

ART. IX – *Windermere paupers 1749-1862 and the Undermillbeck workhouse (1829)*

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AS Thomas Machell rode through the Barony of Kendal in 1692-3, recording countless matters now of considerable antiquarian interest, it is surprising to find among his observations about Bowness-on-Windermere: ¹

There is one thing very remarkable in Bowness; that most of the people are poor cottagers paying 15d. a year to the king, yet will not betake themselves to any employment except begging. They intermarry . . . and will spend all they have on the wedding week and then go begging, and bring up their children to the same trade, never permitting them to do a day's work for pay. There was only one man (as has been observed these forty years) that betook himself to an honest employment; he was sore exclaimed against for breaking their custom and his neighbours told him 'twas never a good world since Bowness people went to work.

Compared to the great value of the vast majority of his writing, this extract gives an impression that Machell repeated scurrilous gossip without due investigation or thought. Otherwise the problem of supporting the poor of Bowness would seem insurmountable. Perhaps, despite being the rector of a rural parish at Kirkby Thore, he badly misjudged the hard-pressed lifestyle of peasants who saw no hope of improving their poverty-stricken existence that caused them to resort to begging to make up for a lack of adequate support and opportunity. Whether or not Machell was truthful is a moot point and it is unfortunate that a direct response is not possible, as no suitable Windermere parish records survive from before 1749. The existing documents, however, contain a very detailed account book for building a small (replacement) workhouse for Undermillbeck township in 1829 and that scheme is the focus of this article. It will be supported by details from other sources including the overseers' accounts from 1749 to 1811 to indicate the extent of the pauper problem leading up to 1829. Later sources allow progression up to 1862, when the site was sold for redevelopment.² First however, it will be helpful for comparison, to outline some published information about establishing in 1832, a larger workhouse at Eamont Bridge that served several parishes and townships, unlike the scheme for just Undermillbeck township.

Prior to the Poor Law Amendment Act of 1834, which came into effect on 6 September 1836, the provision of collective accommodation for paupers was controlled under the Gilbert Act of 1782 (22 George III, *c.*83), which empowered parishes or townships, or groups of them, to build, rent or buy suitable premises.³ The present author traced the development of Westmorland's West Ward workhouse in the Mansion House at Eamont Bridge from 1832 to 1874.⁴ It began when a vestry meeting on 2 May 1832 in High Barton township (in Barton parish) unanimously voted in favour of adopting the provisions of the 1782 Act.⁵ Since there were too few people present "to take upon themselves the responsibility of binding the whole township", the meeting was adjourned until 7 May to secure a better attendance. At the next meeting High Barton, together with the parishes of Lowther, Askham and Clifton and the townships of Martindale (in Barton parish), Great Strickland and Little Strickland (both in Morland parish) agreed to adopt all the

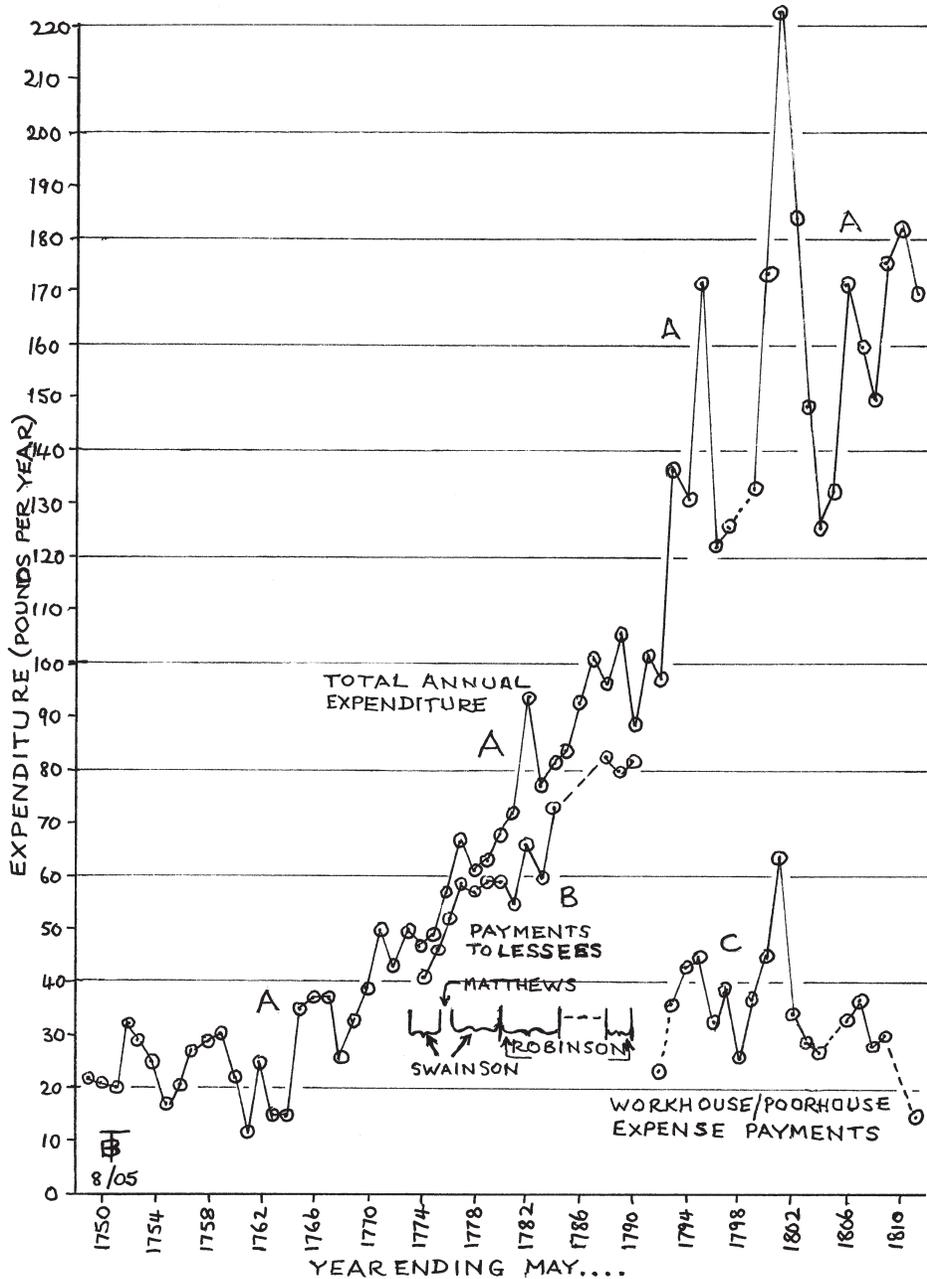


FIG. 1. a) Graph of yearly expenditure on maintaining paupers in Undermillbeck township from 1749 to 1811.
 b) Payments made to named lessees to administer the paupers. Clearly, these accounted for nearly all of the expenditure between 1773 and 1790.
 c) When an earlier workhouse was maintained at a location, so far unidentified, it accounted for only a small proportion of total expenditure. After 1790 the amount spent on outdoor relief must have caused considerable concern, and suggests that that workhouse was far too small to cope with the problem. Source: CRO (K), WPR 62/O/1).

provisions prescribed by the Act and, as a convenient workhouse had been hired at Eamont Bridge, it would be fitted out.

The Mansion House had been rented from John Cowper of Carleton Hall, Penrith for £2 1s. 7d. per half year. Soon Bampton and Cliburn parishes and Low Barton/Sockbridge and Yanwath/Eamont Bridge townships (both in Barton parish) and Morland township joined the union before September 1836 when the remainder of all ten West Ward parishes had to join. The Union minute books⁶ give details of the alterations made to accommodate more inmates than the 23 (1841) to 49 (1861) noted in the decennial population censuses. With 59 beds, it was the smallest of the 17 workhouses that survived from 46 operating in Cumberland and Westmorland before 1834.⁷ In 1868 a government inspector visited the Mansion House and noted “It is very difficult to find fault with establishments of this sort . . . It is an old fashioned place, very unlike a workhouse”, a remark probably viewed as a great compliment by the West Ward Guardians, who had taken over a truly remarkable building for their purposes.

By contrast the Undermillbeck workhouse was smaller, less spectacular and was not adapted from an earlier structure, but was newly built in 1829 by just one township. It was closed in 1836 when poor law administration was centralised. As building the workhouse must have strained township finances greatly, it is worth examining how Undermillbeck traditionally raised funds to support its paupers, by studying the parish administrative structure and the surviving overseers’ accounts from 1749 to 1811,⁸ before tackling documents recording construction of the workhouse.

Financing the Undermillbeck paupers and workhouse

Windermere parish was separated into four townships, *Ambleside-below-stock*, south of Stock Ghyll beck, as far as Holbeck and a long ridge that runs northwards over Wansfell Pike and Baystones and divides it from *Troutbeck*. East of the Trout Beck, *Applethwaite* stretched southwards as far as Mill Beck, south of which lay *Undermillbeck*. The townships shared expenditure of the parish church in proportions of a third-of-a-third; two-thirds-of-a-third; one-third & one-third respectively.⁹ However to support its poor, Undermillbeck (which documents call the “High End”) was linked with Winster and part of Crook (known jointly as the “Low End”) both in Kendal parish.¹⁰ Poor rates were levied on proprietors of land, based on an individual rateable value for each property. The number of levies varied from year to year, depending on overseers’ expenditure, but each “End” raised an equal number of levies, or made up the shortfall in the following year. However, while a levy in the High End usually produced about £5 15s. 5d. (varying perhaps if a house was empty after a death, or that someone was excused by temporary hardship, or that a new property had been formed), the Low End regularly raised £4 14s. 9d. per levy.

Expenditure was also complex. Until 1773 the overseers controlled paupers directly, but from then to 1790, their maintenance was let out by a yearly auction; to Edward Swainson from May 1773 to May 1780 (except 1775-6 to James Matthews) and then William Robinson of Braithwaite Fold (SD 400 956) from May 1780 to May 1790. The cost of letting rose relentlessly from a little over £41 to over £82, so that, in 1790-1 “The poor this year was under the care of the Overseers”, who

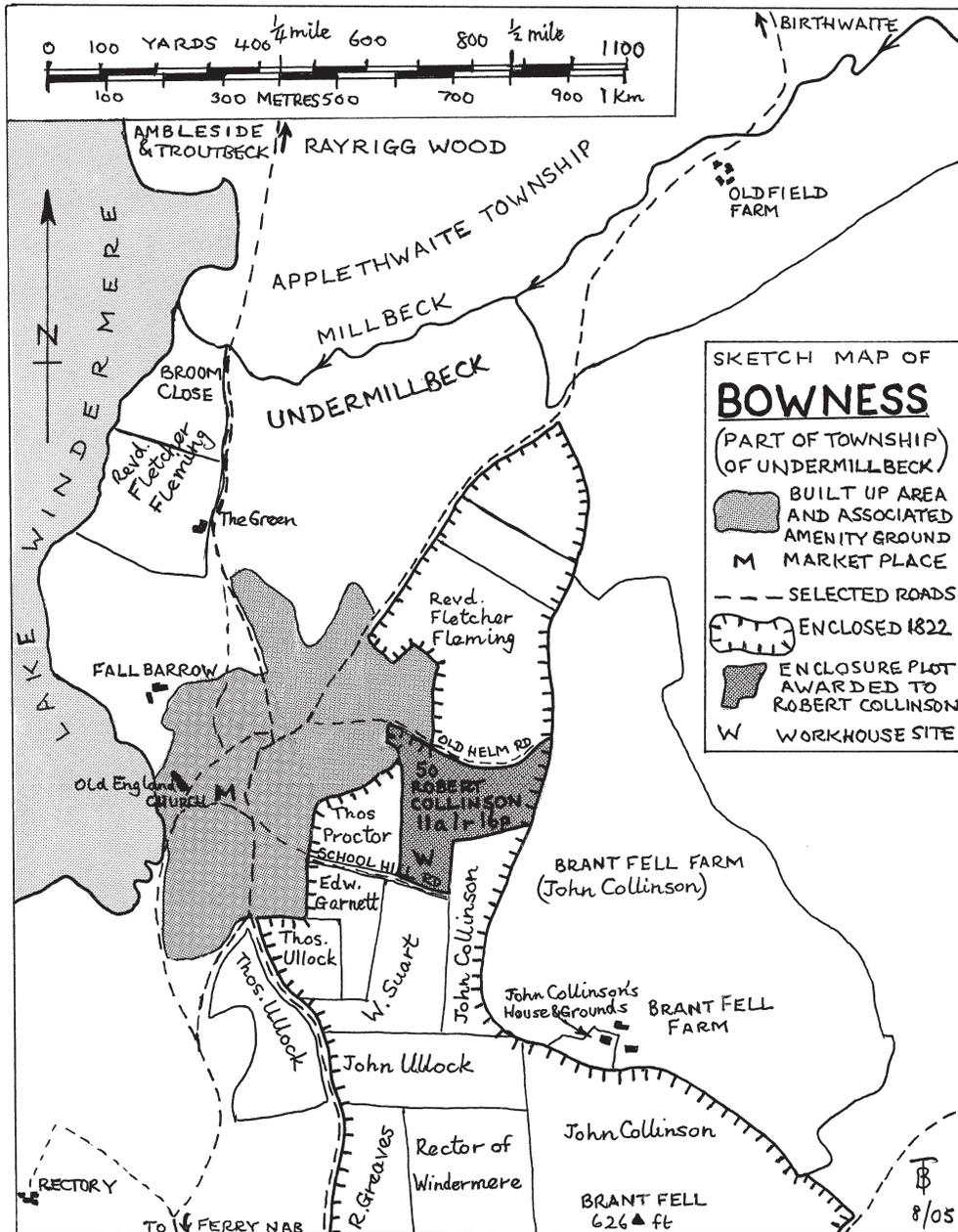


FIG. 2. Sketch map of Bowness before 1850 to show features near the Workhouse site. Based on Ordnance Survey (1858) 1:10,560; the Undermillbeck Enclosure Award (CRO(K), WQR/ E / 89, 1822) and the Undermillbeck Tith Map and Schedule (CRO(K), WDRC/ 8 / 244, 1838).

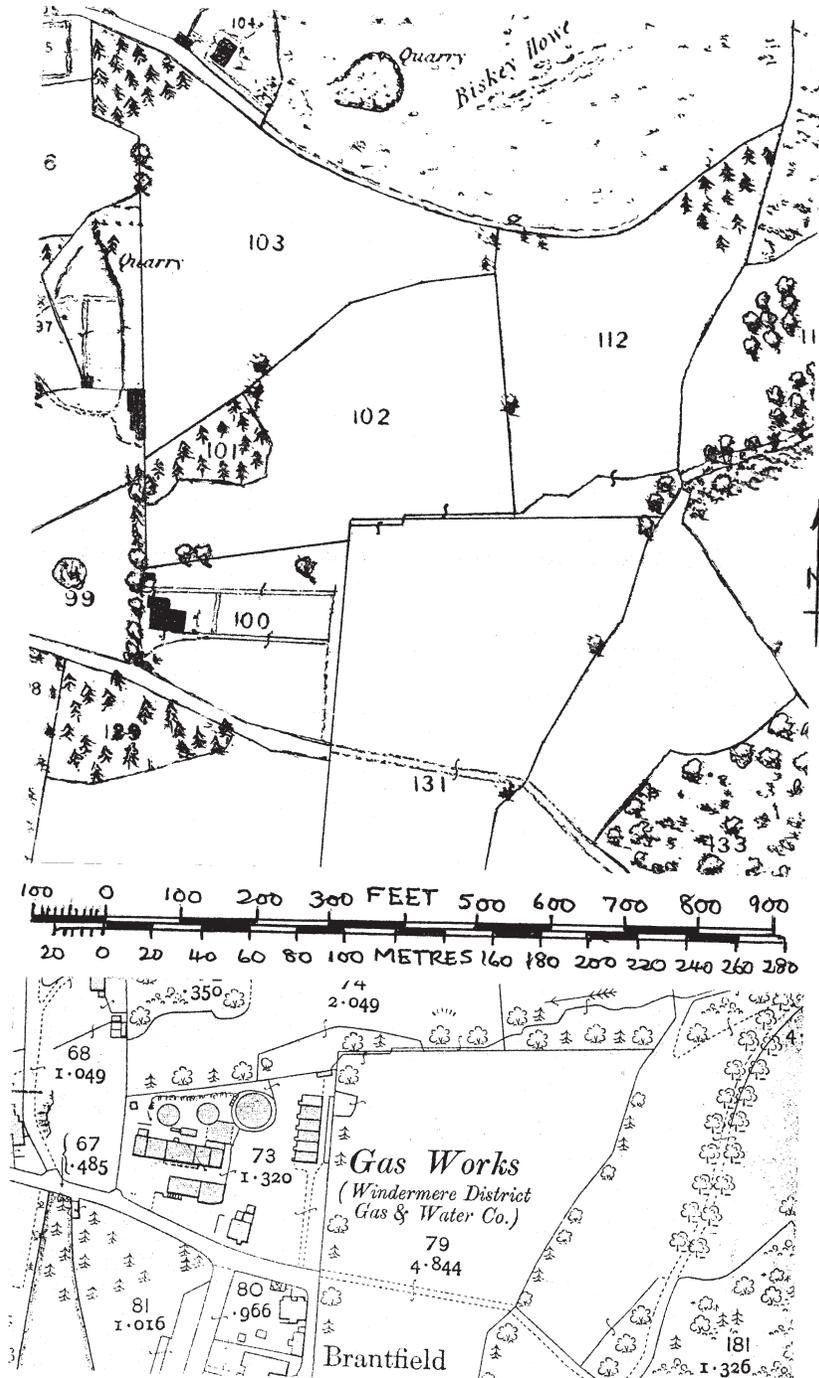


FIG. 3. Extracts from Ordnance Survey 1 : 2,500 plans:

- 1858, showing the former Workhouse on plot 100, a part of the enclosure awarded to Robert Collinson in 1822. (Westmorland sheet XXXII, 11).
- 1911, showing the Windermere gasworks begun in 1862 on the same site.

perhaps thought they might manage better than the contractors. This was not to be, as costs rose to over £223 in 1801 (Fig. 1). The contractors were always paid in 13 equal instalments per year, the High End paying seven and the Low End six. As if that was not complex enough, a document in the workhouse papers records a levy on the Low End while the workhouse was being built. The 27 owners of 33 unnamed properties were charged at “4 times the amount of one bill and 1/3”.¹¹ (Appendix 1) The calculations prove that “one bill” claimed a fifteenth of each rateable value rounded down to the nearest farthing, yielding a value that was multiplied by four-and-a-third, again rounded down to the nearest farthing to give the sum each owner was to pay. All the arithmetic is correct.

Until May 1769 the overseers’ accounts focussed just on income and expenditure and lack details of individual paupers and numbers receiving support. By May 1770, 15 people were named; followed by 12 to May 1771; 19 to May 1772; and 23 to May 1773. After their care was let out, information on relief is scarce, since there was little expenditure beyond the letting charge (Fig. 1). After 1790, the number of paupers rose to above 30 per year, many with long-term cases of hardship through age, infirmity or widowhood. From 1793 to 1811, between £15 and £64 was disbursed yearly for “Poorhouse” or “Workhouse” expenses, clearly a precursor of the 1829 workhouse, and probably a result of early implementation of the Gilbert Act provisions, but its location was not recorded. The differences between these expenses and the total costs indicate that considerable outdoor relief was also paid to the poor, presumably because that poorhouse was too small for the numbers of paupers, but also partly because several wives with families were being supported when husbands were away serving as militia substitutes. The overseers’ accounts do not survive after 1811 but, as the problem probably did not improve, partly because of economic depression after the Napoleonic Wars ended, by 1829 the need to build the new workhouse would be urgent.

An account book dated 1829 in the Windermere parish papers¹² gives information about the work, costs and site for building a “Workhouse belonging to the Township of Undermillbeck, including the purchase of Land from Mr Rob[er]t Collinson of Falbarrow” who was buried on 17 November 1831 aged 78. It is worth noting that, on 9 April 1730, yeoman Thomas Dixon of Falbarrow established a Charitable Trust by which an earlier Robert Collinson was yearly to pay out of the Falbarrow estate on the Feast of St Thomas the Apostle (21 December) £1 to the churchwardens and £1 to the overseers of Undermillbeck and Applethwaite, to be given to the poor of both townships at Falbarrow’s “fore door” as well as £1, given at the same place, to help buy school books for poor Undermillbeck children attending Windermere School. Trustees were Robert Philipson of Ashes, Nether Staveley; Miles Wilson junior of Frosthole, Kentmere and William Collinson of Cragghouse, Undermillbeck.¹³

The building account book was signed on the first page by John Collinson, whose signature matches the handwriting of the accounts, which were countersigned by Thomas Ullock. The Parson & White *Directory* (1829) notes that John Collinson, gentleman, lived at Brant Fell (SD 409 964), half-a-mile south-east of Bowness. In 1838 his 86¼ acre farm was tenanted by William Taylor, and Collinson’s house next to it had nearly five acres of grounds. Thomas Ullock owned ten acres of land at Burnside (Bowness), seven houses in the middle of Bowness and farmed 18¼

acres at The Green (owned by Revd Fletcher Fleming) and another 76¹/₄ acres of Fleming's glebe allotment.¹⁴ Thomas Ullock also owned the White Lion Inn, which he rebuilt as the Royal Hotel in time for the visit of the dowager Queen Adelaide to the Lake District on 24 July 1840.¹⁵ He was baptised on 8 July 1798, the son of John Ullock of Bowness and was buried there on 20 February 1883 aged 84.

Funds for the building work came from a variety of sources. For Undermillbeck, the Windermere churchwardens had earlier invested £167 10s. as a mortgage for the Ambleside Turnpike road. On 14 February 1829, this paid £24 11s. 4d. interest and then, in April, they reclaimed the capital sum and £8 5s. further interest. A further £48 15s. 2¹/₂d. was paid in seven instalments between 1 July 1829 and the end of the year by Anthony Garnett and John Robinson, collectors of a levy on land owners in the township's Low End, (noted above and Appendix 1) to help meet a sum of £200 6s. 4d. by then already spent on the project by the township's High End. In 1830 a further levy on the whole township yielded £28 6s. 5¹/₂d. paid in two instalments by Anthony Garnett, and £1 4s. 10d. came by selling surplus materials after the building was finished.¹⁶ The total income of £278 12s. 10d. matched expenditure and the accounts were "examined and allowed" at a meeting in the church vestry of Windermere on 18 March 1830. They were signed by the chairman John Fleming (yeoman farmer of Black Moss, SD 432 981), two churchwardens Thomas Procter (who lived in the Bowness main street) and Roger Barrow (Bowness grocer, draper, bookseller, oil and paint dealer), as well as the overseer James Hartley (farmer at Matson Ground), Anthony Garnett (Bowness, gentleman) and Robert Pickthall (Middle Farm Cottage, agent to John Bolton of Storrs Hall).¹⁷

Locating and preparing to build the workhouse

A sole surviving bill, dated from Elterwater on 2 February 1829, was to Mr J. Collinson for a quarter- barrel of gunpowder bought from D. Huddleston & Co. for 13s.¹⁸ On 28 March it was debited to the stone getter's account, so would have been used for blasting suitable building stone while at the same time levelling the site. Building contracts survive only for the stone getter and carpenter. The latter is in John Collinson's writing and will be studied later. The other was a draft, written by a right-handed person, in a style similar to Thomas Ullock's signature at the head of the accounts,¹⁹ with gaps where Collinson later inserted a five-line introduction, the contractor's name and other details. Although no contracts exist for the other workers, the wording of some entries suggest more. On 15 January 1829, the Undermillbeck churchwardens and overseers contracted with Thomas Battersby of Crook "to get good and sufficient stones to the satisfaction" of the officers, to build a "Poor House in a part of Mr Rob[er]t Collinson's allotment *adjoining the Road leading from Bowness to Brantfell*" (my italics); a comment that allows the site of the workhouse to be proved.²⁰ Battersby was to get all stone "within that part of the said allotment . . . purchased" from Collinson, or elsewhere only if the officers thought fit. The stone was to be "brought to the Building and laid conveniently for the wallers" at Battersby's expense. He agreed "to have at all times a sufficient quantity of stones ready quarried for the wallers" so that they could finish work by 10 April 1829. Cash could be advanced to him "from time to time as the committee thought proper".²¹ Battersby agreed to do the work for 8d. a yard and, although no one

signed the draft, he executed its terms fully. A study of his personal details suggests that the contract changed his family's fortunes, since he settled in Bowness between November 1827 and March 1833, perhaps on starting his work.²²

On 7 February 1829 the accounts record 1s. paid to "Mr Branthwaite for Book", surely in which to keep the accounts. Michael and Richard Branthwaite were "papermakers of Cowan Head" north of Burneside and "booksellers, printers, stationers and binders" at the Fish Market in Kendal where they lived in Lowther Street.²³ That same day, for the "stamp and parchment" to convey a part of Robert Collinson's land to the township, George Backhouse of the Stamp Office in Stramongate, Kendal²⁴ was paid 21s. 8d. On 24 February, Collinson received £10 for the site. The Undermillbeck Common Enclosure Award²⁵ includes an allotment of 11¹/₄ acres awarded to Robert Collinson of Fallbarrow. It lay north of School Hill Road (now Brantfell Road), leading from Bowness to Brant Fell (Fig. 2). The Enclosure Act area was left blank on the Undermillbeck Tithe map (1838) indicating that tithes were commuted in 1822.²⁶ By comparing Collinson's land with the Ordnance Survey 1: 2,500 plan of 1858, the workhouse site is proved (Fig. 3). The 1911 O.S. plan shows that the same site of 1.32 acres later became the Windermere gas works, which will be studied in a sequel to this article.

The 1858 O.S. plan shows the site layout and allows an estimate of the workhouse dimensions, but fails to indicate the site's considerable east-west down-slope. The main building measured about 45 x 30 feet with, on its northern (rear) side, a 30 by 12 feet extension projecting westwards about four feet. A small detached building, no larger than 15 by 10 feet, stood further north and was no doubt the privy and fuel store. From a gateway at the site's south-west corner, a curving driveway led past the south front of the building to join paths dividing the site in a manner suggesting that at least part had probably been cultivated to produce food for inmates (as at Eamont Bridge workhouse). On 16 May 1829, Braithwaite Cloudsdale, the tenant of the 53 acre Oldfield farm (at SD 411 979),²⁷ was paid 22s. 6d. "for plowing &c and finding oats for poor House Allotment", as if to break up a long-established sward ready for such a use. In 1829, Oldfield farm was owned by William Towers of Lake Bank at Esthwaite in Claife. He died on 19 April 1836, aged 77, leaving Oldfield to maintain his eldest son James Towers, a Kendal surgeon who murdered his wife on 5 December 1821 and in March 1822 was convicted but, on grounds of insanity, was committed to Appleby Gaol, where he remained until his death on 4 July 1846 aged 61.²⁸

Building the workhouse

For brevity, items of building expenditure must be summarised. The first payment was 4s. 6d., on 17 January 1829, "to Miles Dixon for Walling at the entrance of the Workhouse". Before 7 March, Thomas Kirkbride was paid three times for getting sand at 2d. per bushel, totalling £3 19s. 10d. for 479 bushels, and on 11 June Isaac Collinson received £2 12s. 3d. for carting 418 bushels of sand at 1¹/₂ d. a bushel. On 30 March Richard Dawes had 2s. 9d. "for assisting in filling up the sand hole in Broom Close and getting soil". Broom Close is on the 1838 tithe map as the northernmost field of "The Green" farm, tenanted by Thomas Ullock (Fig. 2). The sand hole was probably near the north corner, where Mill Beck entered Windermere

and a fine gritty sediment would be deposited, suited for use in mortar. As Dawes was paid 9s. 0d. on 27 May for “filling and preparing the Rooms on the ground floor ready for flagging as *per Contract*”, it is possible that, after filling the foundation with waste stone, some sand was compacted on it to form a smoother surface to carry the flagstone floor.

On 4 June 1829, a Mr Simpson (unidentified) was paid 10s. for making a plan for the workhouse. It has not survived, but undermines a suggestion that the building might have been designed by George Webster, the Kendal architect (see note 20). On 15 April, the contractors had 10s. “for a refreshment at the time of Raising the Workhouse” roof timbers, so had probably finished walling by the completion date (10 April) noted in the stone getter’s contract. The wallers were William Dickinson and William Harrison who received £10 10s. on 25 March, £8 on 17 April, and a final payment of £15 18s. 10d. on 28 May “for Walling 612 yds 6 ft 2 ins at 1s. 1½d.” a yard.²⁹ At the contract price of 8d. a yard Thomas Battersby had £19 4s. 0d. on 27 June “for getting stones for 612 yds of Wall at Workhouse” after 24s. had been deducted for stone carted by Braithwaite Cloudsdale. On the same day Battersby, had 10s. for stones “from Geo. Thwaite in Mr Collinsons Allotment . . . purchased by the Inspectors from Thos. Battersby for a Fence [boundary] Wall”. On 16 May £5 5s. 8d. was paid to Braithwaite Cloudsdale for carting unspecified materials. At that stage of life, Cloudsdale could not have known that the 1851 census would list him as a “pauper, formerly farmer” aged 84. His personal details are outlined in Appendix 3.

Payments for labour and materials to service the wallers’ needs included 3s. 3d. to John Garnett, for “Flags and Arch stones” on 9 June 1829. The same day £7 3s. “for 156 Bushels of Lime at 11d. per bushel” was paid to Thomas Unsworth, an agent for Kenneth McKenzie, coal merchant of the Canal Basin at Kendal.³⁰ On 11 June, Isaac Collinson had £3 13s. “for Cartage of 146 Bushels of Lime at 6d.” probably from Kendal while on 13th, Robert Atkinson was paid for freestone. This included 18s. 4d. for “44 feet of window sills at 5d. per foot”; £1 9s. 7d. for “71 feet of Chimney Copping at 5d.” per foot ; 7s. 10d. for “4½ yds of Harth and back Harth Flags at 1s. 10d.” (5d. short); and 17s. 8½d. for “12½ yds of Ridge Stone at 1s. 5d. per yd.”. The last would have been just enough provided that two chimney stacks took up part of the ridge. Robert Atkinson also had £3 4s. 6d. on 15 August for supplying two large chimney pieces at a guinea each, and five small chimney pieces at 4s. 6d. each. On 3 October, Braithwaite Cloudsdale was paid 18s. for leading flagstones, 8d. for four stone steps and 9s. for carting the “Chimney pieces from Kendal”. If the architect had been George Webster of Kendal, surely he rather than Atkinson would have supplied the chimney pieces from his own marble works.³¹ On 12 December 1829, Story Atkinson & Co. had 17s. 6d. “for Garsdale and Hutton Roof Flags for *stone stairs* at Workhouse”. (my italics) On 4 August Thomas Elleray, probably the tanner of Middle Winster,³² had been paid 16s. 6d. for 5½ stone of “Hair for pointing” mortared walls.

Carpentry (Figs 4, 5 and 6)

John Stanley “of Kendal” (New Inn Yard)³³ agreed on 12 February 1829 to undertake all carpentry to a specification so detailed that it must be considered fully,

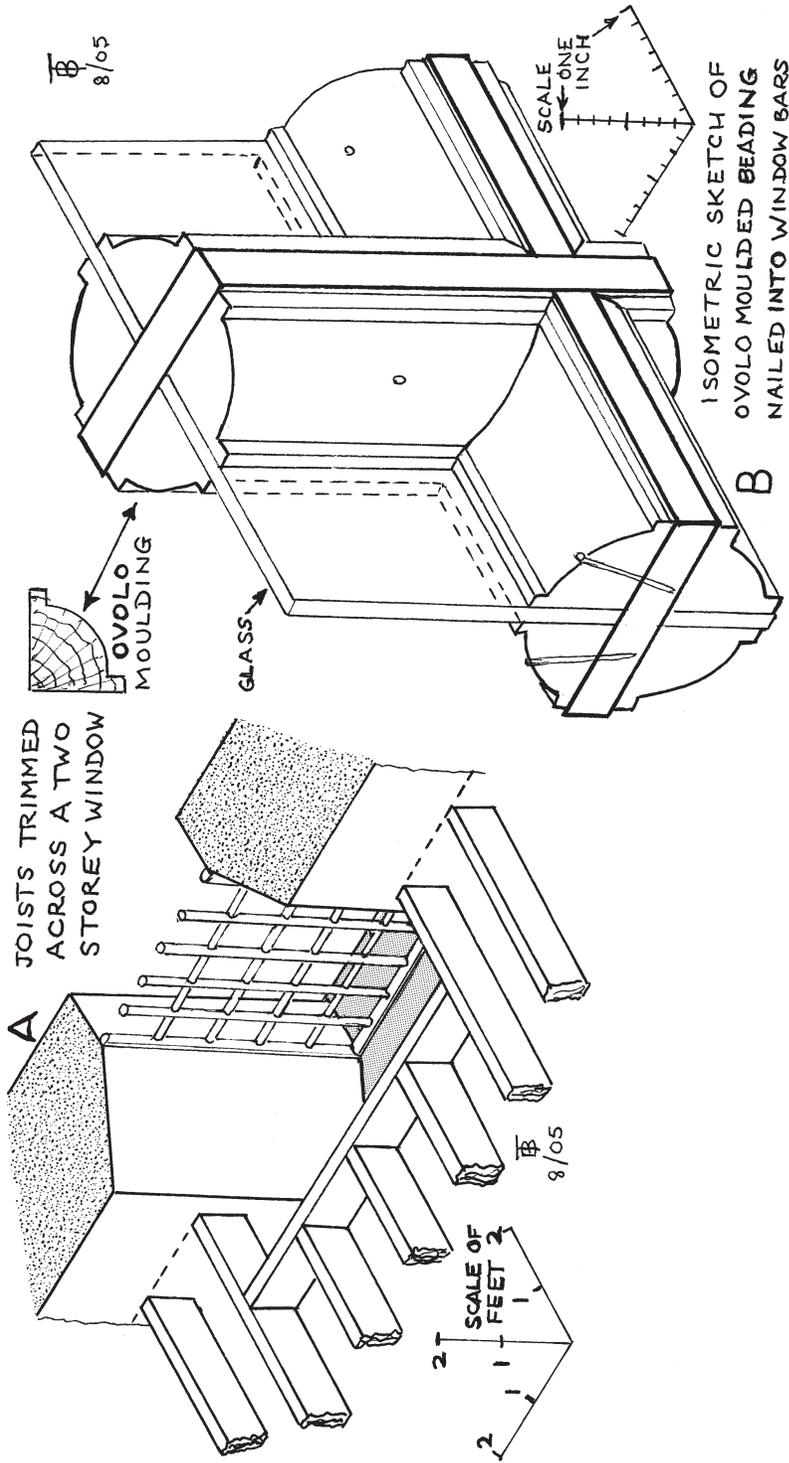


FIG. 4 Isometric sketches to show:

- a) Floor joists trimmed to cross a window lighting two storeys of a building. Joists fashioned to carry a hearth stone would be similar but terminate further from the wall to cut fire risk.
- b) Glazing secured by "ovols" comprising four ovolo mouldings. The inside mouldings were probably fixed before the window frames were set in place. After glazing, the outside mouldings would probably be set in putty for better waterproofing.

because it gives useful evidence of the building's form. All wood was to be *yellow pine* except as specified in the contract.³⁴ As that would have to be imported, italics are used to highlight it and other non-vernacular items. Clarifications are inserted in parentheses. The roof pitch was to be "10 inches to the yard" (of a total width of about 10 yards). This would make the vertical rise from the front eaves to the ridge about 8 ft 4 ins, so that the roof slope was about 30 degrees which is almost universal for traditional Lakeland buildings. Trusses and tie-beams are not mentioned in the specification, but 10 x 4 ins. "Ribs, two on each side, . . . [were] to go through the Wall". This indicates a ridge roof between gables, with the ribs (purlins) probably supported by stout partitions across the upper floors. As the top floor was to be 4 ft 4 ins high (to the top of the side walls) there was enough headroom to accommodate inmates in the attics. Wall plates, 8 ins wide by 1½ ins thick, were to carry full length spars (rafters) 2¼ ins square, at one foot centres, up to a "Roof tree" (ridge piece) of 8 x 2 ins.

Floor joists were to be 7 x 2½ ins "*planed and arrised*" (to form straight sharp edges), laid at 16 inch centres, with six inches set into the wall at each end. The joists over the end window were to be trimmed (Fig. 4a). Floors had to be properly prepared for hearth stones. Floor boards were to be an inch thick, "*quartered*" (quarter-sawn?), *well planed on both sides*, not over 7 inches broad, fixed by *two nails* at each joist (to reduce warping) and "*plowed from the under side of the Board and lathed*", probably ready for plastering the ceilings. Partitions were to have stooths (studs) 2¼ ins square at 16 inch centres. The attic stairs were to have inch thick covers (treads) 9½ ins broad, with an inch for the nosing (projecting over) risers 1¼ ins thick, and to be let into the string boards (supporting the ends of both treads and risers) "*well nailed to the stooths on each side*". A post and handrail, 2½ x 2¼ ins, with balusters 7/8 inch square were to be fixed along the attic lobby, and the stair width was to be as marked on the plan. (The stair between the lower storeys was of masonry with flagstone treads).

Windows were to be "fast sashes stuck with *ovals*, to be ¾ ins in and out"³⁵ (Fig. 4b) with frames 3 ins broad. All panes were to be 6 x 8 ins. The ground floor and chamber windows were to be six panes wide and five high, while the top row in each window was to swing on strong screws and fasten with wood buttons,³⁶ as were all other windows except for the staircase which was to be five panes wide and ten high with a *circular top*. Attic windows were to be six panes wide and two high and a pantry window was to be four panes by four. All windows were to be *Baltic red deal* (see note 34) with heart of oak soles. Each door was to have four battens 4 inches wide by 1½ ins thick. Board thickness for inside doors was ¾ in. and outside doors an inch. All doors were to be 6 ft 3 in. high, "*rabated*³⁷ and beaded". External door cheeks were 3½ ins square and inside doors 3 x 2 ins.

Lintels for the "top windows" were to be 10 ins wide, 3 ins thick and 5 ft 6 ins long. Lintels over openings "*marked C.D.*"³⁸ on the plan were to be heart of oak, 6 ins thick and 5 ft 3 ins long. Other lintels were to be strong enough to carry the floor. All windows and doors were to have angle heads.³⁹ *Window seats*, an inch thick, were to be fitted in all windows backed by heart of oak battens and wall-boards. Rainwater gutters were to be holed square "*spouts*", of 6 x 4 ins, along the back and front of the building (showing that the building's ridge ran east-west), laid on iron bearers let into the wall plate, with "*down fall spouts*" to the ground at the west end

of the building 3¹/₂ ins. square, fixed by iron holdfasts. All spouts were to have two good coats of paint before being fixed.

Contractors were to find all materials except locks, bolts, latches, bands, crooks and hinges which would be provided by the inspectors, but the contractors were to put them on and hang the doors etc. in a workman-like manner. Storey heights were noted as: first floor 7 ft 9 in, second floor 7 ft 6 in, third floor 4 ft 4 in. All work was to be completed to specification before 1 June 1829. The document finishes with a crude signature “Mr Thos. Ullock Bowness” (inverted), presumably as a witness, and the statement that “John Stanley of Kendal agrees to perform the Work according to specification and plan” for £86 13s. He received it in a single payment on 4 June, so clearly met his contractual completion condition.

Roofing and finishing work

The roof was slated. On 28 May, when William Dickinson and William Harrison were paid for the walling work, they also received £6 17s. 9d. for 185 yards 6 feet 6 inches of slating at £1 11s. 3d. a rood (i.e. 4.408 roods)⁴⁰ including finding laths and nails. The roof was completed within six weeks of the raising. On 3 July £4 11s. 0d. was paid for three tons of slate supplied by William Suart at 32s. per ton, after 5s. had been deducted “for carriage of slate from the Water side to poor House, by the Inspectors [paid] to B. Cloudsdale” who must have done the final carting. Suart’s price was probably set to include carriage to the site (as with Battersby’s stone getting) not just to Bowness waterside. It suggests that that slate came by boat along the lake. As Suart was also paid for flagstones, including 32 yds of flags at 2s. 4d. a yard and 69¹/₂ yds at 1s. 10d., totalling £10 2s. 1d., before a discount of 3s. 4d. “for ready money”, the flagstones and slate perhaps came from the Brathay/Langdale area, but Suart’s identity has not been found. He also had 5s. “for Measuring the poor House Allotment”. On 15 August, £9 12s. was paid for six tons of slate at 32s. per ton, supplied by David Huddleston, who owned the Troutbeck Park slate quarries and the gunpowder works in Langdale.⁴¹ Nine tons of second quality Westmorland “country” slate, weighing about 11¹/₄ lbs per sq. ft,⁴² was enough to cover about 199 sq. yds, which is reasonably similar to the area laid by the wallers.

Apart from carpentry, the finishing work included completing the ground floor, plastering, glazing, fitting fireplaces and hardware as well as work on the site. On 16 July Dickinson and Harrison, the wallers, were paid £2 9s. 10¹/₂d. for “Flagging Workhouse” at 3s. 6d. a day (14¹/₄ days) and 27s. 9d. more for additional unspecified days. On 10 November, Thomas Kirkbride had 2s. “for stone steps for the Workhouse”. Hardware payments, including £3 4s. 7d. to James Wilkinson for “Ironwork at poor House”; and 30s. to Barnard Gregg “for Door Handles, Hinges, Nails &c.” were delayed until 3 February 1830. George Haywood had 3s. 8d. for nails on 18 February and, on 24 February, James Rigg was paid 2s. “for Carriage of Laths & Hair from Nab”⁴³ but George Taylor had to wait until 5 March for £10 19s. 8d. “for plastering poorhouse, finding Laths, Nails and Hair”. Payments might have been delayed until most internal work was complete, perhaps to persuade the men to integrate their activities efficiently. Also, on 5 March, Robert Dickinson was paid £6 17s. 11d. “for Glazing 129 ft 9 in 9 [parts] at 12³/₄ d. per foot”, for which the original record survives to reveal the number and sizes of

windows. Appendix 2 has an example of how it was calculated by duodecimals.

On 9 November 1829, Robert Martindale,⁴⁴ who, in July, had supplied a “Hack” (pick axe) for 4s. 6d., was paid 26s. “for two stoops [gateposts] for Workhouse Gate and carriage”. On 26 September, £3 7s. 0d. was paid to Dickinson and Harrison for days worked “putting up Chimney pieces, fixing stoops, walling &c”. On the same day they had £2 13s. 1³/₄d. “for 47 yds 2 ft 3 ins of walling at 1s. 1¹/₂d. per yd”, plus 17s. 3¹/₂d. “for Slating 23 yd 2 [ft] 3 [ins] at £1 11s. 3d.” a rood, both for a small building. It is identified from Thomas Battersby being paid £1 11s. 5d. on 17 October “for getting stones for 47 yds 2 ft of Wall for a peathouse at poorhouse at 8d.” a yard. The same day he was paid 28s. “for 10¹/₂ days work at Workhouse levelling Front, cutting drains and preparing ground for peat-house”. This was the small, detached building north of the workhouse shown on the 1858 O.S. plan. For the same project, Isaac Collinson was paid 19s. 3d. on 30 September for carting “33 Bushels of Lime at 7d.” a bushel, for which Thomas Unsworth had to wait until 24 December for 30s. 3d. “for 33 Bushels of Lime for Workhouse” at 11d. The last accounts item is a payment on 8 March 1830, of £4 15s. 1d. to “John Wilson and Miles Dixon for getting stones to, and Walling the poorhouse Allotment viz. 13 Roods and 3 yds at 7s. 1d.” per rood. If this was linear measure for a wall of an agreed height, the figures suggest 13.4235 roods so that the rood was about 7.08 yards.⁴⁵ This was about 95 yards in all, enough to wall the whole of the boundary along School Hill Road.

If all the bills had been preserved, such as that for £5 8s. 8d. paid to George Robinson on 3 February 1830 for unspecified “work at poorhouse”, and others already noted, the detail could have been more precise. It is also unfortunate that copies of all the contracts for work and supplying materials do not survive, like that for Richard Dawes preparing the ground floor for flagging. However, the evidence suggests that Undermillbeck workhouse was not one of architect George Webster’s buildings, since a Mr Simpson received 10s. for a plan, probably the one noted in the carpenter’s contract. Also Robert Atkinson supplied seven chimney-pieces from Kendal even though that was the location of Webster’s marble works and, despite Webster having a slate merchant’s business at Kendal and Ulverston,⁴⁶ he did not supply the slate. Had he been responsible for the building, surely he would have favoured his own products and would have been named as the recipient of some payments.

The account details give an overall impression of a relatively well-built structure with some signs of modest comfort, such as southern aspect and window seats. Despite the limited number of windows, the seats would offer the practical advantage of encouraging inmates to continue craftwork activities for longer in failing light to deter boredom and generate possible income. Most aspects of the design and work reflected typical traditional Lakeland building practice, such as getting the stone on site (as for bank barns) and using locally available materials, such as sand from Broom Close and slate from Troutbeck Park. However, the use of imported yellow pine, nearly two decades before a railway was to reach Windermere, is a sign that exotic influences were already eroding traditional methods, even in buildings for which limited finance was available. The pine was probably brought in by canal to Kendal (opened 1819) and then perhaps by the Ambleside turnpike. When details in the carpenter’s contract are linked with information from the

accounts, the glazing document and the 1858 O.S. plan it is possible to attempt a reasoned outline reconstruction of the building's possible design.

Reconstructing the layout and appearance of the workhouse (Figs 4, 5 and 6)

The 1858 O.S., 1: 2,500 plan enables the outline plan form and overall dimensions of the workhouse to become a primary constricting envelope whose layout suggests that the building faced south onto the road with the kitchen built on the north side. The presence of a "Roof tree" and the specification that purlins should "go through the Wall" indicates gables with a ridge roof. Robert Atkinson's two large chimney pieces were probably located near the middle of the gable walls on the ground floor, suggesting that a large room lay on either side of an entrance hall, which would lead straight to the kitchen door if the front door was in the middle of a balanced façade. Flagstones covered the lower staircase and the ground floor whose walls would be of masonry. Each living room would be large enough to have two doorways. The 7 x 2¹/₂ in ceiling joists set at 16 in centres would, by modern standards, be enough to span about 12 ft in domestic buildings or, if present-day safety margins are ignored, an absolute limit of about 14 ft. If rooms were more than that width, intermediate support would be needed using a stout beam in each room. As beams are not included in the contract, perhaps the rooms were built about 14 ft wide, making the hallway a fairly generous 9 ft wide.

All windows had seats. The glazier's calculations record five main windows in the ground floor, so both living rooms probably had one facing south and another in the gable near the back of the room to provide better light. The fifth was probably in the kitchen's west wall. A back door in the kitchen was probably in the north wall, leading to the garden, fuel store and privy. The pantry window could be in the same wall for coolness, and placed so that the pantry gave easy access to the hall and eating room. A kitchen range sited away from the window, pantry and back door could be set in the south wall, backing on to the flagged staircase which would avoid a risk of transmitted heat setting fire to timbers that might otherwise have supported a wooden staircase. As the carpenter's contract required the "joist ends to be trimmed over the *end Window*" (surely in a gable) and the staircase had the only window tall enough to need two storeys, the comment suggests that shortened joists supporting the stairs were framed, as in figure 4a, to improve lighting to all floors. The stair window was probably in the west gable to allow more evening light, with the benefit of a view towards the lake rather than facing into the steep hillside outside the east gable. The position of the staircase window limits how the rest of the workhouse could be arranged.

The carpenter's contract implies that all upper floor spaces were divided by stud partitions, including the stairwell. The latter would have been a worse fire hazard had not the lower stair been of masonry. For first-floor rooms only three windows were provided. Presumably there was one in the south wall of each dormitory and the third window perhaps faced west in the room over the kitchen, particularly if it was in a warden's room. The roof over this would be a typical outshut "cat-slide". Dormitories would be large with minimal window provision. Of Atkinson's five smaller fireplaces, one would be in the gable wall of each dormitory and attic, with the fifth set above the kitchen range to use its stone chimney. The dormitories and attics would be accessed

from landings. To give enough headroom, the attic landing and doors would probably be placed away from the rear wall of the house-block, so that the upper staircase would have a half-landing (imitated in the lower stair) with a stud partition linking its two sections and the floor framed as in Fig. 4a. This would conform to the contract condition that the wooden stairs had to have the “string Boards . . . well nailed to the stooths on each side”. At the top of the staircase, banisters were to continue along “the Attic Lobby” as if to allow more light into that area.

The glazier calculated for just three attic windows. As two purlins on either side of the ridge would divide the span into six, the 10 in. deep purlins would support one-piece rafters at 5 ft intervals in plan. Modern design would require such purlins to span no more than about 12¹/₂ ft between the trusses. Again ignoring modern safety factors, and by using good quality imported timber, with two well-strengthened stud partitions in a total internal length of about 40 ft, the specified purlins might just be adequate. Thus, there were probably three attics, each with a south-facing window. Lighting towards the back of the building would therefore need to benefit from the staircase window, and it is possible that the rear of the longer eastern attic might have been a storeroom because of poor light. In view of the nine tons of slate, the load on strengthened attic partitions would need to be transferred through the first floor partitions to the hallway’s masonry walls. This implies that the west dormitory would need an open north-south partition of posts and beams, if light and access were to be adequate in all of the room, because there were too few first floor windows to allow a separate middle dormitory.

The cost of nearly £279 must have caused concern for the township. As the fast growing expense of supporting its poor up to 1811 probably did not slacken, as noted above, the investment was probably unavoidable. However, the loss of overseers’ accounts after 1811 prevents a study of how effective the workhouse was and how many inmates it held before closure by government policy⁴⁷ after only six years service. Even if the life of inmates was relatively spartan, at least they were close to people they knew and might have felt part of a more intimate social group than in a large distant workhouse. The greater concentration of paupers might stigmatize them more, and could discourage people from seeking benefit (perhaps intentionally). In 1839 the Kendal Guardians minuted an account of “In maintenance” of paupers, from which the following township details are extracted:⁴⁸

Township	Paupers	days in [total]	Provisions	Clothing	Establishment
Undermillbeck	6	390	£6 10s. 0d.	£1 16s. 7d.	£6 0s. 2d.
Crook	2	182	£3 0s. 8d.	£0 17s. 0d.	£4 14s. 10 ¹ / ₂ d.
Troutbeck	2	182	£3 0s. 8d.	£0 17s. 0d.	£4 5s. 3 ¹ / ₂ d.

Clearly the numbers of Undermillbeck and Crook inmates were a mere fraction of those recorded up to 1811, so that out-maintenance paupers were probably far more numerous but, whereas Troutbeck and Crook inmates averaged 91 days at Kendal, Undermillbeck poor averaged only 65 days. Perhaps the old workhouse was helping to avoid sending some cases to Kendal. As the Crook and Troutbeck costs for maintenance were identical, they indicate that a standard daily charge per inmate, of 4d. for provisions and 1.125d. (one penny and half-a-farthing)⁴⁹ for clothing, was made on each township. The establishment figure for the first two townships are so

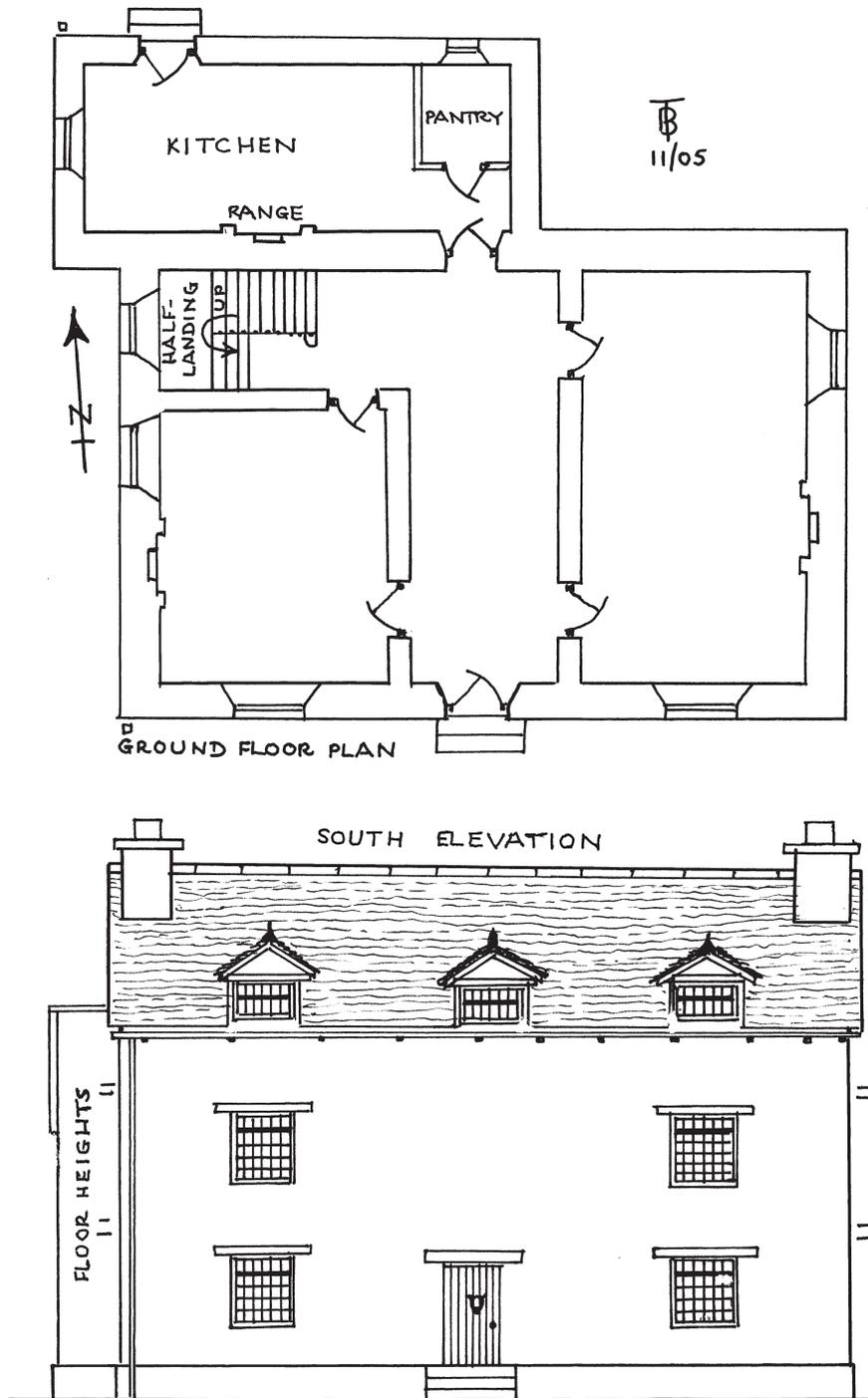


FIG. 5. Reconstructions of the layout and appearance of Undermillbeck Workhouse based on the Ordnance Survey plan (1858), details in the carpenter's contract and building accounts and on structural considerations.

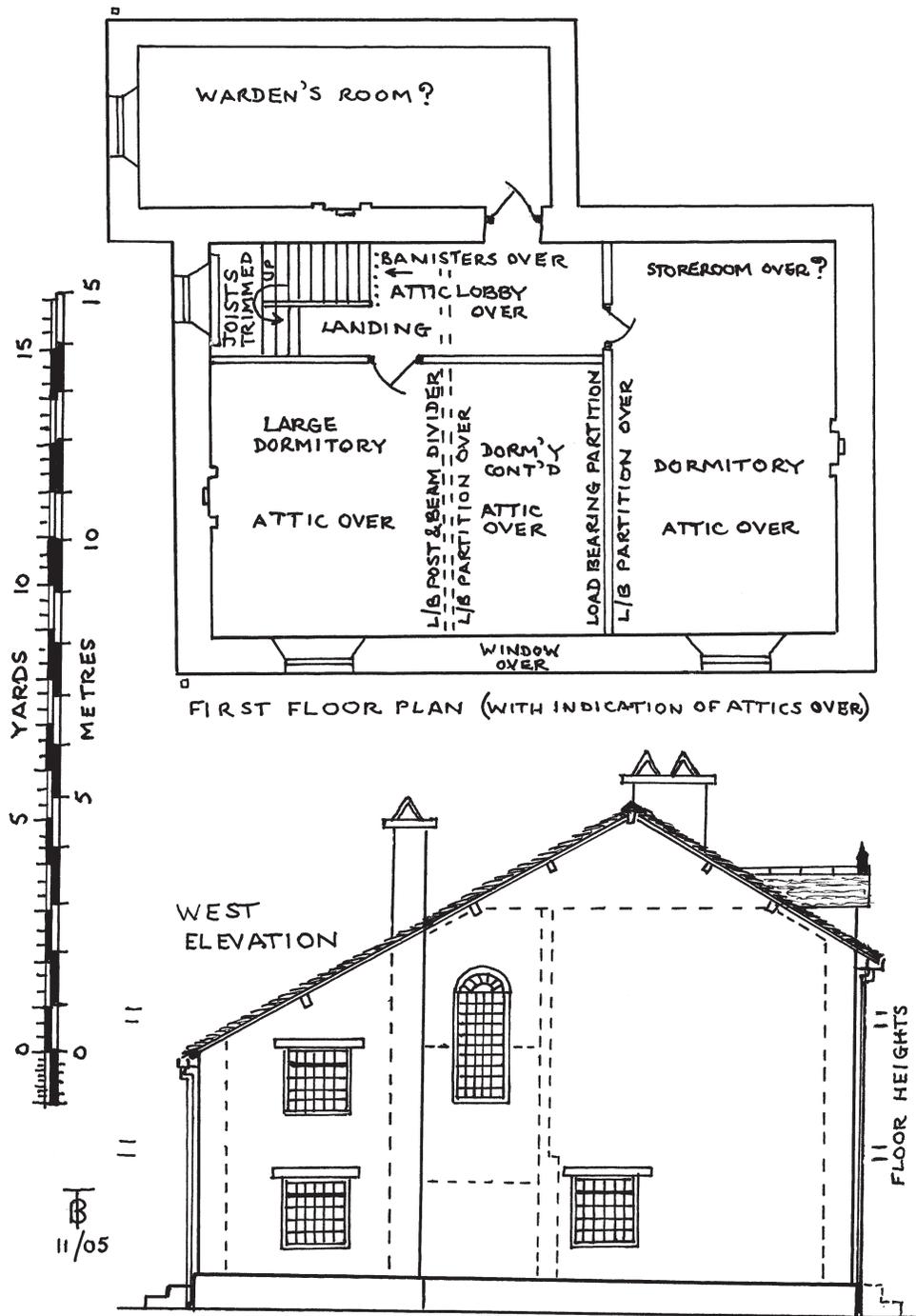


FIG. 6. Reconstructions of the layout and appearance of Undermillbeck Workhouse based on the Ordnance Survey plan (1858), details in the carpenter's contract and building accounts and on structural considerations.

similar to the former income derived from “one bill” that the method of raising finance was perhaps still rooted in the old system

The Undermillbeck Workhouse site between 1836 and 1862.

Throughout this period Thomas Ullock attended Kendal Poor Law Union meetings as overseer for Undermillbeck. Early Union minutes give little information about the township’s redundant workhouse as if the new guardians had little to do with it and probably welcomed a motion on 15 October 1836:⁵⁰

Moved by Mr Thos Ullock and seconded by Mr Atkinson, that the Furniture and all Chattels belonging to the Houses used, latterly, as Poor Houses in the Township of Undermillbeck and all the other Townships within the Union (except Kendal, Milnthorpe and Kirkby Lonsdale) be sold with the approbation of the Rate Payers of each Township by Auction and that the several Overseers make an account of the amount of money received from such sales.

The next relevant minute from a meeting on 9 March 1839, directed the Undermillbeck overseers to “collect the two years rent now due to them for the Workhouse Field and bring the same into their next quarterly account”. Clearly the ratepayers rejected the proposal to sell the workhouse, perhaps realising that any rent it and its land earned from tenants might reduce the rate burden. Alternatively it might allow short term accommodation for some deserving cases rather than send them to Kendal. Lack of overseers’ records prevents clarification but, on 3 February 1862, when Mary Cloudsdale was buried aged 86, the parish register notes her as of “The Old Workhouse”, while the cemetery records show her as widow of the late Thomas Cloudsdale of Hawkshead. The 1861 census lists her staying with her son William, at Biskey Howe Cottage about 200 yards from the workhouse.⁵¹ Perhaps she was so frail that she needed family support. It is unlikely that she lived in such a large house alone, but whether her age and condition had anything to do with selling the workhouse is unknown. On 11 September 1862, the old workhouse was sold by Thomas Ullock and Abraham Pattinson to the newly formed Windermere Gas Company for redevelopment,⁵² but the capacity in which the men acted has to be deduced from the Kendal Poor Law Union minutes.⁵³

On 5 October 1861, a letter from the Poor Law Board directed the churchwardens and overseers of Undermillbeck to hold a ratepayers’ meeting again to obtain their consent for the Kendal Union Guardians to sell their workhouse “now in the occupation of Mr Woof as tenant”. He is not in the 1861 census, but the Windermere parish register notes the marriage of a Joseph Woof and Sarah Thompson on 7 December 1840, and baptisms of six children: Ann (1841), Joseph (1844), Sarah (1846), Anthony (1849), Thomas (1850) and William (1855) all in Bowness.⁵⁴ Perhaps the family was temporarily living elsewhere on census day and moved to the old workhouse soon after. On 16 November 1861, a minute at Kendal noted that the Undermillbeck property was sold on 14th to Abraham Pattinson of Bowness for an acceptable bid of £850. That was to be paid to George Crewdson, the Kendal Union Treasurer, on 13 February 1862. A deposit of £85 had been received. On 8 February 1862, the Poor Law Board insisted that Pattinson should pay as arranged but, if the Gas Company was able to accept the conveyance *directly* from the Guardians, the Board would agree to that, but not otherwise. Had Pattinson, as a prominent Windermere builder, invested in the development

potential of local properties resulting from the railway reaching Windermere in 1847 and then stretched his financial resources too far? Alternatively, as a churchwarden of St Martin's, Windermere,⁵⁵ his bid could be viewed as an altruistic gesture he could ill-afford, intended (at least partly) to help finance the parish poor. Unfortunately, the price paid by the Gas Company is not available to clarify this point. At the 1861 census, he was aged 43, living at Elim Grove (SD 406 972) in Bowness, a "builder employing 40 men and 5 boys".⁵⁶ On 5 April, almost four months after the completion date had passed, the Union clerk was directed to write to the solicitors, T. A. & J. Grundy of Manchester, to seek urgent action to have the conveyance ready by 11 April for signing by the Treasurer and the Undermillbeck overseer. On 12 April the clerk produced the engrossed conveyance, along with letters from Thomas Ullock and the solicitors stating that completion would be on 19 April, on which day the Treasurer received £765, plus £6 12s. 0d. as interest. On 23 August 1862 the Poor Law Board authorised the Kendal Guardians to invest net proceeds of £832 5s. in 3% Consolidated Bank Annuities, interest from which would help support the township's poor. In the conveyance, Ullock and Pattinson were not just acting as overseer and (temporary) owner respectively, but as churchwardens (see note 55).

Conclusions

Some conclusions have already been included where they were relevant in the text, for example that George Webster, despite connections with important Bowness residents, cannot now be accepted as the architect for the workhouse. The building work seems to have been done in a traditional manner, with ubiquitous, heavy, low-value stone quarried from the site itself as part of the levelling process (a sign of careful attention to economy) while location-specific materials (e.g. sand, lime, flagstones, slate) or dearer commodities (e.g. chimney pieces) came from as near as possible. The fact that such a basic material as timber was imported from abroad for a relatively low-status building, suggests a severe shortage of suitable local supplies, perhaps a result of locally widespread charcoal burning. As the railway to Windermere was not opened until nearly two decades later, wider use of imported timber could have been a factor to encourage railway development, rather than a consequence of it. The unusual quality of the building evidence has been demonstrated by being able to reconstruct the likely appearance and arrangement of the workhouse.

Despite the lack of documents to inform several important aspects of the subject, such as checking Machell's comments about beggars, and the regrettable fact that only limited overseers' records have survived, it has been possible to present a reasoned impression of pauperism in Windermere and the measures taken to deal with the problem. As the largest number of recorded paupers was under 35 at its peak in about 1800, and the population of Undermillbeck and Winster in 1801 was 500, plus up to a half of the total Crook population of 179,⁵⁷ the proportion of people receiving support was about 6 per cent. Though considerable, this is so different from Machell's assessment that, even allowing for improved conditions in living standards during the intervening century, his judgement in this instance seems faulty. It is clear that there is still ample scope for more research, especially if the 1811-1836 overseers records can be found.⁵⁸

APPENDIX 1

“An assessment on the proprietors of Land in the lowend of the Township of Undermilbeck in the parish of Kirkby Kendal . . . being their proportion for building a poorhouse”.

Proprietor	Address / status &c (P & W <i>Directory</i> , Crook p. 670, Winster p. 676, Lindeth p. 679)	Rateable value			“one bill”			Payment required		
		£	s	d	£	s	d	£	s	d
James Bigland		23	10	0	1	11	4	6	15	9 ¹ / ₄
Revd. [Robt] Samford	How, Crook	2	10	0		3	4	0	14	5 ¹ / ₄
Joseph Westgarth	farmer, Crook	16	13	0	1	2	2	4	16	0 ¹ / ₂
Robert Fell	clogger, How, Crook	2	13	0		3	6	0	15	2
William Taylor	farmer, Low end Crook	6	7	6						
do.		8	16	0	1	0	2 ³ / ₄	4	7	7 ³ / ₄
Mary Backhouse			10	0			8		2	10 ¹ / ₂
William Hartley	?	4	19	0		6	7	1	8	6 ¹ / ₄
do.			10	0			8		2	10 ¹ / ₂
do.			3	9			3		1	1
Lowden Sheperd	farmer, Raper House, Winster	3	13	0		4	10 ¹ / ₂	1	1	0 ¹ / ₂
Revd. J[ohn] Long	Garnett House, Winster	5	5	0		7	0	1	10	4
James Birkett		5	13	6*		7	6 ¹ / ₂	1	12	8
Richard Walker	blacksmith, Lindeth	1	18	0		2	6		8	10
x Todd Moore	farmer, Brine+ Houses, Winster	27	12	0	1	16	9 ¹ / ₂	7	19	5
x Ann Garnett			15	0		1	0		4	4
x John Ottley			15	0		1	0		4	4
x John Cousin			15	0		1	0		4	4
Miles Dixon	farmer, Green Yew, Winster	18	1	6	1	4	1	5	4	4 ¹ / ₄
Richard Jackson	farmer, How, Winster	10	19	6		14	7 ¹ / ₂	3	3	4 ¹ / ₂
x Wm Martindale	maltster, High Mill, Lindeth	4	7	9 ¹ / ₂		5	10	1	5	2 ¹ / ₄
Birkett Elleray	grocer, Winster Mill	19	8	9	1	5	10	5	11	11 ¹ / ₄
do. cottage			10	0			8		2	10 ¹ / ₂
do. Mill & Tanyard			5	0	0		6	8	1	8
Thomas Elleray	tanner, Middle Winster	8	17	6		11	10	2	11	3 ¹ / ₄
Birkett Crag	yeo. farmer, Mill Dam, Crook	2	9	0		3	3		13	1
William Hutchinson		1	1	0		1	5		6	1 ¹ / ₂
John Sinkinson			14	0			11		3	11 ¹ / ₂
Richard Docker	farmer, Bullman’s Crag, Crook	3	10	0		4	8	1	0	2 ¹ / ₂
x George Robinson			10	0			8		2	10 ¹ / ₂
								54	3	10
John Bolton Esq,	Storrs Hall, Bowness									
Manorial Allotment in parish of Kendal			14	10					4	3
[Added beside the list in a different hand]										
Mrs Backhouse Estate		6	7	6				1	17	7 ³ / ₄
Mr Gandy Estate		8	14	0				2	10	0~

Notes:

? The Directory notes a *Wilson* Hartley at Yew Tree, Crook. Possibly a misprint for William?

* £2 10s. of this sum “is in the parish of Windermere and to be deducted from the £5 13s. 6d., sum to be paid 18s. 3d ”.

+ Presumably the modern Bryan Houses SD 416 928.

x Crosses were added before six entries but their purpose is not apparent. Four rated at 10s. or 15s. were perhaps owners of only a cottage, unlike Birkett Elleray, Todd Moore and Wm Martindale.

~ This sum was received on 13 October 1829.

APPENDIX 2

Duodecimal calculations for glazing Undermillbeck workhouse.

The original figures were set out as follows: “Dimensions of Windows Glazing at Poor House”

	[width (a)]				[height (b)]				[area]				
	ft	in	pts	x	ft	in	pts	[no.]	=	ft	in	pts	
Bottom Windows	3	6	6	x	3	1	6	x	5	=	55	4	0
Second Story -do-	3	6	6	x	3	1	5	x	3	=	33	2	5
Garret -do-	3	2	0	x	1	5	3	x	3	=	13	7	10
Staircase -do-	8	3	4	x	2	7	3	x	[1]	=	21	6	8
Pantry -do-	2	10	6	x	2	1	4	x	[1]	=	6	0	10
[Total]											129	9	9

- Notes: 1. A square foot was divided into 12 inches (each measuring 1 foot by 1 inch) each of which was divided into 12 parts (each one square inch).
 2. For lengths, parts are one-twelfth of an inch (which perhaps helps to explain why many existing old rulers display twelfths of an inch towards one end).
 3. Calculation of area involves ‘cross multiplication’ of feet, inches and parts (F_a I_a P_a) successively by feet, inches and parts (F_b I_b P_b) in the form of P_b x P_a, P_b x I_a, P_b x F_a (stage 1), followed by I_b x P_a, I_b x I_a, I_b x F_a (stage 2) and then F_b x P_a, F_b x I_a, F_b x F_a (stage 3) in that sequence, as in the calculation below.
 4. The result of each multiplication is divided by twelve. Any remainder is recorded in the column below the multiplier while the larger part of the answer is carried to below the next column to the left.
 5. Each column starting from the right hand end is then added and the sum divided by twelve so that the remainder is recorded in that column. The larger units of that answer carry to the next column to the left to be added into that column and the process is carried on until all the columns have been added.

Sample calculation for the pantry window.

(From START, work from right to left through each of the successive stages 1, 2, 3, 4)

(a)	2	10	6							
(b)			2		1		4	(Answers)		
			11		6		0	(for stage 1)		
		2	10		6		0	(for stage 2)		
	5	9	0		0		0	(for stage 3).		
	6	0	10		0		0	QED (& cheers)!		
	feet	inches	parts		“seconds”		“thirds”			
	1	1	1		12 / 12 = 1		0	} Final additions		
Stage 4	5	11	21							
	6	12 / 12	22 / 12							
		= 1 rem. 0	= 1 rem. 10							
			3		2	4 x 6 = 24	“thirds”			
Stage 1		4 x 2 = 8	4 x 10 = 40	24 / 12 = 2	“seconds” (carry left)					
		11 (enter)	42 / 12		remainder 0 (enter)					
			= 3 rem. 6 (enter 6)		^ START HERE ^					
Stage 2	1 x 2 = 2	1 x 10 = 10	1 x 6 = 6.							
Stage 3		1	2 x 6 = 12							
	1	2 x 10 = 20	12 / 12 = 1							
	2 x 2 = 4	21	rem. 0							
	5	21 / 12 = 1	rem. 9							

Source: adapted from Wm. Salmon, *London & Country Builder’s Vade Mecum* (1748), 59-62, (J. Hodges, London). (Facsimile reprint, Monmouth House Books Llanfapley, Abergavenny (1999).

APPENDIX 3

A brief investigation of the family of Braithwaite Cloudsdale.

Braithwaite Cloudsdale who did so much carrying of materials for the Undermillbeck workhouse was probably not prosperous during his working life as a farmer, since in 1842 his tax assessment was largely based on having only one rateable horse (10s. 6d.) out of a total tax of 31s. 6d., compared to the highest taxed person in Bowness, Thomas Ullock at almost £50.⁵⁹ Despite his uncommon name Braithwaite Cloudsdale needs to be distinguished from a namesake nephew, also noted in the 1851 census of Bowness that shows they were aged 84 and 56 respectively, and both born at Hawkshead. The younger of them was a labourer, living with his wife Mary (aged 51, born at Windermere) and four children Margaret (16), John (13), Thomas (10) and Jane (6) all born in Hawkshead, indicating that the younger Braithwaite was still living there until at least 1845, so would not have carried the workhouse materials. He married Mary Fisher at Hawkshead on 29 September 1827 and had been born at there on 1 January 1795, son of a weaver, Thomas Cloudsdale of Far Sawrey. This Thomas had a daughter Peggy born on 21 March 1791; and, as a Quaker, he was baptised into the Anglican church there on 12 May 1788 “aged near 21 years”, probably just before he married. His wife was Mary, buried at Bowness on 3 February 1862 aged 86, and further children were baptised: John (30 Sept. 1797), Thomas (8 Aug. 1802), Elizabeth (14 June 1807), Jane (12 Aug. 1810), *William* (25 Dec. 1811), Isabella (2 June 1816), Richard (17 May 1817) and Margaret (9 April 1820), for the last three of whom their mother Mary was actually named. Their father was born about 1767, the son of another Braithwaite Cloudsdale of Sawrey, who fathered at least three other children, all baptised at Hawkshead as adults; Mary (9 Dec. 1779, “Adult”), so born before 1758; Elizabeth (20 April 1783, “Adult”), born before 1762; and Ann (28 Dec. 1783, aged 25) born about 1758. Before her burial on 10 November 1804, aged 45, Ann appears to have had three illegitimate children baptised: Thomas (5 Feb. 1787), William (2 Oct. 1791) and Jenny (17 Nov. 1792).

Returning to the 84 year-old of 1851, he was noted as “pauper formerly farmer” born at Hawkshead (clearly about 1766), so was aged about 63 when the workhouse was being built. His identity can be traced through two daughters who lived with him in 1851. They were Mary Rooking (48, widow) and Isabella Cloudsdale (44, single) both born at Bowness. In 1841, only Mary and her two sons Braithwaite (17) and John (14) lived with him at Oldfield. Mary had married William Rooking at Windermere on 29 May 1822 and their children were baptised Ann (21 July 1822), Braithwaite (15 February 1824) and John (19 November 1826), before their father (of Fellside, Windermere) was buried on 10 June 1827 aged 28. Their mother, as Mary Cloudsdale, was baptised 7 June 1801 and her siblings were baptised Elizabeth (11 August 1799), Isabella (12 February 1804) and William (6 September 1807), when their father Braithwaite Cloudsdale was “of Lindeth” in Bowness. He had married Elizabeth Pool (both of Windermere and single) by banns on 27 May 1798, the day before the baptism of Braithwaite Cloudsdale, of Lindeth, “the Adult son of Braithwaite Cloudsdale” was entered on (Monday) 28 May 1798.⁶⁰ His wife Elizabeth (of Oldfield) was buried at Bowness on 27 November 1840, aged 72. As the 1851 census indicates that he was born at Hawkshead (about 1766) he would be

about 32 in 1798, surely another son of the Quaker family identified above and presumably the eldest son, named after his father. Unfortunately, Colthouse records of the Society of Friends seen at Barrow Record Office were not sufficiently informative to progress further.

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Notes and References

- ¹ J. M. Ewbank (ed.), *Antiquary on Horseback* (CWAAS, Extra Series xix, 1963), 118.
- ² The site became the Windermere gasworks, the subject of a separate article submitted for publication.
- ³ G. W. Oxley, *Poor Relief in England and Wales, 1601-1834* (1974) is a useful summary of the subject.
- ⁴ B. Tyson, "The Mansion House, Eamont Bridge, a tercentenary history of its owners, occupiers and associations", Ancient Monuments Society, *Transactions* 31 (1987) 146-174, esp. 156-164. Copies of the author's articles are deposited in CRO(K) and CRO(C) and Kendal Library.
- ⁵ CRO(K), WPR/ 93/O/ 3, vestry minute book; and 93/O/ 2, poor account book.
- ⁶ CRO(K), WSPU/W, minute books of the West Ward Union, 1836-1930 (1868-72 missing).
- ⁷ R. Thompson, *The New Poor Law in Cumberland and Westmorland, 1834-1871*, PhD Thesis, University of Newcastle (1976), 325, 345. Copy at CRO(K).
- ⁸ CRO(K), WPR/ 61, O/1, overseers' accounts, 1749-1811. The later records are missing.
- ⁹ CRO(K), WPR/ 61/ W/1, churchwardens' accounts 1748-1859, esp. 1828.
- ¹⁰ W. Parson & W. White, *History and Directory of Westmorland* (1829), 633, 676, 656. (Hereafter PW . . .) In 1811 Undermillbeck had 503 inhabitants compared to 176 in the whole of Crook and 97 in Winster.
- ¹¹ Often "one bill" was enough to satisfy the parish constables' expenditure needs on roads etc.
- ¹² CRO(K), WPR/ 61, O/ 2.
- ¹³ CRO(K), WPR/ 61/ F8, Deed of Trust re. Thomas Dixon's Gift.
- ¹⁴ CRO(K), WDRC/ 8/ 244, Undermillbeck Tithe Award (1838).
- ¹⁵ Mannix & Co., *Directory of Westmorland and Lonsdale ...* (1851), 333.
- ¹⁶ Some of these details were written on the back cover of the accounts.
- ¹⁷ Personal insertions from PW, 679, except Proctor (from Tithe Award).
- ¹⁸ Gunpowder manufacturer David Huddleston lived at Elterwater Hall in Langdale. (PW, 620a) He died on 27 October 1831. Details of his business are in I. Tyler, *Gunpowder Mills of Cumbria* (2002).
- ¹⁹ The 'K' in Undermillbeck and his name is identical. The lower case uncurved 'c', unlooped 'l' and the 'm', 'o' and 'a' are similar, as is the capital 'T', but the lower case 'h' in his signature is more decorative.
- ²⁰ The late Angus Taylor in *The Websters of Kendal* (CWAAS Record Series XVII, 2004), 158, was unable to identify the site and appears to imply that the new building was designed by George Webster.
- ²¹ A page at the end of the accounts shows that he received £16 7s. (allowing 13s. for the gunpowder) in nine instalments between 6 February and 29 May, "...all entered in the preceding accounts"
- ²² At Crook, Thomas Battersby, labourer, and his wife Jane (whose marriage has not been found) had four children baptised: Jane (2 Sept. 1821) while living at Birkmoss; Thomas (31 August 1823), Lancelot Dobson (5 June 1825) while at Spigot House; and Elizabeth (25 November 1827) while at Whitheads, clearly as mobile tenants. (CRO (K), WDRC/6 /18/2) Before 1833 they moved to Windermere and had Charlotte (3 March 1833) and Eliza (26 July 1835) (IGI). At the 1841 census for Bowness Thomas (49) and Jane (46) lived at the Old England (hotel) where he was a gardener and

had their children Thomas (15), Susanna (11), Charlotte (7), Eliza (6) and John (3) with them. The 1851 census states that he was from Melling (Lancashire) and his wife came from Troutbeck. Only their two youngest, Eliza (15) and John Merriman (12) were still with them. Charlotte had been buried on 15 March 1848 aged 15. Their son Thomas (27, born in Crook) was a joiner employing five men, living in Bowness with his wife Jane (of Caldbeck, Cumberland), daughter Charlotte (1), Thomas Postlethwaite (17, apprentice joiner from Ulverston) and servant (Margaret Hall, 12, from Troutbeck).

²³ PW, 666a, 662a, 657b.

²⁴ PW, 657a.

²⁵ CRO(K), WQR/E/89, Act 1813, Award 1822 surveyed by John Williamson of Kendal.

²⁶ CRO(K), WDRC/ 8/ 244.

²⁷ PW, 679c. Undermillbeck Tithes Award shows the farm along the township's northern boundary. The buildings were near the present position of the Carver Memorial United Reformed church, Lake Road.

²⁸ B. Tyson, "James Towers, a Kendal Surgeon (1785-1846) . . .", *CW2*, xciii, 197-201.

²⁹ The presence of 6 feet in the figures indicates that the measurement was in square or cubic units, so the cost indicates a total of 612.296 square or cubic yards. If the suggested building dimensions had walls about 9 yards high to the eaves including footings, with two gables, and an outshot on the north side (all say 2½ feet thick), the total area of walling would be about 693 sq. yds and the volume of stone about 578 cub. yds. Internal ground floor walls would bring the volume to about 600 cub. yds, a reasonable match.

³⁰ PW, 663a.

³¹ This calls into question an impression of attribution created by Angus Taylor (note 20).

³² PW, 676b and Appendix 1.

³³ PW, 664.

³⁴ C. P. Ackers in *Practical British Forestry* (1940), 99 states that "Scots pine (*Pinus sylvestris*) timber is the 'red deal' of commerce: some markets call this imported pine, especially from Archangel, 'yellow pine'". *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, under "Hard Pines", lists twelve American species of "yellow pines" with needles in clusters of three (unlike the paired needles of European pines) including pitch pine and *Pinus ponderosa*. For external work pitch pine would be better than Scots pine.

³⁵ This suggests that the sashes were fixed, not sliding windows, but had a top row of panes that opened. The use of "ovals" for window-bars probably derived from "ovolo", a quarter-circle moulding; in this case intended to project ¾ inch on either side of the glass.

³⁶ It is not indicated whether the latter were top-hung opening outwards or bottom-hung opening inwards.

³⁷ Rabbet (rebate): groove cut along an edge or face of a piece of wood for another piece to fit into the groove.

³⁸ The meaning of C.D. was not clarified.

³⁹ The meaning of "angle heads" is not apparent. It might imply false four-centred heads as in R. W. Brunskill, *Illustrated Handbook of Vernacular Architecture* (1970), 125, diagram b.

⁴⁰ The fact that 6 feet made up less than a yard indicates that the measurement was of area, and calculation produces a figure of about 42.12 sq. yds per rood which, allowing for uncertainty in the exact method of measurement, suggests that Westmorland slate roods of 42.25 sq. yds were being used. B. Tyson, 'The Rood as a Measurement of Builders' Work in Cumbria', *Vernacular Architecture* 10 (1979), 10-14.

⁴¹ PW, 667a, 680b, 620a. (see note 18).

⁴² Architectural Press, *Specification* (1932), 367.

⁴³ Probably Ferry Nab in Bowness, suggesting that they were perhaps boated across Windermere.

⁴⁴ Perhaps the maltster from High Mill, Lindeth, listed in Appendix 1.

⁴⁵ Nearer the 7 yard rood of Lancashire west of the lake, than the 6½ yard Westmorland rood (reference as note 40).

⁴⁶ PW, 666c and 728b.

⁴⁷ This early closure resembles the closure of Appleby gaol in 1878 after only *three years* use. Magistrates had long complained that the new gaol would be too big and expensive for local needs but, having been forced to build it for £6,000, repayable over 20 years, on closure they were asked to buy it back for £120 per prisoner held on 12 July 1877. B. Tyson, "An architectural history of the gaols and court-

- houses at Appleby”, Ancient Monuments Society, *Transactions* 32 (1988), 101-139, esp. 127-131.
- ⁴⁸ CRO(K), WSPU / K/ 2, Kendal Poor Law Union minute book, 1838-1842.
- ⁴⁹ The author’s teenage coin collection still contains a Victorian half-farthing dated 1843.
- ⁵⁰ CRO(K), WSPU/ K/ 1, minute book, 1836-1838.
- ⁵¹ William Cloudsdale (49, omnibus driver) was born at Hawkshead on 12 November 1811. His wife was Elizabeth (53) (see Appendix 3 for detail)
- ⁵² *Epitome of Title*, for The Mount, Bowness, copy supplied by the National Gas Archive, Warrington.
- ⁵³ CRO(K), WSPU/ K/ 12, minute book, 1861-1863.
- ⁵⁴ Windermere registers record another Woof family farming Matson Ground in Bowness. William Woof married Dorothy Forrest on 12 November 1836 and had children Eleanor (1837), Joseph (1839), William (1841) and Dorothy (1843). Both Woof families probably originated in Crook, where a Joseph and Ann Woof had children: Agnes (1813), *William* (1814), George (1816), Isabella (1818), *Joseph* (1820), then Elizabeth (1824) perhaps after the father died. (Based on IGI; Crook registers were away for filming).
- ⁵⁵ CRO(K), WPR/ 61/ volume of churchwardens’ accounts 1860-1873, Easter meeting 22 April 1862.
- ⁵⁶ Abraham Pattinson lived with his wife Agnes (43), his widowed mother Mary (75), a nephew Abraham (13, born in Dumfriesshire), a girl servant, two farm workers and two apprentice builders, William Marten (18, from Grasmere) and Henry Robinson (17, from Windermere). Abraham Pattinson, of Elim Grove, was buried on 27 October 1871 aged only 54 (Bowness Cemetery registers on microfilm).
- ⁵⁷ PW, 676 and 633.
- ⁵⁸ It is interesting that the anonymous historian of *Windermere Grammar School* (1936), 18 used a minute book (now missing) that began in 1763 and also ended in 1811, as if this and the overseers’ records may have had a common terminal factor. The old style of parish register keeping also ended that year.
- ⁵⁹ CRO(K), WPR/ 61/ Z7, copy Tax Assessment for year ending 5 April 1843.
- ⁶⁰ One might expect the baptism to occur *before* the marriage. The dates have been checked independently. If the dates are not (literally) an original *clerical* error, perhaps the parson realised the situation and took urgent measures to ameliorate the problem.

