was best expressed in 1812 by the friend of Wordsworth, Thomas

²⁰¹ CACW/DWM/11/249/19

²⁰² CACW/DWM/11/226/2

²⁰³ CACC/DBS/Marshall/box611

²⁰⁴ CACW/DWM/11/128/1

Wilkinson of Yanwath, when he published his objections to the small 150 acre Yanwath enclosure. He was concerned that the cost of fencing small allotments would cause the small owners to sell, but he also had a strong personal dislike for the aesthetics of enclosure:-

Looking over the Commons, in whatever direction, we see, at an agreeable distance, sloping Inclosures with their hedgerowtrees: and more remote, we behold rising woods overstepped by distant mountains: but inclose the Common, and the dead fences will come across the eye. If we wait till they are succeeded by thorn hedges, which we cannot see over, what will become of our prospect ...? The nobility and gentry of this country have a correct taste, they throw down their hedges, and open their lovely lawns before their castles and country houses. Let us not imitate them, it would not become us: but without labour and expence we have the lawn of nature before us, let us retain it.²⁰⁵

In the Brundholme enclosure, following an Act of 1810, Wordsworth had claimed his allotment of just over two acres for his Applethwaite property, which had been a gift from Sir George Beaumont in 1803, and was subsequently a gift to Dora Wordsworth.²⁰⁶ In 1824, the year of Marshall's Loweswater proposal, Wordsworth intervened against the enclosure and division of the commons of Grasmere & Loughrigg townships. Lord Lonsdale replied on 10 December to Wordsworth's plea, stating that 'I shall have great Pleasure in doing whatever I can to allay the present Irritation and Alarm'.²⁰⁷ Wordsworth had no commons rights but involved himself in the meeting:-

... a Paper was circulated by Mr Johnson of Kendal, containing proposal for converting the Common into a stinted pasture, without division or enclosure; certain parts to be sold to pay the expenses. This measure met with the countenance of so many who were utterly averse to dividing and enclosing, that in all probability with your Lordship's approbation, it will take effect'.²⁰⁸

On the preference for avoiding a general enclosure and division of mountainous territory, Marshall and Wordsworth were aligned in 1824, and probably for primarily aesthetic reasons. Where Marshall had enclosed open fell

²⁰⁵ Thomas Wilkinson, *Thoughts on inclosing Yanwath Moor and Round Table, and addressed to the claimants thereon*, Penrith, 1812, p.29 [Armitt Library]

²⁰⁶ CACC/QRE/1/49, Brundholme inclosure, award 1815; David Watson Rannie, *Wordsworth and his circle*, London, Methuen, 1907, p.157

²⁰⁷ WLMS/WLL/Lonsdale and Lowther/24

²⁰⁸ Wordsworths, *Letters*, WW to Lord Lonsdale, 21 January 1825

side, in Birkness, his fences were not rectilinear, from straight lines on a map, but followed the line of the land, to appear as ancient enclosures.²⁰⁹

A fenced and supervised stinted pasture might keep out illicit graziers, but it was not an improving measure. Stock was still mixed on the pasture and there was no possibility for an individual to improve his own pasture. If the stinting was not permissive, and the allotments were irrevocably laid together, then the ownership remained in common even on a freehold, which meant that the individual owners could sell stints but not land, nor could he or she use land for growing wood, or for building.²¹⁰ Marshall was working against his principles as an improver and utilitarian, confirming that in Loweswater aesthetics had priority. As mentioned in section 7-1, Marshall was the principal beneficiary of stints on the stinted pasture within the Watermillock enclosure, from the Act in 1829.²¹¹ He may well have been a driving force within the group of landowners that requested stinting and developed the detailed management procedures that Straughton describes.²¹² Stinted pastures were extensively used in the Castlerigg and Derwentwater enclosure where the Marshalls were very much in control, as shown in Figure 7-9.²¹³

In Loweswater, according to William Marshall at the Penrith Farmers' Club in 1861, where he expressed support for what had become a Marshall policy of stinting; 'For various periods during his father's life and his own there had been application made by many of the landowners to have this enclosure. About half of them had consented more than once; but in consequence of there not being a sufficient number, the enclosure had not been carried out until this year'.²¹⁴ In 1829 John Fisher, as court keeper, undertook the preliminary work on behalf of

²⁰⁹ CACW/DWM/1/36/6, shows the plan of the closes

²¹⁰ John Chapman, 'Parliamentary enclosure in the uplands', in ID Whyte & Angus JL Winchester, eds., *Society, landscape and environment in upland England*, Society of landscape studies, 2004, p.83

²¹¹ CCAC/DSO/146, Watermillock herdsman's book

²¹² Eleanor Straughton, *Common Grazing in the northern English uplands, 1800-1965*, Lampeter, Edwin Mellon Press, 2008, pp.199-204; CACC/QRE/1/17; CACC/DSO/146/1

²¹³ CCAC/QRE/1/109, enclosure award, Castlerigg & Derwentwater, 1849

²¹⁴ 'The inclosure of commons', in *The Farmer's Magazine* Vol. 20, 1861, pp.508-9 & Vol.21, 1862, pp.150-2

tenants who had petitioned for a more standard parliamentary enclosure, announcing the proposal in the *Carlisle Journal* in November.²¹⁵ John Marshall had no objection in principle to such an enclosure, nor to 'enfranchising everything, but I am not willing to do it partially or to inclose without enfranchising'. Marshall might have received 2000 acres for manorial rights, lands, and enfranchisement, but not Scales stinted pasture. Though some two thirds were in favour, Marshall required that 'the opposers are in some way reconciled', and he did not give support.²¹⁶

It should have been possible for Marshall to have Scales stinted pasture and the poor land he wanted for planting, at a cost, and for the customary tenants to have enfranchisement and allotments or stints in return. However, the goodwill and flexibility necessary to find a way through the impasse was lacking. The fells remained unenclosed and unplanted until the 1860s, and the estates remained customary through Marshall's lifetime, perpetuating a system that was contrary to his principles. The main compensating benefit for Marshall was that he retained the ownership and control of the wood on the customary tenements.

7-5. Marshall and his leasehold tenants

On his freehold farms Marshall had the opportunity to develop a leasehold relationship with tenants which was more in accordance with his principles as a political economist and utilitarian. However, there was a problem in that his farmers were the capitalists, employing the wage labourers, whilst he, one of the most successful and entrepreneurial manufacturing capitalists in the land, was simply a landowner who should be interested only in rent. Marshall was not a natural landowner, and was not motivated by rent. Furthermore, in 1825 he published *The economy of social life* stressing the importance of learning the lessons of political economy for people such as his capitalistic farmers, and he would wish to see the principles working in practice on his land.

²¹⁵ CACW/DWM/Marshall/box500, petition October 1829; *Carlisle Journal*, Saturday 28 November, 1829

²¹⁶ CACW/DWM/Marshall/box500, JM to Fisher, 31 December 1829

His purchases of the farmsteads in 1823-4 enabled him to reorganise his freehold farms in the Loweswater, Buttermere and Crummock estate into viable tenancies. Marshall took Lanthwaite Wood in hand, and augmented the farming of Scale Hill with the eleven acres of Nether Close, which he had purchased from his bailiff, Henry Muncaster.²¹⁷ The Nether Close buildings became the focus of the woodland and fishery operations of Marshall's estate. Nether Close was also the site of the lead mines. Marshall was keen to allow mining in his manor, and to let leases for both lead and iron workings.²¹⁸

Marshall combined a marginal fell side estate in Loweswater called Potter Gill with the better Rigg Bank land which came as freehold in 1814. With the Potter Gill buildings put into repair he created a viable freehold estate of 91 acres, the only farm not close to a lake. Peel Place was combined with Lanthwaite Green forming, with small changes, a 114 acre tenancy. Hollins, Croft Farm and Gatesgarth, less Birkness Plantation, were each viable. By combining farms and using repaired or rebuilt existing buildings, Marshall created a small freehold estate of six viable farms, usually let on nine year leases, while taking in hand the existing and new woodlands.²¹⁹ In 1835 the rental of the six farms was £549, including the inn, which valued them at no more than £16,000 plus stock.²²⁰ These sums were trifling for Marshall, but he had created six viable farms for model capitalist farmers.

The Brackenthwaite estate was said by Norman in 1823 to require at least £1,000 to set right its buildings and fences.²²¹ Marshall might have been expected to take the opportunity to engross further or to improve the farming by reorganising closes, though the opportunities were not of great significance. He did not do this, retaining the old farmstead locations, the integrity of old

²¹⁷ CACW/DWM/11/302, epitome of title to the Buttermere, Crummock and Loweswater Estate, 1934, p.15

²¹⁸ CACW/DWM/11/392-4

²¹⁹ Tithe maps and apportionments TNA/PRO, IR30/7/108, 29/7/108, Loweswater; IR/30/7/35, 29/7/35, Buttermere, IR30/7/27, 29/7/27, Brackenthwaite;

²²⁰ CACW/DLec./ATK/box194, JM to Atkinson, 5 January 1836

²²¹ CACW/DWM/11/249/17

tenements and the old structure of closes. His improvements to the land were limited to the offer to pay the capital cost of drainage, in return for an increase in rent equal to the interest, thus leaving the decision and risk with the tenant.²²² This did not affect the ancient close boundaries significantly; the drainage scheme and planting at Warnscale Beck in Gatesgarth appears to have been developed under William Marshall.²²³ Therefore the ancient farmed landscape was retained where he had direct control, as well as in the customary tenancies of Loweswater.

After managing these farms through a Mr Pollock, whose records do not survive, in 1836 Marshall appointed Richard Atkinson, of Bassenthwaite Halls, as his steward for the Loweswater, Buttermere & Brackenthwaite estate, and to inspect those properties in Watermillock and Kirkoswald.²²⁴ The woodman and rent collector, John Clark, now reported to Atkinson.²²⁵ If Atkinson thought that he would be allowed to manage the estate himself, pay Marshall's money into the bank and submit a half yearly account, then he was mistaken. Marshall's level of supervision and wish for involvement in all aspects meant that Atkinson probably spent as much time dealing with Marshall as with the estate, including correspondence and on-site meetings over minor detail.²²⁶ The remaining correspondence allows examination of Marshall's management of leasehold tenants and property.

Marshall made a clear statement of his policy towards rents only in 1843, when considering a request from Atkinson to reduce the rents during that depressed period. 'I am desirous of fixing my rents that the tenants with diligence, but not without, may get a comfortable living, & I request you will make a valuation on the grounds you propose, taking into consideration the

²²² CACW/DWM/11/260, terms of lease for Gatesgarth, 1828

²²³ TNA/PRO/IR30/7/35, tithe map of Buttermere, shows the old closes

²²⁴ CACW/DLec./ATK/box194, JM to Atkinson, 20 January 1836

²²⁵ CACW/DLec./ATK/box194, JM to Atkinson, 20 January 1836

²²⁶ CACW/DLec./ATK/box194; CACW/DWM/11/249, both contain extensive detailed correspondence and accounts, well in excess of that for an investment

improvements from the money I have laid out, but not supposing 20 per cent reduction to be decided on till the future prospects of the country are better ascertained'.²²⁷ He agreed the proposed reductions in principle in October, but wished to see what other landlords did.²²⁸

The money itself and the return on investment did not matter, the principles and processes did. As a political economist and utilitarian he should set the rent fairly, to promote industriousness in the tenant and the greatest sum of happiness. Then the disciplines of political economy should have worked through the management of the lease by his steward, whose role should have been to maximise the income, charity being reserved to Marshall. Marshall could not do that, partly because the objectives of the estate were not economic, but also to demonstrate his aesthetic taste and the practical effectiveness of the principles enshrined in the *Economy of Social Life*. He operated personally and directly at the level of the tenant, insisting that, in the best Fox and Goose Club logic, a tenant's removal was in the best interest of the tenant as well as the landowner. 'Graham [of Hollins] is getting worse every year & the sooner he goes the better for himself and for me'.²²⁹ In the same letter in which he agreed to reduce rents in 1843 he stated 'unless Grindal can now pay up his arrears ... I desire you will give him notice to quit next March'.²³⁰ Joseph Grindell was the tenant of Lanthwaite Green, including Peel Place. Though Grindell had subsequently promised to pay, Marshall repeated to Atkinson:-

I think you are deceived in your expectations regarding Grindall. He only promises to pay ... What family has he & what children that work & of what age & character, & is he industrious, or a bad manager? Unless he can make his farm answer, it is better for himself that he should leave it. ... I am not willing to lay out any more money on his farm, whilst he stays or till he has paid the whole of his arrears.²³¹

²²⁷ CACW/DLec./ATK/box194, JM to Atkinson, 24 August 1843

²²⁸ CACW/DLec./ATK/box194, JM to Atkinson, 24 August 1843

²²⁹ CACW/DLec./ATK/box194, JM to Atkinson, 14 October 1836

²³⁰ CACW/DLec./ATK/box194, JM to Atkinson, 24 August 1843

²³¹ CACW/DLec./ATK/box194, JM to Atkinson, 6 November 1843

Marshall did lay out a high proportion of his rental income on repairing, improving and managing the structures on his existing estate to a high standard, despite the minimal demands on the landlord from the leases.²³² The correspondence and accounts of Atkinson show that the cultural landscape was not re-written by improvement, but the old structures were kept in a condition better than justified by their economic productivity, the subsidy coming from Marshall.²³³ The money was not important, but Marshall had to motivate the tenants as if it were, and his tenants and agents had to play his game industriously, accounting for every penny spent or due – for their own benefit.

The aesthetic and social values of an eighteenth century cultural landscape were retained and promoted by financial subsidy from John Marshall on his leasehold land, and on the manorial lands and commons of Loweswater by a failure of Marshall and his customary tenants to agree on any form of change.

Conclusion

This study has established the facts of Marshall's purchases, the close and continued involvement of Wordsworth, and Marshall's dominance over the purchases by or for his sons, during his lifetime. Between 1811 and his death in 1845, Marshall and his sons spent over £200,000 of the cash generated by Marshalls of Leeds on property in the English Lakes. After completing his own country seat at Hallsteads on Ullswater in 1815, Marshall purchased and developed the Loweswater, Buttermere and Crummock estate for himself from 1813 to 1824. With the advice and involvement of Wordsworth, Marshall then chose estates on the English Lakes for his first three sons in order of their birth. William, who was to be a country gentleman, received the Patterdale Hall Estate as his main residence, purchased in 1823. The other four sons become directors of Marshall's, resident in Leeds. The Greenwich Hospital's Keswick Estate was acquired for John junior in 1832, and the Waterhead estate on Coniston was

²³² CACW/DWM/11/260/2, lease terms for Gatesgarth, 1828

²³³ CACW/DLec./ATK/box194, JM to Atkinson; CACW/DWM/11/15

acquired for or by James Garth Marshall in 1836. The death of John Marshall junior in 1836 caused a hiatus in the programme, and in 1844 Henry Cowper Marshall purchased Derwent Island, giving each of three Marshall sons a seat within a Marshall Estate. However, there was not necessarily an original and complete plan.

All five of those estates, and a small tenement at the head of Hawswater, combine to demonstrate a consistent approach, through which the Marshall family, with Wordsworth's involvement, acquired the heads of lakes, controlling the prospects that those lakes offered. They had major holdings of water, shore and fell side on six lakes, and almost exclusively selected the type of iconic territory that formed the main landscape interest of the discourse. They conformed to the aesthetic values in the discourse established though the eighteenth century, in that they sought to improve both prospects of landscape and production by planting, where evidence is available, and they did not build villas, or permit their building, in John Marshall's lifetime. Once Hallsteads had been built by 1815, as unobtrusively as possible for its size, the sons relied on existing buildings. Once John Marshall had died, Anthony Salvin did the round of extensions at Patterdale Hall, Monk Coniston Hall and Derwent Isle.

While the programme of purchases appears, retrospectively, as if it was planned, it may simply have developed coherently. Marshall did not set out to purchase estates in the English Lakes, and his politics did not accept that land was the qualifier for status; his status and his family's future proudly based on the economic production of manufacturing. His property in Watermillock from 1810 grew from a need to improve his wife's health. Hallsteads can be seen as a manufacturer's country seat, and the Patterdale Hall estate as setting up his heir's main seat close to his, as that of a country gentleman, unconnected with the Leeds industry.

Marshall's responses to the cultural values represented in the identity of the English Lakes have been examined through his own estate at Loweswater,

Buttermere and Crummock from 1814. These estates were purchased neither for a seat, nor for profit, for he paid a large premium. The farming was held by or let to manorial or leasehold tenants, except for wood land in hand. The Wordsworth family had involvement in the purchase of Loweswater, and Wordsworth collaborated in planning the planting of the extended estate, restoring the timber that had been lost. Wordsworth's ideas, as stated in the guide, had direct influence and combined with Marshall's emotional appreciation of mountain, wood and water, plus his available funds, to materialise aesthetic cultural values. Contrary to Walton's suggestion that Wordsworth's 'views made little immediate impact, running as they did directly counter to the prevailing currents of political economy', his views were given material effect on a large scale by a political economist, well before the debates on Thirlmere.²³⁴

On the aesthetics of choosing and managing estates for prospects of naturalistic landscape and the need for planting, Marshall and Wordsworth could agree, as is shown in their co-operation on the planting of the Loweswater, Buttermere and Crummock estate in 1816. Both favoured native English species on the lower grounds. The difference of opinion was in using the larch, which for an improver and political economist was the only tree that could make high dry ground productive. The mutual benefits of the estates were great, in that Marshall was providing the acknowledgement and protection of the 'sort of national property' which Wordsworth wished see but had neither the means nor influence to achieve otherwise, while Marshall could demonstrate the beneficial use of the material benefits of his manufacturing. Wordsworth had to speak well of Marshall's activities in the territory of romanticism.

Hallsteads might be regarded as the Marshall 'visitor centre', its role, apart from a summer residence and then permanent residence of John Marshall, being to provide hospitality, supported by the Scale Hill Inn and the houses of

²³⁴ JD Marshall & JK Walton, *The lake counties from 1830 to the mid twentieth century*, Manchester, Manchester University Press, 1981, pp. 205-6

the sons. Marshall's role as a host appears to be as a facilitator, where guests could meet with Marshall's family, and may explore and enjoy the lakes in a Marshall context. The utilitarian principle of the 'greatest happiness' supported the enjoyment of Marshall's estates by others. His taste and success would be judged by his philanthropic works.

The case of the Keswick Estate in 1832 provides an early case of the transfer of a productive but iconic estate into protective rather than exploitative ownership, which will be considered more closely in Chapter 8. The Hospital was already foregoing some economic benefit to the Hospital for the sake of aesthetic value, and had the estate not been sold, the Hospital would have cut timber in quantity. This high profile public sale generated a conflict between Marshall's growing public role as the owner of iconic estates in the English Lakes, and as a promoter of political economy and utilitarian politics. Marshall had paid high prices in private deals, but a man of business could not pay extravagant prices at auction, especially as the only bidder. The Hospital required cash and expected a commercial price for land that must not be developed and wood that must not be cut. Marshall did obtain a bargain at auction, but by a process which effectively allowed Marshall to pay for the wood but effectively not for the 650 acres of land on which it stood.

In his Loweswater, Buttermere and Crummock estate Marshall had both leasehold and manorial agricultural tenants, creating tensions between his utilitarian beliefs based on political economy, and the social cultural value that was being associated with the inhabitants, not least by Wordsworth. From 1814 he was lord of the manor of Loweswater, a customary manor with extensive commons, and one of the celebrated strongholds of the 'statesman'. Marshall preferred individualism, clear unfettered ownership, and economic relationships. In particular the customs worked against the planting of timber, which was a key purpose of his purchase. Marshall's disrespect of custom was demonstrated by his attempt to eject a tenant without proper cause. His unconventional attempt

to reduce the commons to a stinted pasture and to obtain the customary Scales stinted pasture and shore of Crummock, presumably for planting, again failed despite offering enfranchisement at no significant cost. The manor stayed customary and unenclosed during his lifetime. The continuation of the customary 'statesmen' was, in part, a consequence of Marshall's lack of appreciation and understanding of customary tenants. But at the same time, his wish to reduce the commons to a stinted pasture rather than divide and enclose with fences, apart from his own allotment, seems to place the aesthetic value which he associated with the locality, above his principles of political economy.

The need to apply the principles of political economy, or the semblance of them, affected Marshall's relationship with his farm tenants, overriding any ideas that he might have about the social cultural value of the local inhabitants. Marshall would let seven or nine year tenancies by formal lease, with rents set to give the industrious tenant a reasonable living. At the same time Marshall lavished money on the buildings in which the tenants learned the lessons of political economy, but these lessons came more from Marshall's direct intervention rather than by the discipline of allowing his agent to manage for income.

Though Marshall wished to see farms and farmers improved, and clearly did not respond to the cultural values attributed to the inhabitants, he did preserve in the landscape the second nature that was created by those inhabitants. He did not enclose and divide commons, nor replace old farmhouses with new, nor combine tenements physically, nor improve the layout of closes from an organically grown to a planned pattern. He planted native species of tree where he could and protected the appearance of woodland. Despite his love of wild natural scenery, and his lack of appreciation, in 1800, of a second nature in which the face of the land reflected a traditional and agricultural use, in practice he preserved and restored the second nature that Wordsworth approved in landscape. Thus the creative tension between Marshall and Wordsworth

resulted in a manifestation of modern cultural heritage, the remembrance of a lost and valued way of life through the preservation of cultural landscape.

Chapter 8. Conclusion

8-1. General

This study set out to establish whether and how three incoming landowners in the English Lakes, between 1735 and 1845, were influenced in the acquisition, management and disposal of their estates by the developing cultural identity of the district. The period precedes any intervention through regulation, such as planning, or the public funding of projects. The study investigated the influence of cultural values, contained in the identity of the English Lakes, on landowners through discourse, direct personal contact and personal experience. Very little directly relevant historiography exists, even though the cultural identity of the English Lakes formed and strengthened quickly from 1750, as it became the major destination for picturesque tourism by the 1790s, as Andrews has noted in a comparative study.¹

Several supporting studies were required. Firstly, there was a need to understand the nature and purpose of the developing cultural identity, and how its role developed within the general differentiation of districts in the early part of industrialisation identified by Langton, and within the age of modernity generally.² Secondly, a disengaged or external perspective was required to maximise the objectivity of a study of the contemporary relationship between discourse and landowners. Thirdly, a theoretical framework and a functional language had to be created or adopted that would avoid applying current ideas and concepts, such as conservation of cultural heritage, to a period in which they would be an anachronism. Lastly there was a need to establish whether ideas such as cultural property existed in time for its ownership to be discussed, appropriated and to have potential agency on landowners by the mid eighteenth century. The role of Wordsworth had to be addressed, distinguishing between his

¹ Malcolm Andrews, *The search for the picturesque: landscape aesthetics and tourism in Britain, 1760-1800*, Aldershot, Scolar, 1989.

² John Langton, 'The industrial revolution and the regional geography of England', *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, New Series, Vol.9, No.2 (1984), pp.145-167

original ideas, and those which he developed and consolidated within a body of discourse for the future.

The study has used Regions of Romance as a positive general term to classify the districts with identities such as the English Lakes, and has presented a short genealogy of the term leading up to its occasional use in the discourse of the English Lakes in the 1790s. As the seat of English Romanticism from the 1790s, the term subsequently fits the English Lakes well. The study has proposed that such districts represent the antithesis to the principal thesis within modernity, its industrialisation and corollaries. The identity of the English Lakes was and is not simply a district left aside as an anachronism, but rather a district that had and has, for a cultural and political elite, a positive identity with cultural and political purpose.

This study has adopted and applied Darby's approach, in which, 'Throughout the eighteenth century, an Oxbridge-educated cultural elite was involved in an aesthetic debate which transformed the putative space of England's mountainous north into the place of the Lake District'.³ That debate, attributed to Addison as originator at the start of the century, had transformative power only from the 'discovery' in mid-century. Darby's approach to the materialisation of culture has been applied to landownership, rather than to Darby's related subject of the materialisation of culture through the later politics of public access. Darby's twin themes of 'landscapes of culture', or the aesthetics of the developing picturesque in the arts, and 'landscapes of nation', or the socio-politics of place and people, have provided a practical model. 'Landscapes of culture' provides the early and enduring underlying aesthetic theme of the English Lakes. 'Landscapes of nation' provides an overlying social-political theme

³ Wendy Joy Darby, *Landscape and identity; geographies of nation and class in England*, Oxford, Berg, 2000, p.51

informing romanticism from the 1790s, and promoted not least by Wordsworth and Southey, but having origins in Gray.⁴

The study has attempted to maintain an approach that is both disengaged and which also has a perspective contemporary with the period under study. The English Lakes has a strong coherent identity which is mostly unchallenged in academic work, except in Welberry's critique of the dominant literary canon serving preservation, and Johnson's critique of, effectively, a shared romantic subjectivity of understanding in landscape archaeology and history.⁵ This study has used an anthropological theory of cultural value to provide a tool-kit, as a means of disengaging the observation and of making the approach to analysis explicit and as objective as possible. The cultural identity of the English Lakes has been considered in this study to contain a cultural construction made up of cultural values, invested in cultural assets of various types, which provides a system of cultural economics separate from the economics of political economy. Cultural assets can have both aesthetic value and social value, in the way of life of the inhabitants, again requiring an anthropological definition. The theory of cultural value developed by Throsby, for use in assessing cultural heritage projects, has provided a theoretical framework and a basis of analysis, without being allowed to obscure the subject matter.⁶

The figure of Wordsworth rightly stands high in cultural studies of the English Lakes, including this one. However, even Wordsworth could not influence his predecessors. The important idea of 'a kind of property' in landscape belonging to the man of polite imagination, rather than the owner of the real

⁴ William Mason, *The poems of Mr Gray. To which are prefixed memoirs of his life and writings*, York, 1775

⁵ Karen Welberry, 'The playground of England: a genealogy of the English Lakes from nursery to national park, 1793-1951', unpublished thesis, Bundoora, Victoria, La Trobe University, 2000; Matthew Johnson, *Ideas of landscape*, Oxford, Blackwell Publishing, 2007

⁶ David Throsby, *Economics and culture*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, (CUP), 2001

estate, has been attributed by Fabricant to Addison in 1712, in *The Spectator*.⁷ That idea of ownership of cultural property, or cultural assets, could be applied to the English Lakes from 1750 and formed the basis of the right of observers to object to the cutting of the Derwentwater timber. The aesthetic cultural values to be applied to the prospects of landscapes in the English Lakes were those of landscape architecture. Landowners should conform, mainly in planting but also in building, to the changing taste in that art, towards the high picturesque of the 1790s.

Tourism was important in establishing and defending cultural property, consistent with MacCannell's theory.⁸ Tourists, numerically increasing in the English Lakes from 1770, performed the dual roles of promoting the application of values of landscape architecture with the landowners of the English Lakes, while at the same time staking firmer claims to the cultural property, and its preservation. Their cultural property was established through the repeated rituals of the tour and recorded by the discourse that directed them on approved routes to approved prospects. Wordsworth recognised, rather than created, the validation of the 'sort of national property' by the 'visits, oft repeated', of the tourists.⁹ The creation of cultural property, and the establishment and enjoyment of the non-consumptive usage rights by the tourists, might be seen to have some features in common with the creation and maintenance of customary rights to real property, surviving strongly in the English Lakes. Tourism provided a continuity of a form of custom.

8-2. Landowners' responses to cultural value, 1735-1800

Only two landowners, the Greenwich Hospital and Lord William Gordon, have been studied in the eighteenth century. The Hospital was a recent owner when

⁷ Carole Fabricant, 'The aesthetics and politics of landscape in the eighteenth century', in Ralph Cohen, Ralph, ed., *Studies in Eighteenth-Century British Art and Aesthetics*, London, University of California Press, 1985, p.56

⁸ Dean MacCannell, *The tourist; a new theory of the leisure class*, New York, Schocken Books, 1989

⁹ William Wordsworth, *Guide to the Lakes*, ed. de Selincourt/Gill, Frances Lincoln, London, 2004, p.93

Derwentwater was discovered, and was plunged into a difficult relationship with the new community of culture which valorised the English Lakes. Gordon was an entirely voluntary landowner, who responded to or took account of the growing cultural identity of the English Lakes when he purchased. Together they owned the majority of the Derwentwater shore, and accounted for the history of its management. Joseph Pocklington was not a subject of study, but his role has been sufficiently covered to claim that a sufficient study of Derwentwater lake shore landowners has been made. It has been shown that Derwentwater was a sufficient proxy for the English Lakes.

Neither the Greenwich Hospital nor Lord William Gordon has been the subject of substantive previous academic research, which has led to the requirement for full studies of owner and estates from primary sources prior to the evaluation of responses to cultural value. These two studies are offered as collateral outputs. While the narrative of the Hospital's Keswick Estate is distributed through a voluminous mass of Admiralty records, the few traces of Gordon are scattered widely and thinly. From his previous family notoriety, his modest retreat on Derwentwater, and his building of a road on the fell, it has been reasonable, previously, to cast him as a recluse. This study sees him differently, though because he never felt the need to explain himself the conclusions have been wholly based on interpretation of his actions.

The Greenwich Hospital, as a royal charity, was obliged to manage its estates to maximise the income for its beneficiaries, though its long term ownership allowed it to invest in improvement and plant for timber. The General Court and the Directors, who were the landowners as trustees, established a clear control and economic policy to guide their professional Receivers in the North. The decision, made in 1739, to sell all the mature timber on the Northern Estates, was the best financial choice for the Hospital. The sale was delayed until 1747 by monopolistic cartels of wood merchants. The lack of representations

against that sale confirms a lack of cultural value, or of its influence, associated with the geographical space that very soon afterwards became the English Lakes.

A growing tension can be imagined in the minds of those who were responsible for managing the Keswick Estate to maximise income, but were also, as the lords of the Admiralty, individuals within the community of culture which was creating the English Lakes and the cultural values within its identity. The history of the responses of the Hospital seems to depend on how its key people balanced those two drivers, and on other influences such as politics and events.

The co-incidence in time of the discovery and the felling, through the early 1750s, led to the coincident development of the aesthetic cultural value of Derwentwater's woodland and the criticism of the Hospital. The content of the early discourse, and its classical allusion, required the Hospital to manage its Keswick estate in accordance with the aesthetic values normally applied to the landscaped grounds of an aristocrat. The management of woodland, rather than building, provided the principal concern of discourse.

After criticism, it is clear from the particular attention paid to the woods of the Keswick Estate in the Directors' minutes that the Hospital was aware of and demonstrated an interest in the aesthetic cultural value of its woodland, authorising planting and new species in the 1750s. From 1760 intervention by the Directors, materialising aesthetic cultural value, is apparent in the planting of lake shore closes, taken in hand from the farm lettings. However, the short term economic sacrifice was insignificant.

From 1771, with the leadership of the fourth Earl of Sandwich as first lord, and chair of the General Court until 1782, any materialisation of cultural value, as associated with the English Lakes, cannot be distinguished from the general policy changes both nationally and within the Northern Estates. This involved planting more land, growing more timber to maturity and broadening the range of species. A new plan, of the 1770s, for planting the Northern estates had, by 1791, restored and protected the woodland on the Keswick Estate as it

matured as both timber and ornament. Economic management was not compromised, just rebalanced. The appointment of John Turner as a Receiver by Lord Sandwich, endorsed by Lancelot Brown, ensured that the management policy would endure to the end of the century, until some of the timber at Keswick was of full growth.

Lord William Gordon made a clear and entirely voluntary decision in 1781 to attempt to purchase the whole of the western shore of Derwentwater, in the full knowledge of the aesthetic cultural value that had been created in the identity of that place through discourse and tourism. The reasoned interpretation of his actions is that he was motivated by the opportunity to intervene and to demonstrate his taste and responsibility by protecting cultural assets at risk, by materialising aesthetic cultural value in a picturesque vision of natural landscape. This is a high claim for the materialisation of aesthetic cultural value in the English Lakes in 1781, requiring Gordon to be exceptional as a landowner, which would be consistent with the Gordon character.

The contingent factors were the availability of modest financial resources following his marriage, the public acknowledgement of his taste in altering and laying out the ranger's Lodge at the Green Park, the criticism in the 1780 edition of West's *Guide* of the felling of woods on the western shore, with responsibility pointed at Lord Egremont, and the opportunities developed and presented by William Gilpin, a native of Cumberland, for the improvement of Derwentwater on picturesque principles.¹⁰ Gordon is likely to have had access to Gilpin's observations on Derwentwater, as circulated in manuscript form.

The picturesque, as developed by Gilpin from 1748, implied morality and modesty, when compared with the conspicuous expression of wealth and

¹⁰ Thomas West, ed. William Cockin, *A guide to the lakes ...*, 2nd ed., London, 1780, pp.88-9; William Gilpin, *Observations, relative chiefly to picturesque beauty, made in the year 1772 ...*, London, Blamire, 1786; William Gilpin, *Observations, relative chiefly to picturesque beauty, made in the year 1776 ...*, London, 1789

power implicit in the Brownian terraformed park of an English aristocratic.¹¹ To copy that taste in miniature without any real wealth and power displayed, as on Pocklington's island from 1779, would become ridiculous as taste changed. Picturesque taste applied to natural scenery, such as Derwentwater, reflected art back into natural landforms to improve them aesthetically through the harmonious disposition of structures, roads and planting. The opportunity of Derwentwater would allow a second-rank and Scottish aristocrat, without an existing seat or real wealth, to position himself in the vanguard of developing taste and to benefit, in time, from the plaudits in discourse and tourists' reports.

This study has presented Gordon's estate as primarily for display rather than use, a park allowing public use and appreciation in a location chosen for its centrality to the growing identity of the English Lakes. Gordon's life and interests were in London, his community of culture being the Court and aristocratic society, led by the King and the Prince of Wales, whose Regency household Gordon eventually joined in 1817. Gordon built a pavilion at Water End, not a villa for residential use. The pavilion may have provided a modest picturesque compliment to the Prince of Wales' Marine Pavilion at Brighton, completed at the same time. The public dimension of Gordon's creative purpose has also been demonstrated in his apparent wish to control the wider prospects of Derwentwater. He personally restricted Joseph Pocklington, and with the co-operation of the Greenwich Hospital he controlled the use of two other islands. Most significantly, the first road he built on the western fellside, easily interpreted as an exclusion of local people, has been presented as intended to enable Gilpinian planting and prospects of Derwentwater.

This question from Thomason and Woof, relating to Derwentwater, was noted in Chapter 1:-

¹¹ Malcolm Andrews, 'Gilpin, William (1724-1804)', Oxford Dictionary of National Biography (ODNB), Oxford University Press (OUP), 2004, identifies Gilpin as author of *A dialogue upon the gardens of the right honourable the Lord Viscount Cobham at Stowe*, 1748

What emerges out of the story is an interest in the aesthetic conscience of the eighteenth century, ... Could it be that the sense of responsibility shared by the poets, commentators and artists finally impinged upon the landowners who were 'improving' their estates? The building of houses in a way that was sympathetic to the environment, the planting and felling of trees in a way that might enhance the landscape, the creation of roads and pathways so that thereby the visitor might the better enjoy the prospect, are all part of the eighteenth century dynamic.¹²

Lord William Gordon appears exemplify that proposition. The Greenwich Hospital did what it could within the constraints of its economic purpose.

Responses to the social cultural value created in the discourse of the inhabitants were not expected in this period. The records of the Greenwich Hospital contribute nothing of significance. In the 1780s Lord William Gordon planned to divert the public road to the highest practical level above his estate and to enclose the common below. He proceeded with construction unilaterally, but took no account of the ability and necessity of the people of the townships of Portinscale and Borrowdale to defend their customs and interests against arbitrary aristocratic authority. His case demonstrates that representations of the social cultural value of the inhabitants had little agency with him, but that, in part, was the cause of his failure to achieve the full scheme.

8-3. Landscapes of nation

The overlay of a patriotic Englishness on the picturesque vision, from the French Revolution through the French wars and into the period of reform, provided a context for the values of the emerging 'statesman' to be set against those of the manufacturing employee, and for the symbolism of the English oak tree to be set against the invasive foreign larch. The improvement of agricultural production by enclosure, by planting larches and by adopting capitalistic leaseholds in the English Lakes, as promoted by the Board of Agriculture in the 1790s, was also considered patriotic, because it increased production during war. However, the concerns that such changes, plus manufacturing, were detrimental to the social

¹² David Thomason and Robert Woof, *Derwentwater, the Vale of Elysium*, Grasmere, Trustees of Dove Cottage, 1986, introduction

fabric of the nation was countered by the traditional figure of the 'statesman', by his way of life, and by his second nature represented by the cultural landscape which symbolised his settled community. The aesthetic appreciation of naturalistic landscape was already informed by cultural factors, but the aesthetic appreciation of cultural landscape, as promoted in Wordsworth's *Guide*, contained symbolised social values which derived from socio-political beliefs. In the analysis of cultural landscape, Throsby's neat classification of cultural values into separate aesthetic, social and other components has been found to lack some rigour in definition, and objectivity in interpretation.¹³

The tensions between the two forms of patriotism above, giving precedence to either improvement or tradition, lay behind the conflicts for control of the secondary social dimension of the identity of the English Lakes from the 1790s. The purpose of the representations was in part political, and intended, especially through the Lake Poets, to have a general national rather than a local influence, which required retention of the model communities within the Lakes, either in reality or in symbolism. They were presented as the last of the traditional English agricultural yeoman communities.

Within this study that general conflict has been illustrated by the relationships between Wordsworth and John Marshall, in the acquisition and management of his estates, and between Robert Southey and the Greenwich Hospital. Both owners had internal conflicts which resulted from having estates in the English Lakes. Marshall, as a capitalist, industrialist and utilitarian, needed to reconcile his love of natural scenery with his politics of political economy, improvement and education. The Greenwich Hospital contained, from 1801, an increasing conflict between its Directors and its own Receivers.

¹³ Throsby, *Economics and culture*, pp.28-9,84-5

8-4. John Marshall and the influence of Wordsworth, 1800–1845

Between 1811 and his death in 1845, Marshall and his sons spent over £200,000 of the cash generated by Marshalls of Leeds on property in the English Lakes.¹⁴ These estates formed a coherent programme of purchases, through which Marshall acquired the heads of lakes, controlling the prospects that those lakes offered. There were major holdings of water, shore and fell side on six lakes, always containing the type of iconic territory that formed Marshall's main landscape interest, and that of the tourists whose interests were accommodated by Marshall.¹⁵ However, Marshall may not have conceived an overall plan at first or at all, and circumstances, opportunities and the actions of others may have influenced the programme. The management of the estates, where evidence is available, conformed to the aesthetic values in the discourse established though the eighteenth century together with improvement, in that Marshall wished to improve both prospects of landscape and its productivity, through planting. A restrained policy on building new residences is evident. Once Hallsteads had been built as a plain capacious country seat by 1815, as unobtrusively as practicable, the sons relied on existing buildings. After John Marshall's death, Anthony Salvin did the round of extensions for the sons at Patterdale Hall, Monk Coniston Hall and Derwent Isle.

The creation and management of Marshall's own and family estates reflected the aesthetic values in discourse, and his own preferences and experience of the English Lakes in 1795. However, Dorothy Wordsworth was influential in Marshall's coming to Cumberland and William Wordsworth was important in identifying, assessing and planning the planting of Marshall's estates. Marshall's relationship with Wordsworth has been analysed, mainly to guide an interpretation of the way in which Marshall's acquisitions and management was motivated and influenced. Additionally it illustrates the extreme

¹⁴ See Table 7-1

¹⁵ See Figure 7-1

opposite philosophical approaches to socio-politics, which are also relevant to the internal divisions of the Greenwich Hospital's personnel. Marshall became the epitome of the Millocrat of modernity, a political economist and a radical political reformer, as demonstrated by the utilitarian purity of *The economy of social life*, while Wordsworth and *The Excursion* represented the antithesis.¹⁶ However, they agreed on much of the aestheticism of Wordsworth's *Guide*.¹⁷ In 1807 Marshall contributed to that work on the role of tree species, gaining an acceptance of a role for the larch, which Marshall planted extensively for ornament and production on higher dry ground.

Marshall had no apparent plan to move from manufacturing into the establishment via landed property. Nor did he need investment land to support financially a post-industrial dynasty, except to position his son William as a landed gentleman. He remained a firm believer in industrialisation as the driver of the nation's and his family's future wealth. He indulged in the pleasure he took in dramatic natural scenery. His estates also had a role as parks for public use, which demonstrated the success of his philosophy in a practical, material and philanthropic way. Such a motivation is little different from that which has been attributed above to Gordon.

Marshall and Wordsworth could agree on the aesthetics of choosing and managing estates to optimise naturalistic landscape. Both regretted the general loss of timber and agreed on where and how to plant, with a difference on the larch. Their relationship and co-operation has been examined in the acquisition and management of the Loweswater, Buttermere and Crummock estate from 1814, a major tenanted estate which has been shown to be neither a country seat nor an investment property. The mutual benefits of this and other estates were important. Marshall was providing the acknowledgement and protection of

¹⁶ JM [John Marshall], *The economy of social life for the use of schools ...*, Leeds, 1825; William Wordsworth, *The excursion, being a portion of the recluse, a poem*, London, Longman, 1814

¹⁷ Joseph Wilkinson, *Select views in Cumberland Westmorland and Lancashire*, London, Ackerman, 1810, [contains the first, anonymous, edition of Wordsworth's *Guide*]

the 'sort of national property' which Wordsworth wished see but had not the means or influence to achieve, while Marshall could demonstrate the beneficial use of the materials of happiness from his business in a philanthropic way. Wordsworth had to speak well of Marshall's activities in the Regions of Romance.

8-5. Management and sale of the Keswick Estate, 1801-1832

The sale of the Keswick Estate by the Greenwich Hospital to John Marshall in 1832 has provided a unique early opportunity to study and analyse the transfer of important aesthetic cultural assets in the English Lakes. At the time of the sale the risks were appreciated, not only to the aesthetics of landscape from the felling of timber, but also because the sale threw 'onto the market some of the finest situations for rural mansions in Great Britain'.¹⁸ Any person who would purchase and fell timber would earn 'the maledictions of all persons who admire this spot'.¹⁹ Any person who would sell building plots 'may exceedingly disfigure a neighbourhood ...'.²⁰ No such person came forward, and George Robins' public auction merely confirmed that John Marshall would take it at a low price and was expected to preserve the land and timber. This market test showed that by 1832 the materialisation of the cultural aesthetic value attached to this estate had resulted in the market value being reduced well below the productive value.

A difference over the management of the Keswick estate had appeared by 1805, when the Directors restricted the extensive improvements proposed by the Receivers for the Northern Estates, by protecting timber on the Keswick estate and limiting the reconfiguration of its closes. The Directors recognised that tourism provided some economic benefit to the estate. By 1825, with the Secretary, Edward Hawke Locker, having gained an executive authority, the Directors had agreed a formal policy to protect the Keswick woods from the Hospital's own Receivers, particularly from Robert William Brandling.

¹⁸ William & Dorothy Wordsworth, *The letters of William and Dorothy Wordsworth*, 8 vols, ed. de Selincourt, 2nd edition revised by Alan Hill, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1967-93, WW to Sir Robert Ker Porter, 23 February 1832

¹⁹ W A Speck, 'Robert Southey's letters to Edward Hawke Locker', *Huntington Library Quarterly*, 1999, 62(1/2), pp.153-70, pp.165-6

²⁰ Wordsworths, *Letters*, WW to Sir Robert Ker Porter, 23 February 1832

Superficially the internal division might seem to be about the Keswick woods and a difference in the appreciation of aesthetic cultural value of the woods to be set against a small loss of annual income. Rather, the Keswick wood became totemic in a much larger, politically-based dispute between the Directors and Receivers, or Locker and Brandling, over the objectives and method of management of the Northern Estates. Too much had been spent on estate 'improvements' during the war years, and from 1816 the rental income fell rather than rose. Spending was briefly cut after criticism in Parliament, but Locker reinstated that spending in the North from 1821, over-ruling the approach of Brandling, which was based more on the principles of political economy. Following the collapse of the lead price, the Hospital's role and management was rationalised for better management in 1829. The new Commissioners, now including Locker, sought to blame and reprimand the Receivers for poor financial performance and past failings.

After the Whigs came to power in 1830, Brandling pointed to the Keswick woods as a clear case of the Commissioners failing to support the economic interests of the Hospital. In 1831 the Receivers were successful in having that policy overturned by the Admiralty, with Sir JRG Graham, a political economist, as First Lord of the Admiralty. The sale of the estate followed directly. The loss of his ability to protect the Keswick woods was clearly a serious blow to Locker, and to his relationship with Robert Southey. The Commissioners had to choose between presiding over the cutting of the timber around Derwentwater for a second time, or selling the estate. The aesthetic cultural value associated with the Derwentwater woods helped them to choose the latter course.

8-6. Landowners' responses to the social cultural value of the inhabitants in the nineteenth century

John Marshall, as a utilitarian, political economist and political reformer, would reject the socio-politics of tradition represented by the 'statesman'. However, his emotional response to landscapes of mountain, wood and water, together with

the strong influence of Wordsworth and a surplus of funds, meant that in the English Lakes his responses to aesthetic cultural value over-rode any objective to 'improve' the communities in Loweswater, Buttermere and Crummock by introducing capitalistic agricultural systems. Consequently his interventions not only retained the symbols of the 'statesman'-led community in the cultural landscape, but also, through failed initiatives, he left the Loweswater commons unenclosed and the tenements in customary ownership.

The one landowner's representative who engaged fully with the socio-politics of tradition was Edward Hawke Locker, as Secretary of the Greenwich Hospital from 1819 to 1829, and then a Commissioner. He acquired and exercised a personal authority over policy. Locker overtly promoted a policy of management based on the model of Lord Derwentwater, whose mythological persona and authority Locker seemed to wish to take on. In concert with Southey, he protected the timber in Keswick from felling, which made that timber, and particularly the old oak at Castlehead, a symbol of more fundamental political divisions. Locker balanced the interests of the Hospital's plebeian stakeholders in the North against the interests of its beneficiaries, rather than maximising the income for the Hospital's beneficiaries. However, Locker had little opportunity to reflect the social cultural values of the inhabitants of the English Lakes back into their heartland.

8-7. Concluding discussion

This thesis provides neither a comparative study, nor a complete characterisation of the developing identity of the English Lakes. The three landowners were not representative of many, but were were exceptional and important individually, and also collectively in the context of their continuity of ownership around Derwentwater. These landowners, the subjects of the study, provide an insight into early responses to the creation, growth and valorisation of what is now termed cultural heritage, as it became associated with a particular district and its

people. Those responses resulted in a significant early materialisation of aesthetic cultural value focussed initially on Derwentwater, but extended by John Marshall.

The alternative starting point to that of Thomason and Woof above, was Walton's statement in 'The defence of Lakeland', that 'Wordsworth was the chief prophet of the conservation movement' but his sentiments 'did not gain widespread acceptance until the last quarter of the nineteenth century' and 'his views made little immediate impact, running as they did directly counter to the prevailing currents of political economy'.²¹ There were two pathways of intervention in the English Lakes, the public and the private. Walton considers the public pathway, whereby non-governmental associations of people intervened through their combined influence or through purchasing cultural assets, as in the National Trust. Or government intervened through regulation or economic intervention, leading to the designation of a national park and the financial support of heritage projects. The public preservationist path prevailed in the twentieth century, giving precedence to its supportive discourse of the Lake District in the arts and humanities, and privileging Wordsworth, Ruskin and Rawnsley in its nineteenth century genealogy. If Wordsworth's 'sort of national property' is translated into a promotion of public intervention, then his *Guide* of 1810 was the start of that long public path.²²

This study has examined the private path of intervention, where landowners responded to cultural value for personal and/or philanthropic benefits, other than economic benefit. The three landowners were essentially products of the eighteenth century, motivated by the aesthetic cultural values associated with the English Lakes. The origins of their motivation are to be found in Addison and eighteenth century discourse rather than in Wordsworth. Their

²¹ Thomason and Woof, *Derwentwater*, introduction; JD Marshall & JK Walton, *The lake counties from 1830 to the mid twentieth century*, Manchester, Manchester University Press, 1981, pp.205-6

²² Wordsworth, *Guide*, p.93

iconic estates were assimilated into the materialisation phase of the public path of intervention in the twentieth century.

These landowners are not necessary to the dominant genealogy of the public path. They are seen simply as part of the history of landownership, and not as entirely sympathetic. The history of the public path, however, misses the materialisation of aesthetic cultural value before Wordsworth, and does not allow for the direct influence of Wordsworth on Marshall, overlaid on his own aesthetic appreciation, or the lesser influence of Southey on the Greenwich Hospital, which has been identified by Speck.²³ The relationship between Wordsworth and Marshall allowed Wordsworth's ideas to influence Marshall's purchases from 1811, and the Marshall family held large estates under a sympathetic management regime while the public path worked its way through one hundred years to reach a comparable level of materialisation. A key event in this study of the private path was the sale of the Keswick Estate in 1832, which might be found to have many features in common with the later acquisitions of many of the Marshalls' estates by the National Trust, on the public path.

A separation has been made between aesthetic and social cultural value partly to enable an examination of landowners' responses to each, but very little response has been found to the social dimension. A dominance of the aesthetics of landscape was expected, and the early creation of landscapes of picturesque culture had established influence well before the overlay of landscapes of nation, with the socio-political promotion of the 'statesman' in the primary period of English Romanticism. Through the nineteenth century and beyond, the identity of the English Lakes, becoming the Lake District, had a high social content based on perceptions of the local inhabitants, consistent with the valorisation of cultural landscape, which is seen as portraying the work of both nature and man. On the private path of intervention, the three landowners, generally, were not motivated to preserve cultural landscape, outside of the developing values of the

²³ Speck, 'Locker'

picturesque. The later public path of intervention, valorising cultural landscape, might require the agency of values associated with both landscapes of evolved picturesque culture and landscapes of nation. The agency of social cultural value might be studied more fruitfully within the Victorian public path of intervention.

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