ART. X.—*The development of the large house in the Eden Valley, 1350-1840.* By R. W. BRUNSKILL, M.A., A.R.I.B.A.

Read at Carlisle, March 24th, 1956.

AN attempt is made here to trace the development of the large house in the Eden Valley from the middle of the 14th century, when considerations of defence were no longer of paramount importance to house-builders, to 1840, when the advent of cheap railway transport suddenly accelerated the submergence of local styles into a national style of building. The attempt is based on a field survey of the same territory and undertaken at the same time as an investigation into the development of the small house.[1]

The article is concerned with the large house, as distinct from the small house and cottage on the one hand, and the great house on the other. At first attempts were made to distinguish the size-types by the number of chimneys or storeys, but experience showed that no such arbitrary distinction could be applied to the period under consideration. Many 18th-century small houses are larger and more extensively equipped with fireplaces than 15th-century large houses, and in practically every case a glance was sufficient to distinguish the large house of the gentleman from the small house of the yeoman. Similarly no difficulty was experienced in distinguishing the castle of the medieval marcher lord from the manor-house of his vassal, nor the graceful mansion of the successful capitalist from the smaller property of his less influential neighbour; although as some local gentry prospered and became figures of more than local importance, so their peles and manor-houses were incorporated into country houses of national significance, Lowther being perhaps the best illustration.
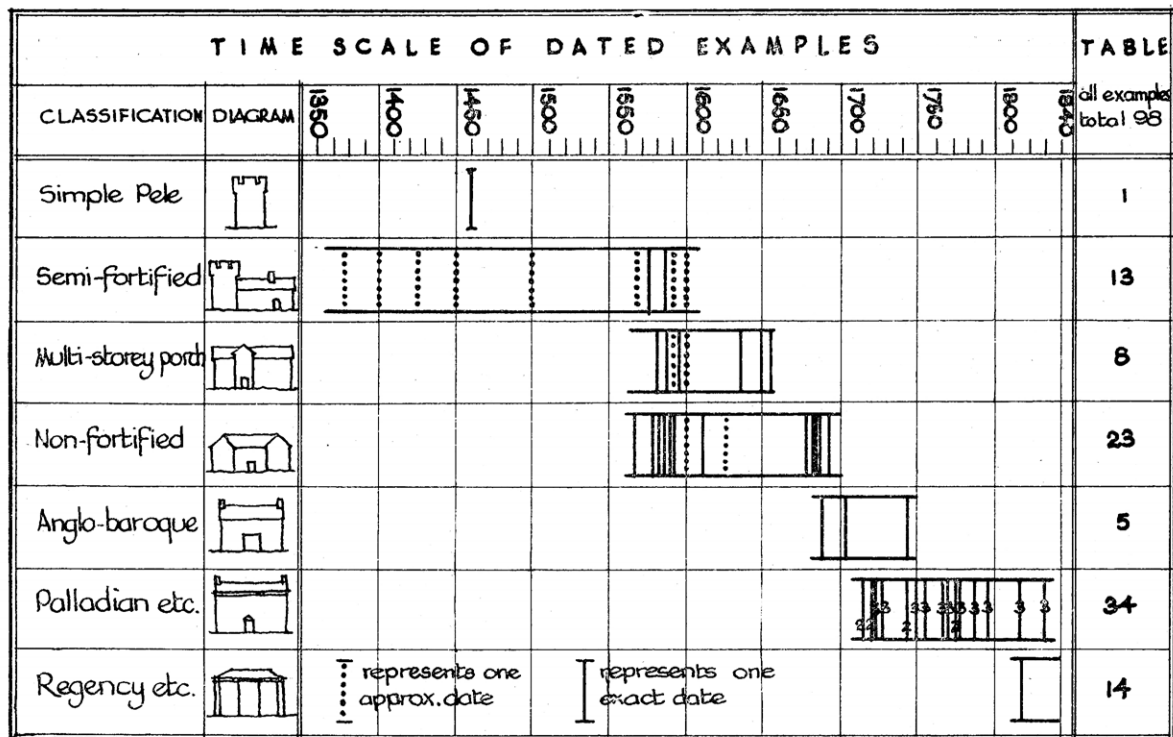
[1] Cf. R. W. Brunskill, CW2 liii 160-89.

CLASSIFICATION	DIAGRAM	TIME SCALE OF DATED EXAMPLES												TABLE all examples total 98
		1350	1400	1450	1500	1550	1600	1650	1700	1750	1800	1840	
Simple Pele													1
Semi-fortified													13
Multi-storey porch													8
Non-fortified													23
Anglo-baroque													5
Palladian etc.													34
Regency etc.													14

represents one approx. date

represents one exact date

Fig. i.

From the time scale and table it will be seen that the seven classes of large houses comprise only 98, or 9.9% of the 993 examples of all size-types recorded, whereas the seven classes of small houses total 748 examples (or 72.25%) and the two classes of cottages comprise 14.9% of the whole. Of the 98 large houses, 45 may be ascribed to the years before 1700, whereas scarcely any of the surviving small houses can be placed before 1650; the vast majority being built between 1700 and 1840. Thus the remaining 53 large houses are contemporary with about 650 small houses and about 150 cottages. These proportions reflect the distribution of wealth in the Valley during the period of the survey. Houseman comments "the fortified castle and the miserable hovel seem to have been the only distinction of dwellings."[2] Between the large landowners whose mansions—Lowther, Eden Hall, Appleby Castle and the rest—do not figure in the survey, and the farmers—statesmen and their successors who might be prosperous but only on a peasant's scale—there was no powerful class of capitalist farmers living in large houses and employing many cottage dwellers. The enclosure movement, which, in the Eden Valley, as in other parts of the country, tended to produce such a class, occurred towards the end, or beyond the period of the survey and did not make its influence felt.

The time scale is dependent on the partly fortuitous occurrence of dated examples. There are 38 large houses which can be dated exactly from dated lintels, plaques, and plasterwork, but this high proportion is confined to the years following 1550. In order to preserve the balance of the time scale further examples have been included which have been dated approximately by previous writers on literary evidence or the design and mouldings of windows and doors. Although primarily intended to illustrate the sequence of styles, the time scale also demonstrates their overlap. Long before any particular

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[2] J. Houseman, *Topographical Description of Cumberland* (1800), 51.

practice had been abandoned within the size-type another had been adopted and the two would continue in use side by side—indeed the overlap might be so great that three successive practices were in use together. Thus comparison of time scales of different size-types shows how some practices were followed in sequence throughout the range, being employed first in large houses, later in small houses and later still in cottages.

Just as the great houses were the dwellings of people of provincial or national importance, so the large houses were the dwellings of people who were of local importance. These were people who could afford the luxury of decoration, which might include a date, to excite the curiosity of 19th- and 20th-century antiquaries and topographical writers. A considerable amount of information about the large houses of the Eden Valley, or at least the earlier ones, has been published. The Westmorland volume of *The Royal Commission on Historical Monuments* gives an exhaustive catalogue of the architectural details of Westmorland houses built before 1715;[3] articles in the *Transactions* of this Society, of which the majority, by M. W. Taylor, were reprinted under the title of *The Old Manorial Halls of Westmorland and Cumberland*,[4] cover in a more descriptive manner the large houses built in the region before the beginning of the 18th century. Taylor's account varies considerably in emphasis, some buildings being allotted several pages, while others of equal importance receive a bare mention. Both Taylor and the Royal Commission tend to treat each building in isolation, neither being at much pains to establish the continuity of development, even within the periods to which they confine themselves. This article aims at tracing such development in the large house.

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[3] *RCHM Westmorland* (1936).
[4] M. W. Taylor, *The Old Manorial Halls of Westmorland and Cumberland* (1892); useful also are: CW2 vii 112 (Catterlen Hall), 120 (Blencowe Hall), and 128 (Greenthwaite Hall); and J. S. Bland, *The Vale of Lyvennet*, 86 (Reagill Grange), and 81 (Gaythorne Hall).

In the time scale and table, seven stages in the development of the large house are defined. Only one example has been allocated to the first stage — the pele-tower. Practically all isolated towers were extended during the 15th and 16th centuries and the next stage of development covers such extensions together with those examples in which the still present need for occasional defence was met by heavy fortification of part of the structure, the tower-wing, or a light fortification of the whole building. At the end of the 16th century, when the need even for occasional defence had practically disappeared, dwellings were erected which lacked any sort of fortification; though a few, possibly for more conservative owners, made acknowledgement of the vulnerability of the doorway in a multi-storey porch. The fourth class, consisting of 23 examples, embraces those large houses which made no provision for defence. The later examples of this class display renaissance details, but before the renaissance system of design was adopted in its entirety, there was a short interpolation, of which five examples survive, when a free use of renaissance design included the retention of some adaptations of mediæval details. The palladian class, consisting of 23 examples, is numerically the largest, but within it have been included three-storey town houses which may not be strictly palladian in design. The last class includes those examples in which freedom in the use of the palladian style includes bowed windows, open porches, and "Greek" and "Gothick" details.

Although it is likely that the only true pele-tower erected in the Eden Valley during the survey period was at Catterlen Hall, the type is so important in the history of the large house that it is included here. Pele-towers were isolated multi-storey structures erected during the 14th century and containing within four walls the entire living accommodation of their owners. According to Taylor;[5]

[5] Taylor, *op. cit.*, 42.

"the pele-tower (of Cumberland and Westmorland) was always an oblong rectangular building, and almost invariably had three storeys, having a vaulted basement; above this was the principal apartment, or the 'Solar'; on the second floor was the special sleeping place, and over this was the roof and battlements. The walls of these keeps were always massive, sound and durable . . . The thickness varies from three and a half feet and four and a half feet to six feet and even to ten feet at Howgill Castle . . . In the more finished examples there are one or more set-offs which mark the different stages of the tower, and commonly a string course or coved projection or corbelling under the parapet."

Access to the towers was at ground level (not at first floor level as in Scottish peles and the Norman keeps) through a narrow opening in the wall off which rose a narrow stone spiral stair, the only communication between the basement store and the living-rooms above. It is unlikely that the pele towers of the Eden Valley answer the description in Houseman's *Cumberland*,[6]

"About the Northern and Eastern confines of the county a few houses of singular construction remain, the walls of which are very thick and strong, and besides the little well-secured windows, often contain a sort of port-holes, the cattle and their owners reside under the same roof—the former occupying the ground floor and the latter the upper storey."

because in this region the door and passage were always so narrow that even the meagre beasts of the medieval farmer could scarcely have been expected to pass through.

The two stories of living apartments had wooden floors and were generally undivided; they were linked by the spiral stair which carried on to the roof. Defence of the tower was conducted from behind the battlements on the roof. Though in most cases the crenellated parapet has been replaced by a pitched and slated roof, one still remains at Catterlen, sometimes the battlements were extended by a wooden hoarding or "brétâche" and the corbels for its support may still be seen at Catterlen and Clifton Hall.

[6] Houseman, *op. cit.*, 51.

elevation

BOWER over   HALL   KITCHEN

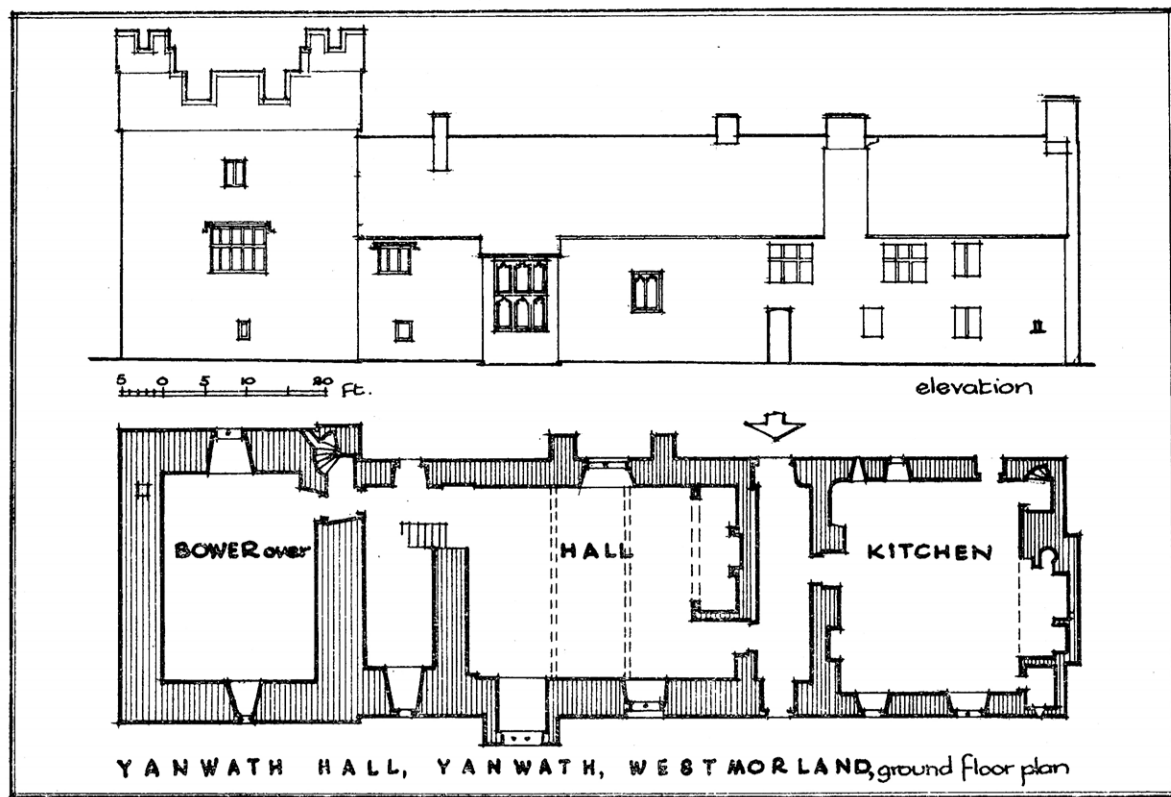YANWATH HALL, YANWATH, WESTMORLAND, ground floor plan

FIG. 2.

The only surviving tower dwelling which has not been extended is Dacre Castle, and that, erected in the 13th century, was a building of more consequence than the average pele tower and not of typical plan arrangement. All the other towers have been destroyed or extended to become part of larger dwellings. Some of them, such as the tower of Catterlen, were not extended until comparatively late in the survey period and retain original windows and battlements; others, such as Dalemain, are now practically unrecognisable incorporated in the service wing of a great renaissance house;[7] even the rigidly marshalled ranges of Smirke's Lowther Castle incorporate fragments of a pele tower.

Semi-Fortified Houses.

It must not be assumed that all towers incorporated in great and large houses have been built as pele-towers, for during the 14th, 15th and 16th centuries, the typical manor-house included one wing carried up as a multi-storey battlemented tower.

Yanwath Hall[8] is the best example of this class. As reconstructed in the 15th century it consists basically of three units, a single storey hall, a three storey fortified tower, or bower unit at one end, and at the other end a single storey kitchen or service unit, with its fireplace in the gable wall. The building has dressed sandstone walls, and the roof (except for the lead deck of the tower) has what are probably the original sandstone flags.

The hall has now been partitioned and ceiled, but the arched collar beam trusses which divided the room into three bays still remain. At one end a wider bay, lit by a projecting window of three lights, marks the dais; at

[7] Cf. article by A. Oswald, *Country Life*, Vol. CXI 736.
[8] There is an important article on Yanwath by our member Dr W. Douglas Simpson, in CW2 xliv 55-67, which supersedes the articles by Taylor and in *RCHM* to which general reference has been made above. Mr Brunskill tells me that he has "recently been shown some slides of Irish tower-houses of the 15th and 16th centuries which resemble pele-towers and which still retain the 'barm kiln' called there the bawin." These houses are referred to in Dr Simpson's article cited above, p. 59.   C.M.L.B.

the other end is a cavernous fireplace recess, inserted early in the 16th century and forming one wall of a "screens passage". There is no trace of a side-wall fireplace and the positions of the 15th-century windows preclude any such provision.

At the dais end of the hall lies the tower, but between the two units there are rooms, one on the ground floor probably a store, and one on the first floor probably a withdrawing-room, which are not typical of a fortified manor-house arrangement. The tower is wider than the rest of the block and consists of three rooms: on the ground floor a stone-vaulted store-room, on the first floor a "solar" or lord's dining-room, and on the second floor a "chamber" or bedroom; above there is the fighting deck with crenellated parapet and turrets carried up at each corner. The upper part of the tower was rebuilt early in the 16th century when large fireplaces and windows were inserted, but the room arrangement was preserved. Access to each floor of the tower is by a narrow spiral stone staircase within the thickness of the wall, though there is a straight flight stair from the hall to the solar. Within the thickness of the wall also are included little lockers, closets, and garderobe chambers. The ceilings of the two upper rooms display heavily moulded binders and joists, and the walls of these rooms have decorative plasterwork.

At the opposite end of the hall from the tower, a door beside the fireplace opens on to the screens passage. This runs right across the building and has doors at each end, the one furthest from the hall door being the main entrance. The passage has a low ceiling and above it there is a loft (the so-called musicians' gallery) with an opening through which the hall can be seen. A doorway links the screens passage with the kitchen which, though now ceiled and divided, was almost certainly a single room open to the roof, for no trace of a contemporary staircase has been found. In the far gable of the kitchen

there remains the original 15th-century fireplace with its wide segmental arch.

The dwelling-house forms one side of a quadrangle of which the two other sides are defined by 15th and 16th-century store-rooms and farm buildings, and the fourth by a high wall. The whole group, standing above the banks of the Eamont constituted a fortress capable of prolonged defence.

This three-unit plan (fortified bower-end, hall, and service end) is characteristic of seven surviving large houses and a number of great houses. In some of them e.g. Kirkby Thore Hall) the kitchen wing has disappeared, perhaps because it was built in less permanent materials than the other units; in other examples (e.g. Howgill) the kitchen wing was carried up contemporaneously as a tower to match the bower wing. In the arrangement of three units in one continuous range the large houses of the 15th and 16th centuries are found to anticipate the arrangement of sleeping end (bower), living part (kitchen) and service end (downhouse or farm buildings), in the small houses of the 17th century.

The defensive tower normally had only one entrance which was protected by the rest of the house. With tiny inpenetrable windows and a fireproof stone-vaulted ceiling to its ground floor, the tower formed a "house within a house" vulnerable neither to sudden attack nor seige. But it was always situated at the private end of the house; in no case was the service-end alone carried up to form a tower. The survival of the "house within a house" into the 16th century in a more peaceful part of the country is noted by Fox and Raglan.[9]

A number of semi-fortified houses, particularly those assigned to the 16th century, were built to modifications of the three-unit plan. At Catterlen the wing added to the pele-tower was of two storeys and had a withdrawing-

[9] Sir Cyril Fox and Lord Raglan, *Monmouthshire Houses*, Vol. II (1953) 56, 70.

G

room between hall and kitchen. At Smardale Hall, a two-storey structure was erected late in the 16th century, fortified by round turrets at each corner in the Scottish manner. It consisted of a modified three-unit plan with a small hall and the interposition of a dining-room between hall and kitchen. At Sockbridge Hall the 16th-century extension was built away from the pele-tower and the bower-unit replaced by an upper storey of bedrooms. At Johnby however, erected in 1584, there was a reversion to the old pele-tower arrangement. The house, now altered, consisted of a single block of three storeys; the ground floor, vaulted, was divided into kitchen and store-rooms, a wide spiral stair in a projecting turret led to the first floor on which was the hall with a screened passage at one end and a parlour at the other; smaller spiral stairs led to the bedroom floor which was divided by wooden partitions.

Thirteen semi-fortified houses were found to possess the characteristics of Yanwath Hall and its variants. Ranging in date from the middle of the 14th century to the end of the 16th century, they represent the earliest domestic building type in the Eden Valley not pre-eminently concerned with defence.

Houses with Multi-Storey Porches.

In the pele-towers and semi-fortified houses, communication from one floor to another had been by a stone spiral stair contained within the thickness of the wall. As long as requirements of defence were important, a stair narrow enough to be confined in such a limited space was as much as was necessary, since the narrower the stair the more easily it could be defended. But as the claims of defence became less pressing, the inconveniences of the mural stair became more apparent and improvements began to be made. At Catterlen in the mid-16th century a wide spiral stair was contained in a turret wholly projected from the wall. At Smardale Hall, about the

same period, wide spiral stairs occupied two of the pro-
jecting corner turrets. At the pele-tower extension of
Blencowe Hall, a narrow spiral stair and a small closet
had occupied a projecting wing, and at Johnby Hall in
1584 the main entrance was into the side of a projecting
turret which enclosed a wide spiral stair.[10]

It was safe to take some risk with the defensive arrange-
ments of the house at the end of the 16th century. The
local rebellions of 1536 and 1569 had been crushed and
strong government under Elizabeth I minimised civil
disturbance. The disaster at Solway Moss discouraged
armed invasion from over the border. Nevertheless border
raids continued, and the Eden Valley was sufficiently
near the border for the more prudent house builders to
limit the risk and make some acknowledgement of the
needs of defence.[11]

It is likely, therefore, that a compromise between the
demands of convenience and memories of attack may in
part explain the multi-storey porch containing a spiral
stair which embellished a number of large houses built
in the Eden Valley during the years around 1600. But
part of the explanation may also be the early effects of the
renaissance, which was beginning to penetrate to the
frontiers of Europe by the end of the 16th century. This
influence will be discussed with reference to Gaythorn
Hall.[12]

The eight examples of the class fall into two groups.
Hornby Hall is typical of the first group. Except for
the porch, the house consists of one long rectangular
block of two storeys, containing the hall in the centre, the
parlour at one end, and the kitchen at the other, with
bedrooms above. The house is entered by a three-storey
porch. The front doorway has a four-centred arch beneath
a coat of arms; it opens into the porch, from which an

[10] A similar trend has been observed in Monmouthshire. Fox and Raglan,
op. cit., III (1954) 24-33.
[11] *Prelates and People* (1948), 214.
[12] R. W. Brunskill, "Three North Westmorland Manor-Houses," CW2 lv.

elevation

ground floor plan

GREENTHWAITE HALL, CUMBERLAND

HORNBY HALL, WESTMORLAND
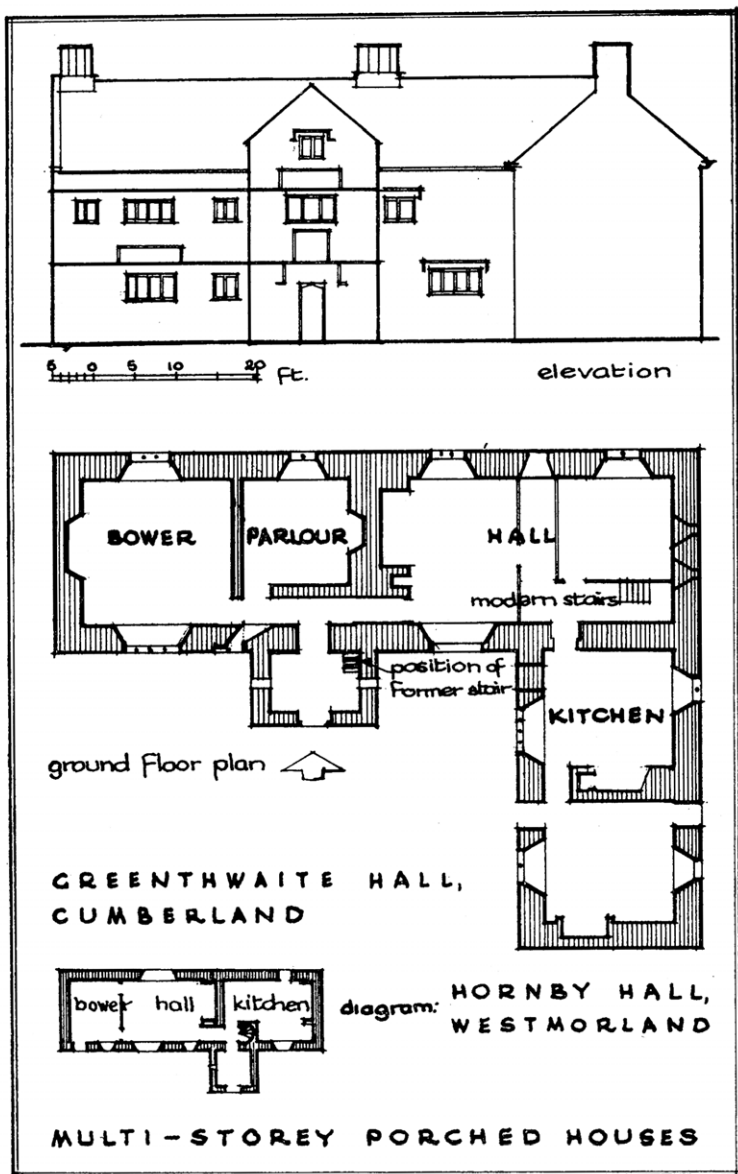
MULTI-STOREY PORCHED HOUSES

FIG. 3.

inner door opens on to a lobby; forward lies the kitchen, to the left the hall, and to the right rises the stone spiral stair, originally the only stair in the house. On the first floor of the porch is a small square chamber with a plastered ceiling dated 1584. On the second floor is a similar room of which Taylor says: [13]

"a water drain and piscina formerly existed in the south-east corner, and it carried a coved ceiling in plaster which is described to me as having been not many years ago very beautifully groined and ornamented."

He considers the room to have been a chapel, but no evidence remains in any other example of the class to indicate such a use. The porch now has a pitched and gabled roof, but the corbelling of the apex of the gable, and the former continuation of the stair suggest that there may have been battlements.

The hall, lighted by large mullioned windows, is entered alongside a fireplace recess, spanned by a segmental arch, which occupies one end of the room. Opposite the fireplace the wall is wainscotted and an enriched doorway opens into the parlour, which in turn has a fireplace with carved mantelpiece in its gable wall. The kitchen occupies the other end of the building and includes a deep fireplace recess in the gable wall. The principal first floor room Taylor called the drawing-room; it had wainscotted walls and an elaborate plaster ceiling and occupied the space over the hall. The rest of the first floor is occupied by bedrooms.

Apart from the addition of a porch, and allowing for the duplication of stories, Hornby Hall presents the same kind of three-unit plan, bower-end, hall, and service-end, as the semi-fortified house, even retaining in the situation of its entrance and lobby between hall and service-end a contracted version of the screens passage.

There are several houses of this period whose multi-storey porches mark a division between hall and bower-

[13] Taylor, *op. cit.*, 82.

end, including Greenthwaite Hall, Kirkbarrow Hall and Gaythorne Hall. They probably indicate an indecision in the placing of the entrance which was not resolved until the end of the 17th century, when the complete acceptance of renaissance principles of design required the entrance in the centre of the main elevation.

The table shows that eight examples possess the characteristics of the two groups. Not all have a three-storey porch; in some, e.g. Kirkbarrow, the porch is only two-storey, but in no examples do the eaves of the porch lie below those of the main roof. Not all have the entrance axially placed in the porch; some, e.g. Millrigg, have the entrance in the side of the porch. Several of them, e.g. Dockwray Hall and Millrigg display, as at Hornby Hall, a coat of arms over the entrance. The time scale shows that most of the dated examples are concentrated within the period 1580-1610, although three examples extend the range to 1660.

Non-Fortified Houses.

During the period when some Eden Valley squires were building their multi-storey porches others felt no need for even such slight deference to the claims of defence.

Barwise Hall, probably built in 1579, lacks any provision for security other than that normally found in houses of the present day. It consists of a long low rectangular block of two storeys, containing kitchen, hall and parlour on the ground floor and bedrooms above. The front door opens directly into the largest room of the house, the kitchen, which has a deep fireplace recess in its gable wall. In 1676, when the staircase wing was added, the through passage was defined by stone partition walls. From the kitchen a door opens alongside the fireplace into the hall, a square room lighted by a four-light window. In one corner of the hall, alterations suggest that the original spiral stair rose from here to the first

floor. Opposite the hall fireplace doors in a wooden partition open into the parlour.

Externally the uncompromising block shape of the house beneath its stone-flagged roof is relieved only by substantial chimney stacks. There are no projecting wings, no porch, and there is no attempt at symmetry. The plaque above the front door and a simply moulded surround comprise the only emphasis of this part of the composition.

With the turn of the 16th century, however, it seems that a more elaborate architectural effect was desired. Newby Hall, built in the first half of the 17th century, is little bigger than Barwise Hall, but externally presents quite a different character.

Two wings make a deep projection from a central block to form a three-sided forecourt in emphasis of the central doorway. The building is two-storeyed and the wings are gabled. The symmetry of this massing is continued in a practically symmetrical window arrangement. The central block is emphasised by a close spacing of windows beneath linked hood moulds, and the doorway itself is further emphasised by an architrave and crude renaissance detailing.

The front door opens into the hall which occupies the ground floor of the central block. At one end of the hall there is a wide fireplace opening; behind this the kitchen occupies one wing, while opposite the fireplace the other wing houses the parlour. A staircase in a projecting turret leads from the hall to a first floor which is divided by stone and wood partitions into bedrooms. Thus the three-unit arrangement of bower-end, hall, and service-end is maintained, as in the semi-fortified house, the multi-storey porched house, and the non-fortified Barwise Hall; but the hall, remaining a communications centre, has shrunk in size in comparison to the bower and service ends and though still usable as a room is on the first stage of its decline into a "staircase hall".

Although the front door has been moved to the centre of the plan, the staircase retains its medieval association with the bower-end. Barwise Hall and Newby Hall are medieval in style; their plan arrangement is that of medieval semi-fortified houses; most of their details are medieval in inspiration. The effect of the renaissance has only been felt in a few details and in an attempt at symmetry.

The survey revealed 23 examples of large houses which could be placed in this "non-fortified" class. Most of them, such as Rayson Hall, Ousby (1606), follow Barwise Hall in presenting a long, low unrelieved range; some of them, such as Hermitage, Shap, have projecting wings but without the central doorway; one of them, Morland Old Hall, has a central doorway and doubly projecting wings. The time scale shows that the dated examples of this class range from about 1563 to about 1700, with an interruption in the middle of the 17th century for which the Civil War was probably responsible.

The position of the fireplace in large houses built before the 18th century deserves comment. No example of a central hearth has been found, although it would be perfectly safe to burn a fire on the stone vault which formed the floor of the living-room of a pele-tower. In view of the difficulty of extracting the smoke, it is likely that wall fireplaces have been in use from early medieval times. In houses of the three-unit plan, the hall fireplace could be installed either on a side wall, where it would distribute heat well, or on an end wall where the flue could be carried through the ridge without complicating the structure. On comparing the choice of position, it was found that in 21 examples for which information was available, only three had the side wall position. In the remainder the fireplace had been built axially at the end of the hall.

The fireplace position in houses of this character has claimed the attention of Fox and Raglan,[14] and they

[14] Fox and Raglan, *op. cit.*, i 87-90.

have come to the conclusion that the end-wall position is characteristic of the Highland zone of Great Britain, and the side-wall position of the Lowland zone. Since all the Eden Valley examples lie within the Highland zone, their conclusions would seem to be confirmed. But since in the Eden Valley each of the three medieval great houses for which information could be secured has a side-wall fireplace in its hall,[15] it seems that quality rather than locality may be the governing factor in the position of the fireplace.

In the large houses the end-wall fireplace usually backed on to the kitchen: of the 15 examples for which the point could be ascertained, 8 had some sort of through passage running alongside the fireplace wall and separating the hall from the kitchen. Yanwath Hall gives a good example of the passage. In all but one of these eight examples the door opening into the hall is at the far end of the passage and the visitor reaches the hall fireplace only after walking almost right round it. A characteristic, then, of an appreciable proportion of medieval large houses is that entrance is in the first instance towards the service end, that there is a passage across the service end and that the hall is reached from the far end of this passage. This characteristic was closely followed in the small houses of the later 17th and early 18th centuries.

Just as the end of the 16th century witnessed a change from semi-fortified to non-fortified building in large houses, so the end of the 17th century witnessed a more far-reaching change: from design primarily for use— the medieval system—to design primarily for effect—the renaissance system. Each stage of development has been shown to increase the convenience of the house as far as was consistent with safety and as far as was possible with structural knowledge. Rooms, windows, chimneys, staircases were placed where needed, apparently without
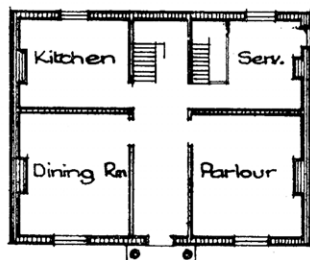
[15] i.e. Wharton Hall (*RCHM*, 241), Hartley Castle (Taylor, 159), and Brougham Castle (*RCHM*, 58-60).
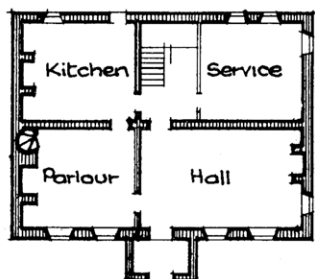
Anglo-Baroque - based on Mansion House, Eamontbridge
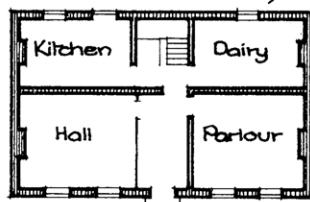
Palladian - based on Hall Farm, Ousby

Regency - based on Milburn House, Milburn

LARGE HOUSES comparative plans
not to scale

FIG. 4.

thought for external appearance. It was only at the beginning of the 17th century that the first clumsy use of renaissance detail was accompanied by the first hesitant effort towards symmetry. After the end of that century the organisation of plan, floor levels, windows, doors, chimneys, was devoted to the service of external effect. Once the house was under the control of a designer bent on formal composition, decorative details became part of this composition, and they in turn were governed by their function in external effect.

This change from a medieval to a renaissance system of design was accompanied by another which tended to make the large house less significant in traditional domestic architecture. Previously it had been a constant reflection of local conditions: the prolonged insecurity of a frontier situation, exaggerated by difficulties of communication with the rest of the country, had governed design. But when the Act of Union ended border raiding and a continually increasing volume of traffic began through the Eden Valley, local influences in the design of large houses were submerged by national influences. From the end of the 17th century, the development of the large house in the Eden Valley was largely a reflection of the development in styles adopted in the country as a whole.

Anglo-Baroque.

Professor Richardson has noted[16] that "from the accession of William III to the first quarter of the 18th century, Dutch ideas were accepted by architects and builders for houses large and small". These "Dutch ideas", of the free use of the elements of classical design, were employed in five houses built in the Eden Valley between 1686 and 1745 and classified here as Anglo-Baroque.

Mansion House, Eamont Bridge, dated 1686, is the best example of this class. It is two rooms in depth not

[16] A. E. Richardson, *The Smaller English House, 1600-1830* (1925), 10.
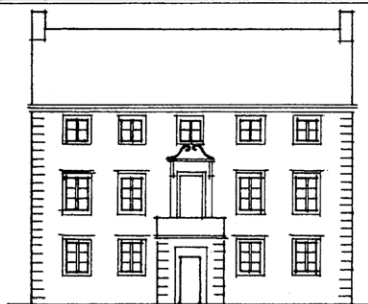
Anglo-Baroque - based on Mansion House, Eamontbridge
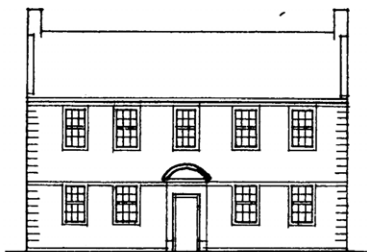
Palladian - based on Hall Farm, Ousby

Regency - based on Milburn House, Milburn

LARGE HOUSES comparative elevations
not to scale

FIG. 5.

one, as in almost all previous examples. It is three full storeys in height; hitherto, only towers and porches had exceeded two storeys. It is completely symmetrical though few previous houses had even approached symmetry. It directs the attention of the observer to the first floor, though all previous houses had concentrated attention on the ground floor. It employs renaissance detail with a confidence which though not always justified by accuracy, nevertheless contrasts with the timidity of previous use. A little medieval flavour remains in some of the details: stone mullions and transomes divide the windows, the hood moulds recall the label course, and the porch has a door with a lintel decorated in a definitely medieval manner.

The remaining three examples possess the same characteristics except that they are all one room deep and two storeys high. Three were built between 1686 and 1720; the fourth is dated 1745.

Palladian.

About 1730, according to Professor Richardson, Palladian influence began to reflect the smaller English house:

"the developing tradition took on a greater formality but in regional centres established proportions were unaffected save for the addition of precise detail. The square house, built of brick or stone, was now to enjoy further popularity."[17]

In the Eden Valley the first use of "correct" detail is seen at Nunnery, built in 1715, but this was a large house of some importance and other houses were not affected until the second quarter of the 18th century. Nearly all examples are symmetrical and most were built as a single block without projections. Earlier examples tend to be two storeys in height and one room in depth while later examples tend to be three storeys in height and two rooms in depth.

[17] Ibid., 10.

Hall Farm, Ousby, two storeys in height and one room in depth, dated 1743, is a typical early example. It consists of a single block without wings or porch; it is stone built with ashlar face and coursed rubble sides and rear, and there are projecting cornice, string course, plinth, and quoins. The tall balanced sash windows with their Georgian panes have projected and moulded architraves. The doorway, exactly in the centre of the elevation, is emphasised by a bolection-moulded architrave and a segmental pediment, while the spacing of the first-floor windows also helps to emphasize the centre of the composition.

The Mansion House, Penrith, built in 1750,[18] is one room in depth like the last example, but three storeys in height. It consists of a single block (the wings appear to have been added), stone built but stuccoed; there are projecting cornice, string courses, plinth, and quoins; but the string courses divide the elevation unequally, giving greatest prominence to the first floor. The tall balanced sash windows (equal in height on ground and first floors but square on the second floor) have projecting but not moulded architraves. The doorway is again in the centre of the elevation, and has a bolection-moulded architrave surround beneath a segmental pediment.

Asby Hall, Gt. Asby, typical of the last phase of Palladian design, is both three storeys in height and two rooms in depth. The single rectangular block is built of stone which is stuccoed except for projecting quoins and architraves. The windows are balanced sash and three-light, except for the two centre ones; the ground and first floor windows are identical but the second floor windows are rather shorter. The doorway's only emphasis depends on its placing on the centre line of the elevation, for a rather mean elliptical hood which it once possessed has now been removed.

[18] Date from deeds quoted in article by C. R. Hudleston in the *Penrith Observer*, 7 January 1947.

From the table it will be seen that 33 examples are classified as Palladian. They include all those of similar description to Hall Farm, the Mansion House, and Asby Hall, together with a number of three-storey town houses in some of which the demands of urban building have necessitated different plan arrangements. The time scale of dated examples shows that dwellings in this class were built from about 1715 to about 1830, the gradual change from two storey to three storey construction being illustrated. Dated examples are evenly distributed throughout the period of use, with no concentration at any time.

Regency and Revival.

Richardson comments on the development, during the first quarter of the 19th century, of portico, loggia, and verandah as excrescences on plans which were themselves found to include geometrical and curvilinear shapes. He also comments on the change in detail in the same period; "for a time architects experimented with Gothic or Elizabethan, they flirted with Italian."[19]

As in the rest of the country, so it was in the Eden Valley. The Grange, Temple Sowerby, dated by a rainwater head as 1817, is of two storeys and two rooms in depth, and is built of red sandstone (random rubble on the gables, coursed rubble on the entrance front and ashlar on the garden front) beneath a low pitched slated roof. On the entrance there is a projecting cornice with blocking course, projecting architraves, and projecting plinth. The door is emphasized by a portico consisting of an entablature without a pediment but with a blocking course, carried on two Ionic columns and two pilasters. On the garden front there is a projecting cornice with blocking course, projecting string course and projecting plinth, but also two bowed projections of the principal rooms. On both elevations the height of the ground-floor windows is so exaggerated that they stretch from floor to ceiling

[19] A. E. Richardson, op. cit., 11.

and the balanced sashes of all the windows are divided by the thinnest of glazing bars.

The White House, Appleby, is a good example of the intrusion of Gothic details into otherwise renaissance design. It is severely rectangular in shape, three storeys in height with attics, and two rooms in depth. The walls are stone built but rendered except for projecting quoins, strings and architraves and surmounted by a hipped and slated roof of low pitch. The conventional austerity of the composition is relieved by the most bizarre detail. The windows of Palladian proportions have ogee-arched lintels and architraves moulded to fanciful Gothic sections. The door has a fretted fanlight and ogee-arched lintel beneath a pediment neither Italian nor Elizabethan nor even Gothic in shape.

Such buildings could not be called Palladian, and as shown on the table, 14 of them have been found in the Eden Valley. Many of them possess the porch and exaggerated proportions of The Grange, the others show Greek or Gothic influence in the details of mouldings and decoration. The Grange is the only dated example of the class, but the characteristics seem first to have been employed about the opening of the 19th century and are found up to and beyond the close of the survey period in 1840.