

ART. XVIII. – *Two Appleby Houses in the 18th Century: a Documentary Study.*

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OF the many interesting old houses in Westmorland's former county town, few can be dated precisely and even fewer can be studied from detailed documentary evidence. The architectural scene mid-way up Boroughgate, the broad market street running almost north/south from St. Lawrence's church to the Castle, is dominated by the Red House (dated 1717 over the front door) and by the White House, said by Pevsner to be dated 1756.<sup>1</sup> Their former owners, the Carletons and Robinsons respectively, played an important part in local affairs, providing several mayors, town clerks, magistrates and even a Member of Parliament – John Robinson (1727-1802).<sup>2</sup>

Searches in the Cumbria County Record Offices at Carlisle and Kendal revealed various builders' estimates, plans, agreements and accounts which do not name the properties specifically but which contain enough clues for proof of identity from a variety of other documents. The latter enable the two houses to be placed in their social context in 18th century Appleby and shed interesting light on other matters like the bitterly contested election of 1754 and its consequences. Family affairs, property transactions and references to other buildings in the neighbourhood allow more detailed discussion of wider issues. It will be convenient to consider the houses separately.

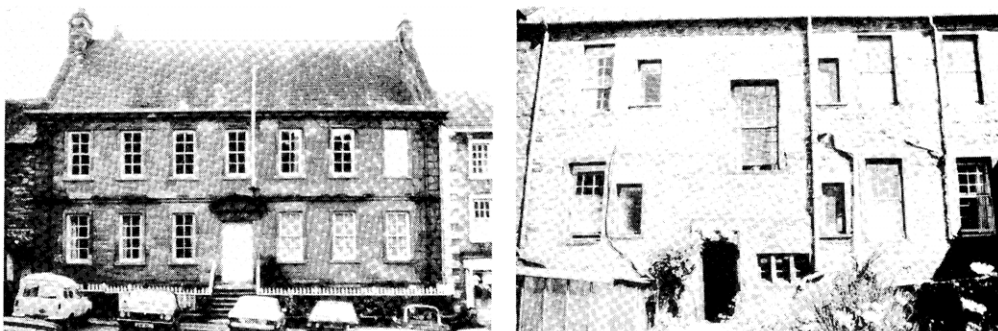


FIG. 1. – The Red House, Appleby. *Left.* The east front, dated 1717, facing Boroughgate. *Right.* Rear view showing seven sash windows of 1717 and the doorway, dated 1663, probably moved from the front of the house during the rebuilding. The four bathroom windows are modern.

**The Red House** (Examined by kind permission of Mr Maurice Bailey)

In the Carleton papers at Carlisle,<sup>3</sup> three documents give details of building this house but proof of its identity will be developed later. Firstly, an "Estimate about Mr Carleton's New House" is written in a distinctive but difficult hand which, by reference to Appleby Castle estate accounts and letters,<sup>4</sup> proves to be that of Thomas Carleton (1660-1731), who earned £30 a year as Lord Thanet's steward from at least 1690. It is dated 15 January 1716/17 and comprises numerous queries about the measurement and prices of building

materials and the cost of labour. In addition it contains a very crude sketch plan (noting proposed room functions and some sizes) and an itemised list of likely “Charge[s] of the house in Appleby Gessed at . . .” a total of £517 6s. 8d. Secondly, two anonymous but well-drawn, annotated plans provide details of each floor. These are partly redrawn in Figure 2. Thirdly, “An Account what moneys I paid about the bulding the house in Appleby”, is in the clear, stylish handwriting of Carleton’s son, whose relationship is proved from comments on the first page referring to “the Guiney Father gave in earnest” to the carpenter and to £5 “My Father pd.” to the lime supplier. The account totals £513 6s. 6½d. plus a few items missing from the bottom of damaged pages. Entries are often out of date order having been summarized from vouchers, some of which survive. Although the detail is not as clear as one would wish, a good impression of the work can be gained from combining the evidence from these documents.

The two finished plans for Carleton’s house show a structure on three floors and of seven bays with a central doorway, like the present Red House. One design included a garden and cellar plan, together with first and second storeys which had south-facing windows in the kitchen and the chamber above (Fig. 2a). The lesser staircase for servants intruded into the main entrance hall or “Lobby”. The alternative design was of three full storeys without cellars and provided a more convenient position for the servants’ staircase by continuing the rear portion of the house about 7½ feet further south so that the side windows had to be moved to the rear (Fig. 2b). The first plan has a linear scale and the second has dimensions marked on the principal storey. The measurements compare almost exactly with those of modern plans prepared when the Red House was converted to four quality flats several years ago.<sup>5</sup> Although the alternative layout was adopted, the fall in ground levels westwards favoured the retention of cellars, whilst economy probably caused the now disused attics to be substituted for the third storey.

To what extent was the Red House a new structure? Over the back door a fine stone lintel, inscribed TC MC 1663, is a reminder of when Carleton’s father Thomas (d. 1674), was Mayor of Appleby. However, when preparing his estimates, Carleton queried whether “. . . the front doore [would] Ans[wer] the goeing up Great Stair and if not [he wanted] an Arched doore out of the loby”. As a pleasant arched opening was provided between the entrance hall and main staircase, the old front door probably occupied an inconvenient position in the southern half of the middle wall of the present house and was undoubtedly re-located. From later election material, two shops seem to have projected in front of the northern half and their tenants may be included in another query: “If Margt Coulston and Timothy Harryson, John Thornbarrow and Rich Dent can remove so as we [can] pull downe in Aprill/May. It be hoped to be Covered before Winter”. Carleton allowed £12 for “pullinge downe the house & riddinge the foundations” and £10 more for “leadinge away rubidge, digginge the Celleringe &c”, but wondered “Where Celleringe [should be] and how large and where lights [windows] . . .” should be provided. Also he questioned whether “the timber in the ould house would serve for the back part and ould boards for the closett, back Roomes and Garettes”. These comments suggest that the house was totally rebuilt and extended forwards. The rear portion probably used the old foundations except the kitchen’s south wall, for which Carleton, on “15 January 1716/17 agreed wth Lancelot Wilkinson for the 7 foot 6 inches lenth with my house and downe backwards as far as my back buldings goes, computed

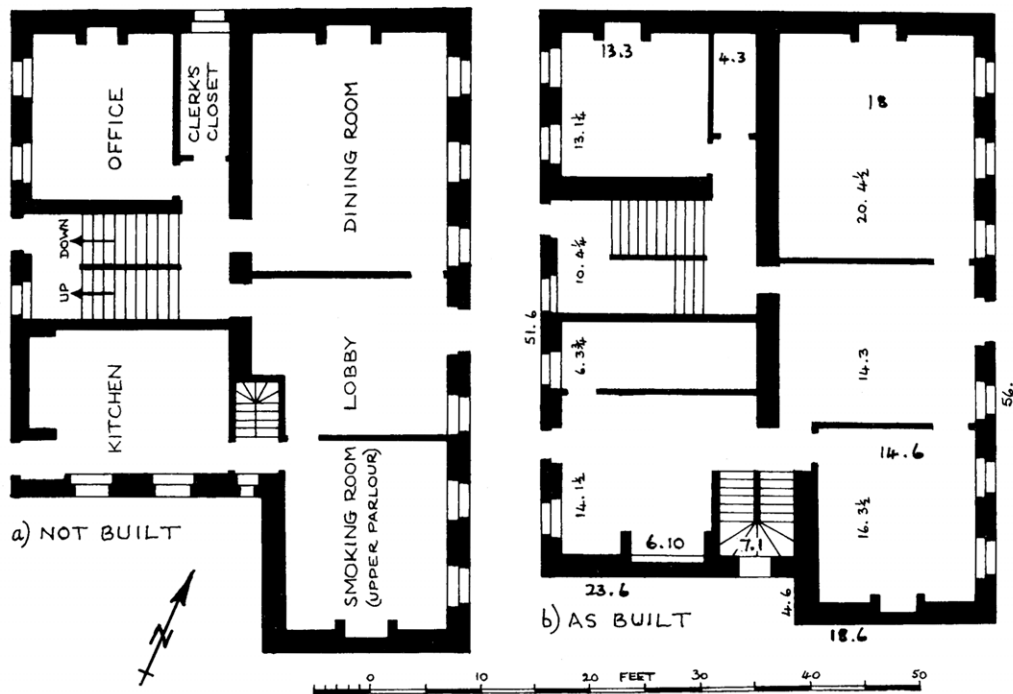


FIG. 2. – Redrawn extract from anonymous plans of the Red House, 1717, showing (a) unexecuted version and (b) the accepted layout of the principal storey. The rooms at the NW corner, however, had only one window each. Source: C.R.O., Carlisle, D/Lons/Carleton 3/2.

at about 8 yard longe . . . at £9, and 5s. to his wife, earnest 1s, or either of my Shambles in lieu . . .” (Fig. 3a).

The rear wall of the Red House has weathered, irregular sandstone blocks, probably re-used from the old house, with dressed surrounds to seven old sash windows. The front has 13 sash windows set in a formal architectural arrangement whose dimensions were specified on the unexecuted plan.<sup>6</sup> Carleton estimated £25 for “Hune Stone 500 Cart loads at 1s. . . .” and £8 6s. 8d. “for 500 Cart load Wallinge stones at 4d. . . .”. On 30 March 1717 his son recorded “Earle 11s., Shaw 9s., Hodgson 11s., Son 11s., Steadman 11s. gitting Stones at Battlebarrow quarrey” north of the bridge over the river Eden. By 12 October he had paid £5 12s. to “Earle & Shaw [for] 269 Cart loads of Stones at 5d. each . . . & 12s. for them and Steadman each 4 days ridding the quarry when tacken from them”. After this, scattered, disappointing references mention other quarries, for example in May 1718, “Thos Spend [spent] 3½ days at Bongait quarrey” at 8d. a day. On 16 April, £1 1s. had been paid to “Earle and Robt Hodgson each 10½ days at Bongait quarrey” and, on 10 March 1717/8, “Earle & Steadman gitting Stones at Hilton” earned £1 14s. 6d. by daywork. When Carleton was considering “what Cart loads flaggs” he needed, he noted “best all at Hilton Quarry with Chr. Earle<sup>7</sup> at 5d. per Cart load . . .” and paid 6d. earnest money for them on 15 January 1716/7. In December 1717, £8 10s. 11d. was paid to “Earle and Hodgson for 146½ yds of flagging at 1s. 2d. p. yd. . . .”, almost enough to flag all the cellars at the Red House. A vernacular letter from Henry Abraham of Murton adds interest.<sup>8</sup> Elsewhere, we are not told where

"Rowland Hodgson [was] gitting Chimney Stones" in December 1717 but, on 1 March 1717/8, £6 was paid to "Mr Dobson [for] the workmanship of 8 Chimneys and Setting them up [at] 15s. each".

Unfortunately, there is no other information of individual tasks undertaken by the masons. They started work on 1 April 1717 and were then paid regularly on Saturdays until 2 November by which date they had received a total of £68 7s. 8d. Mr Dobson, who had offered advice on the estimates, was the chief mason and was the only one to receive an allowance for board, totalling 29 weeks at 2s. 6d. a week. His team included Robert Addison<sup>9</sup> and his man, Gregory Clark & son, "Spend mayson" and "Milburne mayson" but, after 25 May they were not named. Most had 1s. 8d. a day compared with Dobson's 2s. and they worked almost full-time. A gang of wallers and labourers started two weeks before the masons, with Jos. Wilson, Ed. Bayliffe, Jon and Warton being paid 11s. 8d. Their numbers grew rapidly to include twelve other names like Routh, Thornbarrow, Oddy, Murdock, Regnaldson and "Spend, Labourer". As they also worked little after 2 November, the walling was no doubt complete by then and their work cost over £103, compared to Carleton's estimate of £55, for "Worke and Settinge front wall" and £30 for "Walling all about". Some of the difference could be transport costs which were included with the cost of stone.

Mr Dobson had advised that "woodworke of the Roofe, floors . . . staircase[s], Sash Windowes . . . and other worke" would cost "neare £60", but Carleton wondered "If sash windowes [would] be as chepe . . .".<sup>10</sup> In the event £64 1s. was paid to a local carpenter, Mark Gardner, in 17 instalments starting on 10 May 1717 and ending, on 14 November 1718, with £7 19s. 6d. "in full of the £63 for the great bargain of Mr Carleton's new house" . . . "with the Guiney Father gave in earnest". This sum included 16s. "for felling 33 trees" but other detail of his work is lacking. A few personal facts about Mark Gardner have been found. He voted in the 1723 election on burghage no. 201 in Battlebarrow, about 120 yards north of the Eden bridge on the east side of the highway, but he sold the property to the Lowthers on 23 July 1723.<sup>11</sup> On 15 September 1726, his wife Mary was buried at St. Lawrence's church. They had at least two children, John (Bapt. Jan. 1700) and Alice (Jan. 1703). Either he, or a son Mark, married Bridget Hogg on 4 June 1727, and produced a son Joseph in May 1728.

It is worth digressing briefly to examine the Appleby Castle accounts for 1700. They record that Mark Gardner received £9 7s. 3d. for working there almost full-time from 15 April to 14 September 1700 at 9s. a week. Materials and other labour cost £17 more:

in furnishinge the Great Stair Case at Appleby Castle with Wainscott, Stringboards, ballasters, Cappinge of posts [&] Mouldings [and] for removeinge the Staircase in the Lower Hall, layinge that part of the Uper Hall floor, Hankeinge the Doore next the Hall and wainscotteinge neare the dineinge Roome doore next the Stair Case, for lime & plasteringe the Great Staircase & that part of the Lower Hall where the little Stair Case stood . . .

In view of the similarity of the Castle and the Red House staircases, it is worth questioning whether others, like Askham Hall, were also his work. Other jobs at the Castle are of interest.<sup>12</sup> On 7 June 1707 Gardner had £2 15s. 6d. for "taking downe a decayed Beame in the Tower and part of the floor and putting up a new One and for taking downe the Hall Stairs and putting in new Timber and sawing it and making a frame to cast the Lead in and making two park Gates . . .". Five days later, £4 os. 8d. was paid "to



William Dobson Mason<sup>13</sup> and others for taking downe and Setting up the Great Hall Stairs and for flaging and lying anew the low Kitchen where the Steward lives . . .". If the reason for amending the stairs is not clear, at least this suggests that Dobson and Gardner had worked together a decade before starting the Red House.

In addition to his desire to re-use the old timber, Carleton had already identified about half of the trees he needed for the Red House before he made his estimate. He allowed £24 for "the 17 trees in the Wood at Flaikbridge", two miles north-east of Appleby, and £11 for "4 trees in Whinfell"<sup>14</sup> as well as £27 "for about 20 trees . . . yet to be bought . . . to finish the worke". Also, he allowed £1 15s. for a "beame at Brougham Castle", perhaps because its size satisfied a particular need, and £18 for "200 fir deale boards at Penrith".<sup>15</sup> Leonard Parke and Thomas Teasdall were to have £5 15s. for "leadinge all the wood". Apparently Parke borrowed £15 in anticipation of these transport charges and the cost of 13 trees at 5s., which his father supplied from Newbiggin,<sup>16</sup> was set against this loan. As no payments for other trees appear in the accounts, Carleton must have paid for them himself and further details are disappointing. Isaac Stephenson was paid £9 6s. on 8 March 1717/8 "for 4 Roods and 20 ft of bourds at 46s. per rood"<sup>17</sup> and £3 2s. 6d. was given to "Bridget Jackson [of] Kirkbythore [for] 1 Rood of bourds" as well as 12s. 6d. to a Thomas Cumpston for "16 bourds". From further away, Mr David Douthwaite had £2 4s. for "8 Norway Okebourds", including "Carriage to B[arnar]d Castle" and then to Appleby. For timber storage and work space, Carleton paid 9s. arrears "to Margt. Coulston [for] 1 Years rent of the wood Yeard" on 12 April 1718 and, on 10 March, had given 2s. to "Earle and Steadman each 1 Day walling wood Yeard", perhaps to repair breaches made to ease access.

More coherent information is available for the slate. Following Mr Dobson's advice, Carleton allowed for "6 Rood blew Slate, getting, leading &c at £3 per rood" and wrote: "Mr Knot says that the blew Slait to be delivered at Swindell head at 29s. per Rooud . . . 15 Cart load to a Rood.<sup>18</sup> Miles Longmire at Swindell foot to bring them to new close nouck or rather to Black Sick [sike] where Anth. Parkin had his . . . Longmire will lay the Slait on at 8s. 6d. per rood". Presumably the slate came from Mosedale quarry, or perhaps from Wren Gill quarry at the head of Longsleddale. In fact, on 14 September 1717, Miles Longmire and William Sandford were paid £12 1s. "for 7 Roods of slate" but Carleton's son added "We had but about 5½ Roods which is £9 18s., so ov[er] p[ai]d £2 3s.". This gives a delivered value between 34.4 and 36s. per rood. Longmire was not employed. Instead, John Dodgson received £2 17s. for laying "6 Roods and 16 yards at 9s. per Rood"<sup>19</sup> and "a Rood of the said Slates came from Breatherdale", probably to make up the deficit. The building account records £1 13s. for "1 Rood of Orton Slait" and "A man of Orton" had 1s. 6d. for delivering "a Cart loade of brocken Slate" in June 1717. As Orton lies on the direct route, these might refer to the Breatherdale consignment. Roofing was finished before 24 May 1718 when Dodgson received £1 14s. for "pointing Slate and rigging" and 14s. was given to "Margt [for] making lime and [for] service 28½ days at 6d." The accounts do not distinguish between heart laths for slating and sap laths for plasterwork, but a Richard Dalton<sup>20</sup> supplied 2000 laths at only 6d. a hundred.

When planning his supplies of lime, Carleton noted that "James Unthank sold stone lime at the Kilne at 8d. per bushel . . . or 12d. per load [of] 6 pecks and had for Carrage 2d. per bsh or 3d. per load, but a good horse and Cart will bringe 4 bus[hels] . . .". He

wondered "If best to bourne A Kill or 2 or Contract for so much per load . . .". He allowed £36 for lime for mortar, £1 for hair and £15 for plastering "Cealings & p[ar]titions at 2d. per yeard [and] walls at 1d. ob. per yeard". On 12 October 1717, Thomas Robertson was paid £6 for "leading 735 bus. lime" at almost 2d. a bushel. A month later, James Unthank received £18 10s. for 756 bushels of "Lime for walls" and had 9 guineas more "in part of plaistering lime", which seems to have totalled 322 bushels by 6 December 1718 when he was paid in full again. For bonding, one Laverick was paid 1s. 3d. for "4 great bundles of reades and carriage", "A man of Winton" had 2s. for reeds, and over 80 stones of hair was bought at 6d., 7d. and 8d. a stone from Geo. Atkinson, "Spunr [Spooners] Sowrby" and Richard Fawell respectively. These three families were tanners at Temple Sowerby. By 23 August 1718, Thomas Knot<sup>21</sup> had been paid in part for plastering but his final payment is not recorded.

Knot had also been paid £3 10s. 6d. on 29 March "for Glass &c" including 1s. for "pulling the Glass out of the old house" but, in addition £9 5s. was paid to "Askew Glaisier for Glasse &c" on 18 October 1718. For making the windows etc. £8 5s. was paid to "Robt. Todd for Sash's fraimes and drissers" on 25 October 1718, but a voucher, submitted the previous day, shows how much detail was lost in making up the accounts.<sup>22</sup> Although 2s. 6d. was paid to "Mr Deane [for] 25 yds. sash coard", not all the windows were sashed for John Jackson had £2 11s. 3d. for "2 Kaisments and 5 hinges" and Richard Waistell had 17s. 1d. for "1 Kaisment, 41 lbs wt at 5d. each", probably made of iron.

Waistell also charged 1s. 6d. for "a Reckon Krook" and 1s. for "one Scraper for shous" and had 17s. 6d. for "mending grates & Hinges". The main blacksmith's work was done by Thomas Wilson who received over £50 between November 1717 and December 1718 and several of his bills have survived. The only detail in the final account concerns £4 paid for "12,000 10d. Nailes at 7s. per 1000". Other suppliers of nails included Robert Wilson of Penrith but some items came from further away. For example, William Bayles of Barnard Castle supplied "Scrues & bushes & Sashes", John Dent had 2s. 6d. for "Carriage [of] 100 wt. Iron from Newcastle", though its purpose is not stated, and "Things bought at Burrough bridge, locks &c" cost £7 3s. 6d. Nearer to Appleby, 9s. was given "To 2 men for bringing 44 peaces of lead at 5d. per horse" and 1s. 3d. "To Atkinson 6 peaces more", probably for flashings and rainwater goods, so that each horse carried two pieces, probably weighing one hundredweight each.

Finally, between early August and the end of October 1718, Mr Dobson and some wallers and labourers earned £22 2s. 2d. on unspecified work. And[rew] Warton earned £1 13s. 2d. for "Severall days at Hilton and Bongait Quarreys", Rowland Hodgson was "gitting 29 yds flags [at] 6d. each" and one Bowerbank was paid 1s. 6d. for "Slaiting litle house". These and other, more vague comments appear to refer to the provision of outbuildings behind the house, for Carleton had allowed £15 for a "back brew house, Stones and walling" and £4 for a "house [of] office and walling and slate" in his estimate. This information typifies the lack of important detail, like numbers of days worked and when men actually started and finished tasks which are, too often, not identified. As a result, it is not possible to explore the finer points of building management like the sequence and timing of each operation. Nevertheless the supply of materials, their source and cost and the role of numerous individuals has been exposed so that cross-reference can be made with other buildings in the district.

In 1693, Thomas Carleton (d. 1731) wrote out a list of six burgages which he and his father had accumulated, and which comprise the present site for the Red House, its gardens and outbuildings. The position of individual plots can be identified best by reference to the plans and proofs-of-title generated by the rival Lowther and Thanet election interests in and after 1754.<sup>23</sup> Although their techniques and burgage reference numbers differ, their descriptions are similar and can be correlated with Carleton's own account. The details are summarized in Table 1 in which are included five additional burgages controlled by Carleton's son Thomas in 1754 (see Fig. 3a and b).

Thomas Carleton (d. 1674) began his estate modestly in 1660 by purchasing John Middleton's burgage (69) almost at the bottom of the Wiend side street. In 1662 Edmund and Catherine Guy sold the rear portions of their estate but retained their frontage on Boroughgate, and Carleton managed to buy two of the three burgages. However Robert Emerson, whose house adjoined the Guy's on the south side, had already bought the largest portion (66), with a considerable frontage on the Wiend. This made Carleton's estate L-shaped, with a kitchen, parlour and stable in an inconvenient position on plot 67. It is not clear whether Carleton built on that plot in 1663 or whether Emerson quickly sold his house (60) to Carleton, and perhaps also (66) to the Mounseys. Certainly, the latter bought (61) from the Guys in 1671 and sold it to Carleton two years later, presumably to extend his street frontage, but held on to (66) behind until 1691, when John Lamb owned it briefly before enabling Carleton's son to complete the estate in 1693. Therefore one cannot be sure whether the rear doorway of the Red House was re-located from plot 67 or 60, but Carleton's query about the suitability of the front door's position in 1717 suggests the latter.

When Carleton was buried on 2 January 1731/2, his will, dated 14 November 1728 left over £5,500 in legacies.<sup>24</sup> His widow Dorothy (*née* Nelson) was to have £40 a year and "the use and occupation of that part of my new built Dwelling House I now live in with half the Garden [and] outhouses . . . with free use of the Pump and use of furniture . . .". He entailed the property for the use of his four sons Thomas, John, Christopher and William in turn and their male heirs. Dorothy Carleton was buried on 13 November 1739 and when her eldest son Thomas died, on 28 April 1765 aged 80, he possessed an estate which "through . . . my owne great care is considerable". He had no sons, though he was still hopeful in 1758 when he made his complex will.<sup>25</sup> He left his second wife, Hannah, £100 plus £200 worth of household effects and occupation of the Red House for 60 years if she lived that long. His executors, John and Daniel Robinson, were to sell his property to invest £2,000 for his elder grandson John Metcalfe (bn. 1753) and £2,000 equally for Thomas and Elizabeth Metcalfe; all children of his elder daughter Elizabeth (1718-1790), who had married John Metcalfe of Bellerby near Richmond before 1748. These children were to share a further £4,000 equally or, if they died young, it was to provide Elizabeth with £120 annually. In a codicil, dated 7 February 1763, he left to Hannah Carleton and his nephew William Hutchinson of Eggleston Hall near Barnard Castle, all his burgages in Appleby to be sold within 15 years, the proceeds to be used for the purposes already stated. To some extent this contravened the entail established in 1732. Five of his eleven burgages (65, 70, 164, 165 and 24) passed to John Metcalfe who retained the first for a time and sold the other four to the Lowthers.<sup>26</sup> However, with regard to the six burgages listed in 1693 and later entailed, a dispute arose and they eventually passed to the heir of Carleton's younger brother, Rev. John

TABLE 1. – Summary of property owned by Thomas Carleton in 1754 when, for £1000 each, the eleven burgages were conveyed temporarily to prospective voters supporting the Lowther interest.

BURGAGES OWNED BY THOMAS CARLETON IN 1693 (Later Humphrey Carleton's)

Plot no. on Lowther plan	Poll no. (Thanet)	Voter in (1723) 1754	Description of Burgage (Summary only).
60	39	(Thos Carleton) Sir Wm Fleming Rydal	Burg. Part of Mr T. Carleton's house called the Upper Parlour with cellars below & rooms above. 1635 Nov. 7 Sold by Lan. Marton to Robt Emerson. Sale by R.E. to T.C. not recorded. 1693 "House & backhouse called Emerson's house".
61	25	(Thos Carleton) John Stanhope	Burg. formerly two shops with Rooms over, now Mr Carleton's Dining Room with cellars below. 1671 Jne 16 Edmund & Cath. Guy to John Mounsey. 1673 Oct 26 John Mounsey sells to T. Carleton. 1693 Burg. "now 2 shoppes & 2 lofts over them . . . purchased from John Mounsey 1673".
67	97	( - ? - ) John Harrison	Burg. formerly Kitchen, Parlour & Stable now Kit., Stable & Garden behind Mr Carleton's house. 1662 Oct 16 Edmd. & Cath. Guy sell to T. Carleton. 1693 Same information. "back parlour . . . on part".
66	75	(Thomas Parker) George Hartley	Burg. former Stable & Byer long since fallen down in Wiend, with two Fold yards, formerly John Lamb's. 1662 Mar 27 Edmd. & Cath. Guy sell to Robt Emerson. 1691 Sep 22 Release from Michael & Isabel Mounsey. 1693 Dec 1 John & Ann Lamb sell to T. Carleton.
68	98	(Rd Braithwaite) John Monkhouse	Burg. in Wiend, late a house & garth, now a Malt Kiln and upper part of Carleton's large garden, formerly estate of Edmund Guy. 12 yds × 6 yds. 1693 Same information. Purchased "from Edmund & Katherine Guy in 1662".
69	26	(Nicholas Dent) William Norton	Burg. formerly of John Middleton between Lee Garth & Richd Sowerby's; the lower part of Thos Carleton's garden next the Summerhouse. 1660 Dec 15 John Middleton sells to T. Carleton. 1693 Confirmation of above details.

OTHER BURGAGES OWNED BY THOMAS CARLETON IN 1754. (Not Humphrey Carleton's)

65		(Thomas Rudd) Wm. Monkhouse	Burg. whereon a house formerly stood in Wiend. Mr Carleton many years in possession.
70	1	(Tho. Carleton Jnr) Sir Geo Dalston	Burg. house in Wiend between Carleton's summer house and Dungate. Mr Carleton many years in possession.
165	2	(Thos. Nicholson) Henry Fletcher	Burg. Stable & Barn now a cowhouse and Coach House, formerly Mounsey's in Doomgate. Mr Carleton many years in possession.
164	99	( - ? - ) Percival Clemell	Burg. Barn in Dungate, adjoins Mr Carleton's coach house on S and his Garden on East. Mr Carleton many years in possession.
24	4	(Robt Whitehead) Rev John Cowper	Burg. facing down Scattergate from NW end, commonly called Catherine Fidlers Garth, late Thos Teasdale.

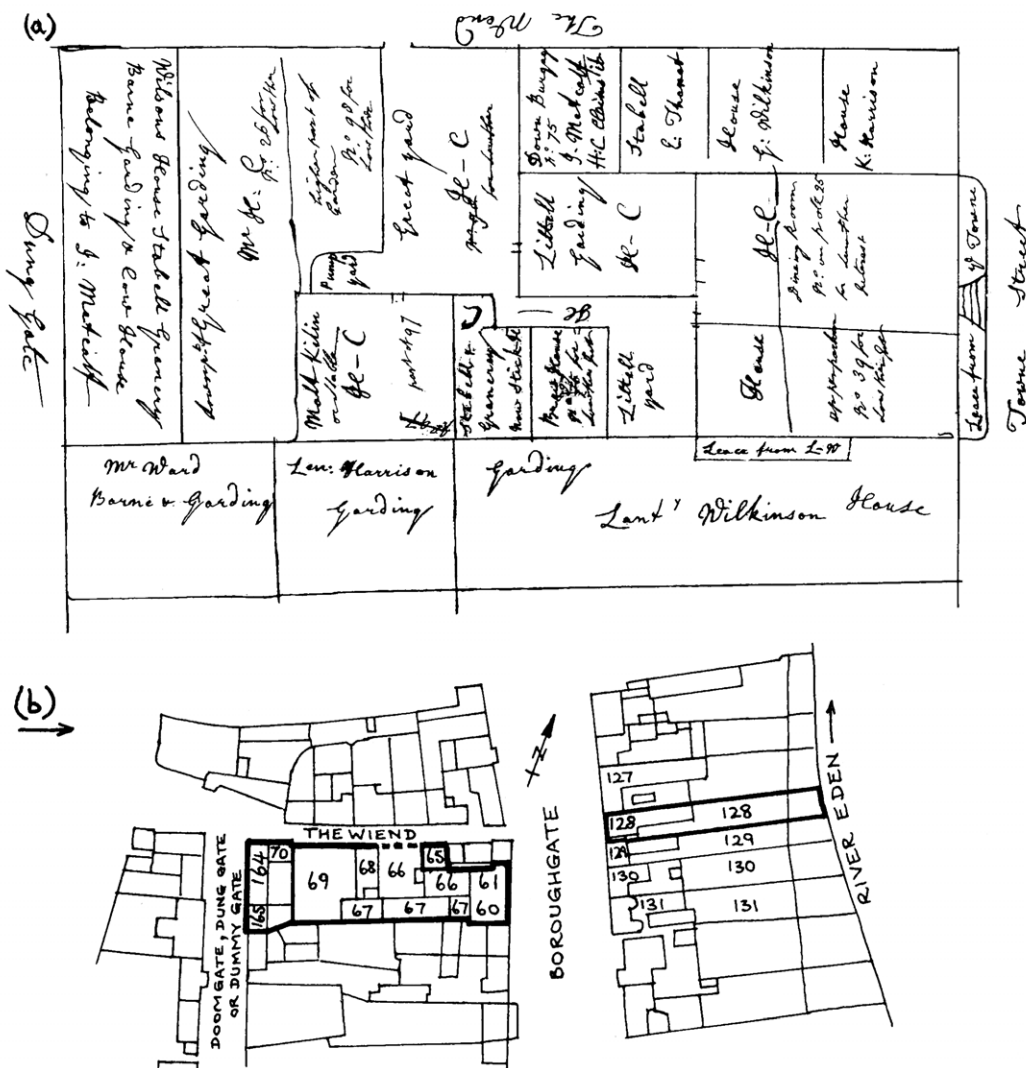


FIG. 3. – (a) Sketch plan of the Red House estate, Appleby (1766) mainly in Humphrey Carleton's handwriting. Source: C.R.O., Kendal, WD/Hoth, box 34. (b) Extract from the 1754 Election Map (D/Lons), showing the burgage plots which made up the Red House and White House properties. By comparing these plans with Table 1, the evolution of the Red House estate can be determined.

Carleton (born 1693) of Colchester. One product of the dispute is a crude sketch (Fig. 3a) endorsed "Plans of the Estate at Appleby, late Carleton's Great House". This confirms much of the detail discussed above.<sup>27</sup> A covering letter in the same handwriting is dated 2 June 1766. It was addressed to "Mr Olivant at No 3 in Hare Court in the Temple, London" by H. Carleton from Guifford (Gifford, 8 miles N of Colchester).

On 7 June 1765, Humphrey Carleton of Colchester, Thomas Olivant and Henry Fothergill, both of the Inner Temple, were parties to a common recovery to defeat the entail.<sup>28</sup> Thus, on 30 July 1768, Carleton sold the "Dwelling House with yards, Gardens, Brewhouse, Malt Kiln . . . late in possession of Thomas Carleton deceased" to Christopher Harrison of Appleby for £720. On 6 September 1768, Harrison sold it for the same sum to the Rev. Gilpin Gorst, of Staindrop near Barnard Castle, who in turn sold it, on 28 January following, to Thomas Heelis of Appleby Castle (Lord Thanet's agent) for a mere £300. No doubt Gorst earned his reward in 1775 when Sackville, 8th Earl of Thanet, presented him to the living at Kirkby Thore.<sup>29</sup> Heelis then conveyed Carleton's house to the Earl, on 5 September 1780, as part of a £7,000 deal involving many burgages. After the latter's death in 1786, a schedule of "Burgages belonging the Earl of Thanet . . . in Appleby as they stood in 1787" was drawn up.<sup>30</sup> These included the "Six [entailed] Burgages . . . Late Carleton's which in . . . 1754 voted in Lowther Interest" and four more Carleton "Burgages belonging the Earl of Lonsdale . . ." already mentioned. The list shows that the Red House was occupied by Dr Richardson and Miss Thompson.<sup>31</sup> Little altered, it remained part of the Appleby Castle estate until sold to Mr Bailey some years ago.

### **The White House** (Examined with the kind help of Dr Peter Delap)

In contrast to the Red House, in 1754 the White House comprised just one long burgage stretching eastwards from Boroughgate to the river Eden (Fig. 3b). It was numbered 128 on the Lowther election plan of Appleby and no. 19 in the Thanet Poll Lists, which describe it as "Burgage house, back Kitchen, Stable and Garden between the house late Rd. Baynes (now Lord Thanet's) on the Northwest side and the Burgage house late Winders now Rd. Smiths on the Southeast". In addition, former owners are noted: "Mr Williamson Heretofore Mr Morland". From these names and the deeds of "Williamson's Burgage" in the Lowther archive,<sup>32</sup> the property's history during the first half of the 18th century can be traced.

On 6 January 1729, Rev. John Morland of Penrith and Margaret, his wife,<sup>33</sup> sold the burgage to John Williamson of Appleby, apothecary, and Jane his wife<sup>34</sup> for £136 10s. Standing between the houses of "Jephthah Winder and Mr Richard Baynes",<sup>35</sup> the property had descended to John Morland on the death of his brother "William Morland of Skipton Castle" who, as "Steward to the Earl of Thanet" was buried at Skipton on 6 June 1720.<sup>36</sup> John Williamson was buried on 29 November 1732 at St. Lawrence's church and, on 2 February 1743, his widow mortgaged the property for £90 to Richard Spooner, a cordwainer of Appleby. Ruth Williamson, the elder daughter was a witness. Clearly finances did not improve, for Spooner advanced £26 more on 2 February 1745 and £144 on 30 May 1748, making £260 in all. In October 1749, Ruth Williamson emigrated to Hampton Town, Norfolk County, Virginia where she died in 1751,<sup>37</sup> and her mother moved to London. Thus, on 17 November 1753, "Jane Williamson of

Battersea (Surrey), widow, and Ann Williamson [her younger daughter] of the Bank of England in the City of London, spinster" for £172 2s. 1½d. and "Margaret Simpson, widow of Richard Spooner,<sup>38</sup> and Richard Spooner [her nephew] of Temple Sowerby, yeoman" for £139 9s. 10½d. sold the property to Katherine Lowther of Lowther.<sup>39</sup> As the widow of Robert Lowther (1681-1745) of Maulds Meaburn, she held the Lowther estates following the death, unmarried, of Henry 3rd Viscount Lonsdale in 1751, until her son, Sir James Lowther (1736-1802), came of age in 1757. On 6 April 1754, Mrs Lowther conveyed the burgage to John Gammage of Lowther for £400 so that he could vote for the Lowther candidate and he re-conveyed it to her on 23 April for the same amount. The White House was now under the influence of William Armitage and John Robinson, joint stewards of the Lowther estate, and building work began by 17 January 1754.

Several documents provide building information which is often repetitive and sometimes unclear. Therefore details of their contents require careful comparison. A plan of a three-storey house, with back buildings, accompanies "An Account of . . . the work to be done in and about the House late Williamson's". These state how each room was to be altered and how the two-storey rear wing was to be rebuilt. They will be examined shortly. Both were developed from a preliminary plan and "Estemate of the Charge of the House wherein Richd Spooner Latly lived" which is endorsed "Estimate of the House for Mr John Robinson as *first* proposed and plan". This first plan (Fig. 4) shows only the two lower storeys of a double-pile house, of three bays with a front and a side entrance, presumably because more changes were intended for the lower storeys as will be demonstrated. Of the stated room dimensions only two agree with the linear scale and over 50 per cent err by 9 inches or more, the largest discrepancy being 2 feet 7 inches. A comparison of both pairs of documents suggests that this preliminary plan shows the general layout of the pre-existing house, whereas the later version (Fig. 5a) shows the intended final arrangement. Except for prices of labour and materials, which totalled £58 5s. 10d., most of the information in the first "Estemate" was incorporated into the final work specification or "Account". Sundry items in the latter can be checked against a valuation made by two arbitrators, Edmund Bowman and John Fallowfield, before the final accounts were settled on 27 November 1754. The only original bill to have survived, however, concerned £10 7s. 3d. charged for 57 items of ironmongery (mainly nails, hinges and locks), supplied by Thomas Yare of Appleby between 29 January and 14 October 1754. A small account book, in the same handwriting as the "Estemate", will be considered later.

By combining the evidence from these sources, the building work can be described, starting with alterations to the 3½ storey front section of the house. In the office and parlour the floors were to be lowered 7 inches and "framed with Oak Sleepers and boarded in the best manner with good Seasoned Deals".<sup>40</sup> Both rooms were to have "A New Fire Slab and Coves to the Chimney with a Frame round it and a Good Cornish . . . a new Sash Window Glazed and Shutts with Architrave all Cased round . . . a new Door and Doorcase<sup>41</sup> . . . [and] a New Brick Partition" all to be plastered "except . . . where the old will do". In addition the parlour was to be "Wainscotted Surbase [chair-rail] high", have a "Neat New Chimney piece" and have the side "Door walled up and a Closet made in its place Cased round with Deal and Shelved".

The "passage to the Front Door [was] to be lowered 7 Inches and laid very well with



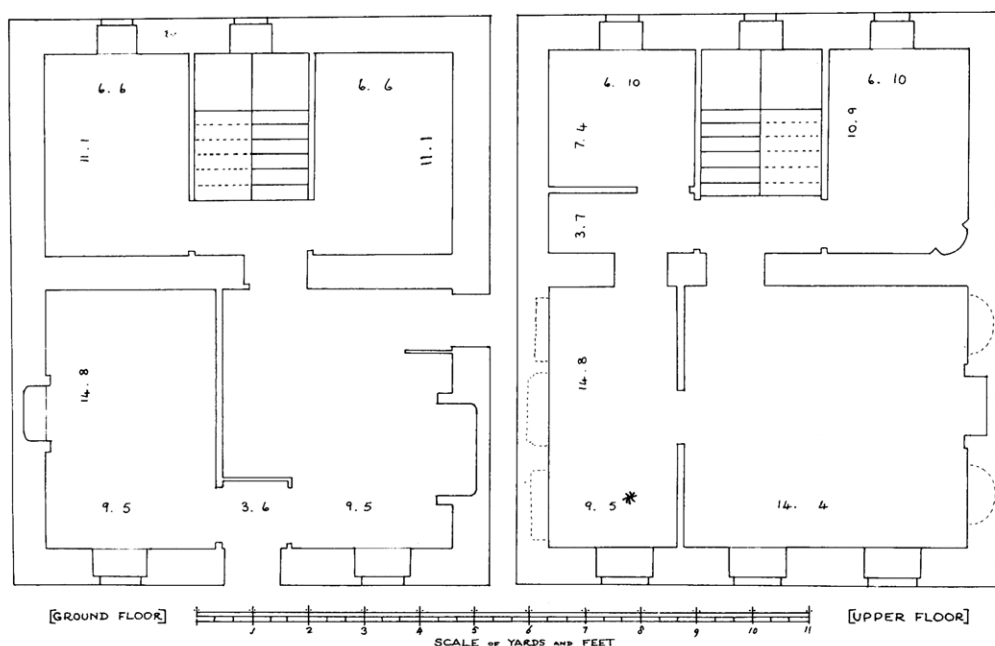


FIG. 4. – Redrawn plans of the lower floors of “. . . Mr John Robinson’s House, Appleby”. The originals were probably drawn by Thomas Perkins, who undertook the rebuilding work at the White House in 1754, and appear to show the layout before alteration. Most stated dimensions are approximate and (\*) is wrong by over 2½ ft. Source: C.R.O., Carlisle, D/Lons/L, Misc.

New Flaggs . . . and Glass [was] to be put above the Door to give light”. “Flagging 9 yards” was assessed at 2s. 2d. a sq. yd. and “Front Door Altering with a Sash on the Top” just 4s. The former staircase, shown on Fig. 4, was replaced by “D The Backpassage” in which were fitted 18 new joists and 15 yards of “Good Deal . . . Flowering” at 3s. per sq. yd. The larder was to have the rear “Window made up and a new one put in, a Casement with Stanchers and Glazed”. The “Back Office” was to have a new casement window with shutters<sup>42</sup> and a “Window Seat, Back and Elbow” as well as “a new Cupboard . . . in the old Windowstead with Architraves”. A new “Chimney piece” and “a new Chimney to the Top”, placed across the corner for easier building inside the existing walls, made it a more comfortable room. In these lesser rooms only “Washboards” (skirting boards) were provided and the old doors were re-hung. Finally, under the whole ground floor “The Cellars [were] to be repaired, paved where necessary, Cleaned out [and] the water carried off”. New, stone “Stairs down to the Cellar and a Door with Architraves and Casing”, which cost 7s. and 16s. respectively, were to provide access from the rear wing *via* a small extension to the main cellar.

Access to the old building’s upper floors was provided behind its rear wall by “F. A New Stair Case to be well finished to the Second Floor [*i.e.* next floor with] Two Sash Windows” properly cased and shuttered. Across the front of the middle storey “The Dining Room [was] to be wainscotted Surbase high round the whole Room” and have “Three new Sash Windows with new Shutts Architraves, [seats] and Casing to the Bottom”.<sup>43</sup> A new deal floor, a new door with “a Mortiss Lock”, and a fine fireplace

were to make this an attractive room. Only £17 8s. was allowed for this work including 3s. a sq. yd. for "40 Yards of Flowering" and 3s. for "Taking up the Old Flower and liveling joysts". Behind, "A Lodging Room" over the larder was refloored, had a new partition and a new fireplace in the corner with "a Chimney to the top". A "new Cupboard with Shelves" was to be "where the old Window was . . . walled up" and a new window was to face north. Across the passageway, over the back office, "Upper Stairs [were] to be new and well fitted up to the 3rd Floor" with a closet under them. The top floor comprised two lodging rooms at the front and "a Little Room" behind, which were to have new casement windows with seats, new coves to the fireplaces, the doors cased and the floors and plaster repaired. The "Staircase leading up to the Garrett [above was] to be well mended and . . . two new Windows well Glazed [were] to be put in, the one a Casement and Shutt out of the Slate as formerly . . .". Floors, doors and plaster were to be repaired. "All the Slate and Roof of the House [were] to be . . . mended . . . the outside well pointed and beamfilled" and "The whole House . . . properly plaistered, Glazed and whitewashed" and suitably painted. The assessors' comments prove that work was done on all of these items but details are sparse.

All the work was to be "finished in a good Genteel manner in all respects fitt for a Gentleman's family . . .". From the details in the three preceding paragraphs, it is clear that the only structural work undertaken was the removal of the former staircase, changes to some doorways and the opening of windows in the north wall as substitutes for those blocked up in the rear wall. Therefore the front block of the White House was merely refurbished for John Robinson so that, as the Lowther agent in Appleby, he could live in an appropriate style in the house formerly occupied by Lord Thanet's agents, Timothy Banks and William Morland (see note 35). However, as the present layout differs from the 1754 plan (Fig. 5) and as the new windows in the north wall had plain lintels, rather than the ogee-headed style in the rest of the house, a later building episode will need consideration after details of the rear wing have been discussed.

The last portion of the "Account" specification is devoted to:

The Back Building, to be all new built . . . 17 Yards long, [5 yards two foot and six Inches wide] and 6 yards high.<sup>44</sup> Three Gavel ends to be Carried up to be walled with Lime and Sand with Good Stone . . . well timbered with Oak, Good Sparrs, Joists and Laths, and Slated . . . with Blue Slate of the best sort well pointed . . . finished in the best . . . workmanlike manner . . . according to the plann . . . The whole New Building to be troughed along the Easing and a Spout to bring the Water to the Low Corner next the House. The passage to be neatly and well paved throughout, the yard also up to the Garden Wall and made a Gradual Discent, and new and Strong Doors to the passage, Garden, Dunghill and Stable painted. A Little House to be built as Planned – Poultry yard, Garden wall & Door into the Garden &c &c &c.

All the rooms were to be finished to the same standards as in the front part of the house, with sash windows and doors properly cased. Downstairs floors were to be well flagged (using 33 sq. yds. at 2s. 2d.) and a wainscotted partition, valued at 3s. a sq. yd., was to separate the scullery/brewhouse (with its new chimney) from the kitchen where "Stoves [were] to be set according to the Plan". "A Conveniency to take the Water off by Sink or Drain as necessary" was specified for the kitchen, but the scullery's sanitation was even more vague. It is important to note that the kitchen was to have *two* windows with seats (both assessed at 8s.) and that the "Best Lodging Roome" was to be over it with "A Dressing Closet" over the scullery. Perhaps this was to capture rising warmth and

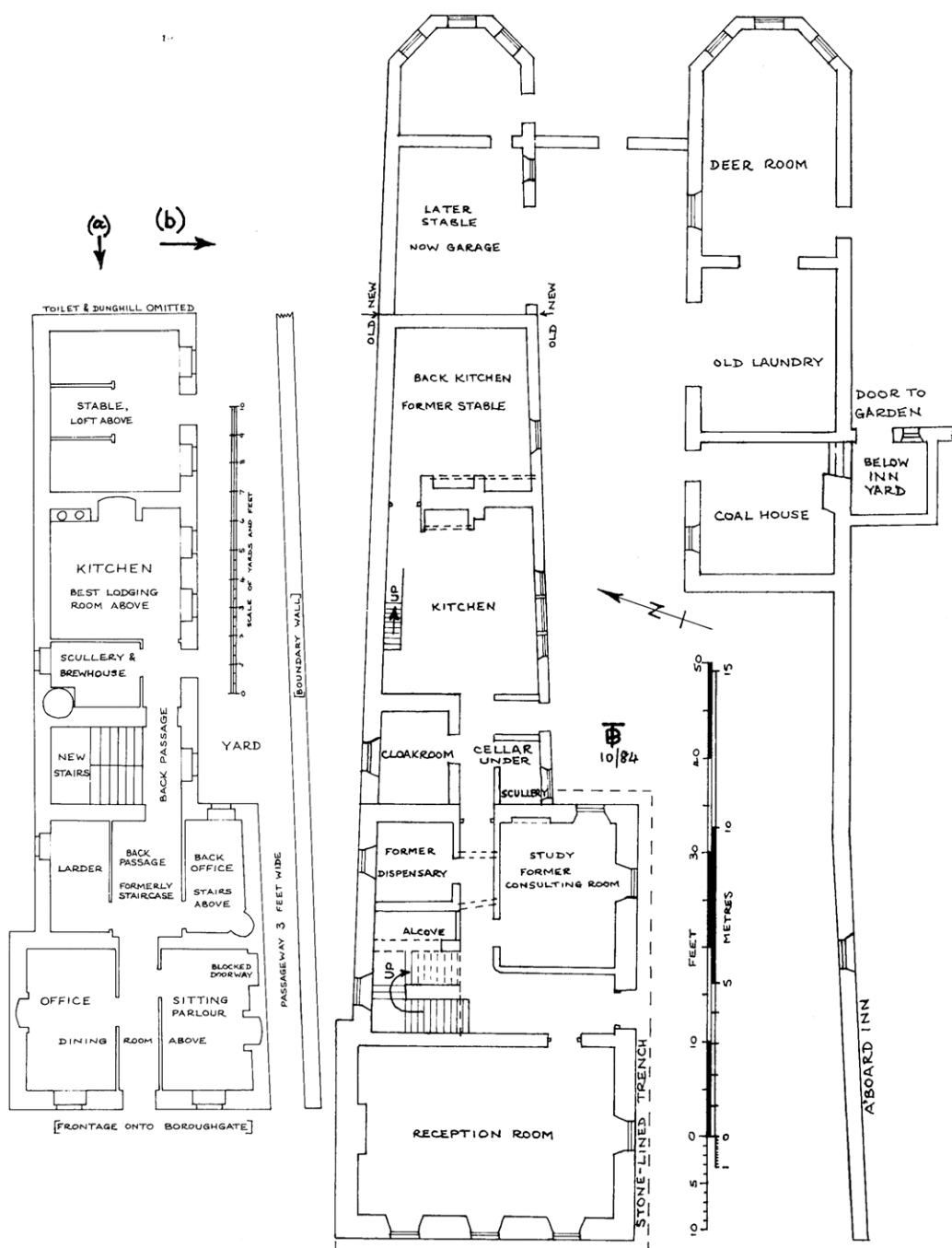


FIG. 5. – Plans of the White House, Appleby. (a) Thomas Perkin's plan (1754) of the intended alterations (redrawn), labelled from the accompanying list of rooms. (b) Plan of the present arrangement, measured and drawn by the author. Both plans are reduced to a common scale and are positioned to allow comparison of structural details described in the text. *Note:* At Kirkby Thore, on 28 Dec. 1738, Thomas Perkins, carpenter, married Mary Addison of Kings Meaburn.

obtain quiet and privacy from the bustling market street in front of the house. The stable was to have "Three close Stalls . . . well wainscotted . . . and Conveniently fitted . . . well paved with small Stones and conduit or trough Stones to take the Water off". The feeding arrangements allowed "the hay seeds to fall behind the Manger". Part of the stable loft for hay was to be a "Granary . . . properly divided into Bings for Corn".

By comparing these details with the arbitrators' valuations and two subcontracts, it is clear that the house and new rear wing were altered in accordance with the specification. Additional information is provided by a small account book which refers "To Work Done For Sir James Lowther by Thos Perkins and his men at the House Late Williamsons from the 17 of January 1754 . . .". The handwriting is the same as the first "Estemate" and as the list of rooms on the second plan. It is that of Thomas Perkins, for the room list concludes by stating the contract price of ". . . £240 pounds / having all old materials" and the arbitrators charged Perkins £8 for old stones and 5s. 3d. for an old fire grate at the final settlement. In addition, the lettering indicates that Perkins drew both plans.<sup>45</sup> For joiners' work he claimed £48 11s. 10d., for 165½ days of his own work at 20d. and for his five men: Fra[ncis] Perkin (178 days at 16d.), George Lee (122 at 16d.), Wm. Hudart (113½ at 16d.), J. Stoakes (81½ at 16d.) and Wm. Foster (24 at 18d.). On the next page of his account book, he charged over £67 for timber used between 15 January and 30 August 1754. This included 474 deals, 1¼ inches thick and from 10 to 18 feet long, costing about 2½d. per foot length.

Within a month of starting work, Thomas Perkins subcontracted the building of the rear wing and some of the other jobs. For £31 5s. 10d. Thomas Wilson agreed, on 17 February, "for all The Timber and Carpenters work at the back building . . . [including] the Roof, Beams, joists . . . Lintles, landings for the Stairs, together with Sleepers and joists for the Parlour and Office, also 3 Close Stalls in the Stable with Rack, Manger and Step Lather to finish . . . to the satisfaction of Mr John Robinson . . .". On 7 September, Perkins paid £21 in part settlement for this work, but the final payment is not recorded. The arbitrators assessed the "Carpinter Work" separately from Perkins' "Joyners Work". They allowed £32 7s. 7d., including £2 12s. 9d. for six "Oke Slepers" and 17 joists for framing the floors in the front rooms. Three "Footing Beams 18 foot . . . 6 Principels 15 foot . . . 5 Ribs [purlins] House & Stable 60 foot" and joists were all priced at 1s. 2d. a foot. In the stable two beams, wainscot, racks, mangers, door, "6 Foot of Timber in taillposts Hovels & Soles" and "65 Foot of Boards in Stoallsids" cost a little over £5 and the step ladder 5s.

On 16 February, Abraham Dixon subcontracted for £48 17s. 3d. "to pull Down the Back Buildings Late Williamsons, to Clear off[f] the Rubish, Digg the Seller also to Dig the Kitchen and Skulery 4 foot lower and make proper Conduits . . .". He undertook to lower the floors in the office and parlour, alter the chimneys, put up two new ones, find chimney pieces, slabs and coves, mend the roof and point the whole house. He was to "wall 304 yards in the back building", slate and flag the same, "pave the Seller, Stable and the yard from the front to the Stable Coyn" and build two brick partitions and find the bricks. He was paid in full on 7 September. The arbitrators assessed the waller's work at £80 4s. 4d. which included "Stoves in the Kitchen", "7 days Breaking Door[ways] and Windows in the Old Walls" as well as all of Dixon's work. Perkins was allowed £54 5s. (less £8 for old stone) for 310 square yards of stone walling, but he claimed £45 12s. more for supplying stone, lime and sand. If he was trying to make

undue profit from Dixon's involvement, he was certainly denied the full amount of his claim. The next largest expense was £11 11s. for "3 Rood of Slate laid at Appleby" which would have left about 10 sq. yds. of slate for repairing the front block. It was supplied by a "Mr Rorse"<sup>46</sup> and cost 12s. a rood to lay plus 4s. 6d. a rood for pointing and lime. Also bought were "600 Hart Laths for Slating at 3s. 9d. per 100 . . . 2400 Lath nails for Slating 5s. 2d." and "17 yards of Rigging" at 1s. Sinking the cellar approach in the rear wing, digging out the old cellar floors and making a "throw Passage" from there to the kitchen door cost £4. Paving cost 2d. a square yard for 12½ yards in the cellar, 26½ in the stable and 65¼ in the narrow passageway beside the house.

On 7 September, Thomas Perkins paid £20 15s. 3d. to John Wilson "for Glazing, plastering Laths &c" but the arbitrators later allowed only £18 15s. 3d. including £10 10s. for "Plastering, Finding Lime Hair and Workmanship" as well as "1700 [sap] Laths at 1s. 8d. per 100 . . . 73 Foot of Larg Glass at 1s. 4d. per [sq.] foot . . . and 16 Foot of Crown Glass at 9d. per [sq.] foot". On 4 July Perkins agreed to pay £1 18s. 7d. to Thomas Elwood "for Laths Slat and Sap lath" and, on 1 September, paid Len Wilkinson £1 14s. 3d. for "leading brick, sand, Clay and Carrying Rubish". "Oyl and Paint" for 339 yards of painting cost £5 10s. and "6 Load Coals for Drying Deals" 9s. 2d. Lack of space prevents more detailed consideration but, two months later, the arbitrators met to settle Perkins account which totalled £311 2s. 4d. To the contract price of £240, they added £5 for some ironmongery and a cupboard in the back office. In addition they allowed £30 for work and materials for the "Little Houses . . . & Garden walls" (behind the stable) for which the largest item was £7 for 7000 bricks plus 2s. 6d. a thousand for transport from an unknown location where Abraham Dixon tended the brick kiln. Thomas Perkins had already received £257 1s. 11d. in eight instalments and so, on 27 November, was paid £17 18s. 1d. to complete £275. This was more than £36 short of his expectations. For "measuring and valuing the work in the House, 8 Days in all and 2 Journies, Horse Hire and Exp[ense]s", Edmund Bowman and John Fallowfield were then paid £2 11s. and John Robinson witnessed the settlement.

This detailed description of what happened at the White House in 1754 provides a firm base from which later developments can be examined, by reference to more property deeds and to John Robinson's political career, for no further building records have been found to explain the present arrangement and details. John Robinson was baptised at St. Lawrence's on 14 August 1727, the eldest son of Charles Robinson (1703-1760) a mercer and draper of Appleby. After education at Appleby Grammar School, John was articled to his uncle Richard Wordsworth, became a solicitor and was already joint steward when Sir James Lowther (1736-1802) inherited the Lowther estates in 1751. At the 1754 election John Robinson voted for the Lowther interest as temporary owner of burgage plot 46, the "Melting House",<sup>47</sup> the fourth burgage north of Shaw Wiend on the west side of Boroughgate. He bought it from his uncle Hugh Robinson, the rector of both Lowther (since 1738) and Bowness-on-Solway (from 1753)<sup>48</sup> for £150 on 6 April 1754 and re-conveyed it on 30 April after voting.

After moving into the White House, John Robinson gradually gained more influence in Appleby's affairs. He was a Lieutenant Colonel in the Westmorland Militia, became Clerk of the Peace and Mayor in 1760 and a magistrate and Deputy Lieutenant in 1762.<sup>49</sup> He had married Mary Crowe, daughter of a rich Barbados merchant, and their only child Mary was baptised at Appleby on 24 March 1759. In 1781 at Isleworth she married

Hon. Henry Neville, later 2nd Earl of Abergavenny, and died in 1796. John Robinson's wealth was boosted when he inherited 16 burgages and other properties which his uncle Hugh (buried at Appleby on 1 January 1763) had inherited as eldest son of John Robinson (buried 1 May 1746). After Robert Lowther, Sir James' younger brother, was elected for Westmorland in 1761 and resigned his seat in Parliament in 1763, John Robinson took his place in 1764. The Lowthers' favourite was granted a long lease on the White House and fresh developments were imminent.

On 29 May 1764, Sir James Lowther entered a tripartite agreement with John Robinson and his younger brother Jeremiah (1742-1793) to sell them three burgages and a small plot of land on a 999 year lease.<sup>50</sup> The first was "in Boroughgate opposite the Weind heretofore the estate of Mr Williamson deceased and before that Mr Morland and now in the possession of John Robinson" and bounded on the north-west by Richard Baynes' burgage and on the south-east by the late Jephtha Winder's – clearly the White House. The second had been owned in turn by George Armstrong, Robert Sharp and the Lowthers whose tenant was David Bentley. It was bounded on the north-west by the tenement of John Robinson, late Jephtha Winder (who died July 1750), and on the south-east by the third burgage, formerly owned by George Armstrong, then Richard Pindar and "now in tenancy of Wm. Parker". In turn this was bounded on the south-east by the fourth plot, "a Piece of Vacant Ground . . . going into the backyard" of Mr John Nicholson's tenement and measuring 3 feet wide by 29 feet eastwards. For five shillings plus 6d. a year, these were leased to Jeremiah Robinson who occupied the White House until his death. A deed of 1780 refers to this lease and states that "the name of . . . Jeremiah Robinson was only used . . . in trust for John Robinson". In a second lease for 999 years, dated 7 February 1765, Richard Smith of St. Mary, Islington, Middlesex, for £137, sold to John Robinson the burgage late in possession of Isabel Winder (Jephtha's widow) now occupied by John Robinson, bounded on the north-west by the burgage late Morland and John Williamson. Clearly, Robinson controlled both the White House and Winder's burgage before he was granted formal leases on all four properties.

A plan in the same bundle details the completed estate (Fig. 6a). It shows Winder's house still standing only three feet away from the south side of the White House in which the side doorway had been walled up in 1754, leaving the main entrance centrally placed in the Boroughgate frontage. It is therefore essential to question when that front door was converted into the present ogee-headed window, necessitating the creation of a new entrance in the south wall, and when the main staircase was moved from its 1754 position to the north side of the front block (Fig. 5b). Surely, the present decorative doorway (Fig. 7b) and side windows would not have been created while the passageway was only just wide enough for a man leading a horse to squeeze through to the stable behind. One clue survives in the north, ground-floor wall of the A'Board public house in the form of an ogee-headed window almost opposite the front door of the White House. It would have been inserted after the demolition of Winder's house had created enough space for access by a horse and carriage. The moulding of that window is different from those on the main block of the White House but is the same as those on the present stable (garage), the summer houses and the outbuilding on the yard's south side (Fig. 7c). There is a clear unbonded join, 51ft 9ins behind the rear of the front block, between the present garage and the rear of the 1754 building, so that four stages of development can be suggested. First, Winder's house was demolished soon after February 1765;

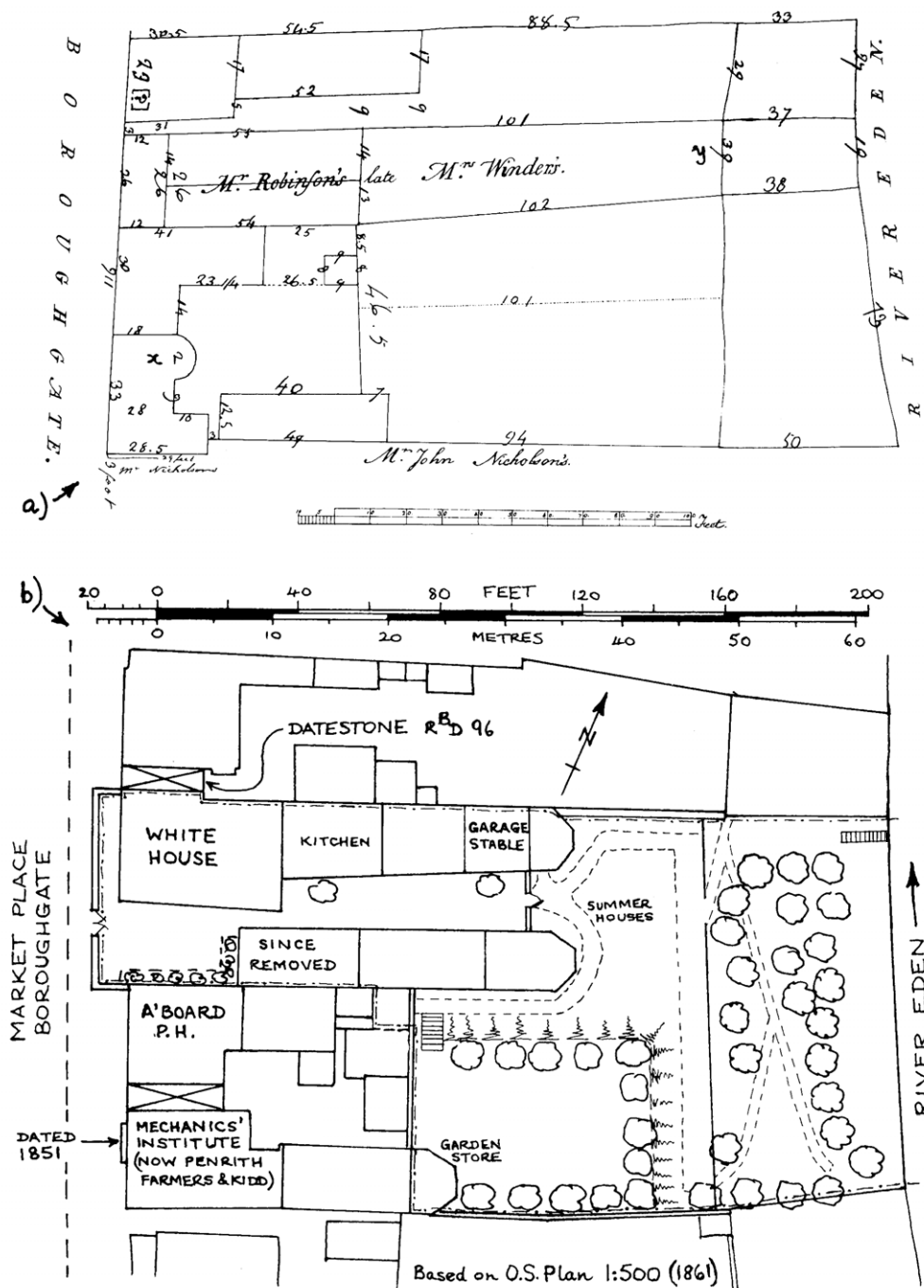


FIG. 6. - (a) Plan of the four burgages leased to John Robinson in 1764-5. Most dimensions agree with the linear scale but some obvious errors exist, e.g. at x, (12 ft.) and at y (19 or 21). Source: C.R.O., Kendal, WD/Hoth, 2. (b) The White House in 1861 showing its united garden and the redeveloped burgages to the south. Both plans reduced to the same linear scale.



second, the 1754 and earlier buildings were reorganised; third, the four gardens were united and, fourth, the outbuilding, new stable and three half-octagonal summer houses were built. Subsequently the outbuilding was shortened.



FIG. 7. – The White House, Appleby. (a) General view from the SW, showing an ogee-headed window occupying the position of the former central doorway. (b) Decorative details of the present main entrance showing the same moulding as all the windows of c.1765 (e.g. (d)). (c) Ogee-headed window in the outbuilding with a different moulding typical of a later building phase. (d) Back kitchen window with brickwork built round the obtuse angled lintel. The moulding is the same as the windows in (a).

The changes of the second stage can be outlined by comparing the present structure with the 1754 evidence. The brick partitions flanking the front hallway were removed to create a single stately reception room with four ogee-headed windows, one of which replaced the front door and another, the southern fireplace. The present south-facing doorway was broken through part of the rear office to give access to a new staircase built against the north wall. The 1754 staircase was replaced by a room now used as a toilet and the scullery/brewhouse was incorporated into the kitchen. The 1754 stable was converted into a back kitchen approached by a doorway which displaced the kitchen stoves. The kitchen's south wall seems to have been reworked in brick, rather than the 1754 stonework approved by the arbitrators, and it is noticeable that the bricks were cut to fit round new window dressings rather than being broken through to receive them (Fig. 7d). The two kitchen windows, noted by the arbitrators, were replaced by a Venetian window moulded like those in the front block (as in Fig. 7d). A new back door and a small scullery were provided opposite the 1754 staircase. Upstairs several new

fireplaces and doorways were inserted and bedrooms replaced the upper staircase built in 1754 above the back office. No doubt the scale of these alterations persuaded Norcliffe to state that Robinson actually built the White House. The *D.N.B.*, more wisely, says that he rebuilt it in 1765.<sup>51</sup>

Despite the differences between figures 5a and 5b, it is clear that the main walls of the front block were not altered and that Perkins' plan of them was not drawn true to scale, presumably because he did not rebuild them either. In the cellars, for example, stone pillars and internal partitions have been inserted to support the main floor beams, but there is no evidence of extension in any direction except where the rear wall, 3½ feet thick, was pierced to give access to the new stairs in 1754. From that point to the unbonded join between the 1754 stable and its successor, the length is close to the specified 17 yards, but Perkins built the wing tapering rather than with the parallel sides shown on his plan. This detail fixes the eastern limit of the old house. In addition, the front block's north wall at its mid-point steps northwards by 2 feet where it provides the springing for a later archway leading to the yard behind. As the arch is inscribed R<sup>B</sup>D 96 in 17th century style, Perkin's measurement from this point to the rear wall was 10 feet too short. Similarly, he was nearly 5 feet short between the rear of the arch and the front of the White House. There is no disturbance in the stonework to suggest that the front wall has been extended onto the street and the 1754 election map (Fig. 3b) shows the front in line with the neighbouring buildings as it still is. Like the front wall of the Red House, it would have been built on the property boundary. On balance, therefore, one must suspect the accuracy of the 18th century measurements even on property deeds. To develop the study we must return to Robinson's career.

In the 1768 election Robinson topped the poll for Westmorland and Sir James Lowther was elected for Cumberland. However, following a petition by Henry Curwen, Lowther was unseated. Sir George Macarthy therefore resigned his seat at Cockermouth to allow Sir James to continue in Parliament and, to be sure of success in 1774, Lowther offered himself for election in both counties, thereby displacing Robinson. He was successful in both and opted to sit for Cumberland so that Col. James Lowther then joined Sir Michael le Fleming as M.P. for Westmorland.<sup>52</sup> In 1770 John Robinson, again Mayor of Appleby, had been appointed Secretary to the Treasury in Lord North's Tory government, a post he held until both went out of office in 1782. Clearly Robinson was too important to lose his seat in 1774, so he was elected for Harwich which he represented until his death in 1802. Was Lowther's selfish displacement of Robinson sufficient cause for what happened subsequently?<sup>53</sup>

In keeping with his diminished interest in Appleby and his enhanced social status and national influence, Robinson bought Wyke Manor at Syon Hill, Isleworth about 1778 and employed Robert Adam to improve the house.<sup>54</sup> No doubt to pay for this and ensure a fortune worthy of his daughter's forthcoming marriage, in 1780 John Robinson sold all his property in Westmorland except for High and Low Winder near Askham. Four complex lease and release deeds in the Hothfield papers at Kendal must be summarized. All were finalized on 9 May 1780. First, for £12,140, Robinson conveyed to the Earl of Thanet eighteen separate properties which included six closes in Bongate, his allotments on Bongate moor, eighteen enclosures in Scattergate and Burrells, formerly tenanted by his brother Jeremiah, numerous enclosures on Burrells moor, the shambles in Appleby, properties in Kaber, Hilton Bacon and Warcop and Mortar Pitts near Oddendale Head

in Crosby Ravensworth.<sup>55</sup> Second, for £400 he sold Bleatarn Warcop, but these properties did not carry voting rights.<sup>56</sup> Third, he sold the White House,<sup>57</sup> the three burgages south-east of it and two more burgages in Cold Kell<sup>58</sup> for £1,972.

Fourth, and politically the most significant, for £11,606 he sold 31 burgages, including 14 in Scattergate and 10 in Boroughgate,<sup>59</sup> at least 16 of which had been accumulated by his grandfather John Robinson (d. 1746) and his great-grandfather Thomas.<sup>60</sup> The others had been systematically bought by Robinson as if in preparation for the great sale and to generate the maximum political impact. These included four burgages bought for £2,000, on 22 March 1780, from Joseph Deane<sup>61</sup> by a deed endorsed "The within Burgages were soon afterwards conveyed by Mr Robinson to the Trustees for Lord Tufton in the same deed with his own burgages". On 4 April 1780, three burgages next to the Castle park were bought from James Parkin and his eldest son John for £1,000.<sup>62</sup> In addition, the Black Bull was bought for £1,050 on 18 April 1780,<sup>63</sup> from the Rev. Henry Chaytor of Croft near Darlington and another burgage was bought for £1,000 from William Chaytor of Spennithorne, Yorkshire on 7 April 1780. On the same day, Robinson bought the High Warehouse for £300 from William Wilkins<sup>64</sup> and the Low Warehouse for £300 from John Robinson of Watermillock (see note 47). Some vendors were related to Robinson, for example his mother Hannah was Joseph Deane's sister (both children of Richard Deane of Appleby) and James Parkin had married Phyllis Robinson, daughter of J.R.'s grandfather John (d. 1746), and inherited £400 and three burgages from his father-in-law in 1746. As these owners voted in the Lowther interest in 1754 (Table 2), one might question whether they were as incensed by Robinson's displacement as he seems to have been. Perhaps this explains why Robinson did not sell the Winder properties, for both lay outside the area in which Thanet was buying property and the nearby Lowthers had antagonized him.

Having bought all these properties for £26,118, Thanet needed time to gather the finance and so, on 13 May 1780 for £23,000, he mortgaged to John Robinson all the estates in Westmorland mentioned in the *first* deed of 9 May, as well as Kentish properties which included numerous farms at Hothfield, Westwell and Raynham and marsh lands at Erith.<sup>65</sup> Endorsements on this mortgage show that, on 4 December 1781, Thanet paid off £16,000 plus £1,810 11s. 11d. interest to redeem the Westmorland properties. Robinson then received regular interest on the remaining £7,000 until that was finally redeemed on 28 May 1784.

The political potential of Robinson's sale and that of Humphrey Carleton can be summarized from page 389 of *A List of the Earl of Thanet's Burgages in Appleby*<sup>66</sup> as in Table 2. Ignoring votes for both sides rejected after the 1754 election (in which Thanet polled 121 and Lowther 108), by the end of the century Thanet could command 145 votes compared to Lowther's 84. However, the 1754 compromise which allotted one seat to either side, ensured that this marked change in ownership had no political effect before 1832 when Appleby lost its separate representation.

Conclusions must be brief. Both houses were relatively large and belonged to the wealthier section of Appleby society, but they developed quite differently. On its narrow burgage plot, the White House was forced upwards and then backwards before the union of four burgages allowed a generous expansion of its outbuildings and garden as well as internal re-organization. In contrast, development of the Red House occurred after several burgage plots had been accumulated so that, across a considerable frontage, it

TABLE 2. — *A Short State of the Borough of Appleby . . . this First day of January 1796.*

Thanet		Lonsdale	
Burgages voted (1754) in Thanet's own right	59	Burgages in Lonsdale's own right (1754)	76
Castle Park burgages	28		
Appleby Hospital Burgages	4		
Burgages rejected in 1754 for defective title, since made good	2		
Burgages voted for Thanet (1754) since purchased		Burgages voted for Lowther (1754) since purchased	3
Countess of Gower	7		
Philip Honeywood	12	Also 5 Late Carleton's trustees, one of which voted Thanet	5
Henry Chaytor, clerk	2		
Others	7		
Burgages voted for Lowther, since purchased by Thanet		Burgages in 1754 queried then rejected	15
Of Mr John Robinson	12	Votes offered but rejected without query	2
Joseph Deane	4		
Late Carleton's	6		
James Parkin & John Parkin	2		
Total.	<u>145</u>	Total including those rejected	<u>101</u>

Voting potential in Appleby at the end of the 18th century, summarized from "A List of the Earl of Thanet's Burgages in Appleby", C.R.O. Kendal, WD/Hoth, box 6. The Robinson and Parkin figures appear to be under-estimates (see text).

was possible to create a balanced Classical facade so different from the later White House Gothic. The nature of the surviving documents is just as different and yet they provide complementary evidence from which it has been possible to probe the source, price and use of materials and to expose personal details of the workmen and clients in a close-knit, yet divided, community. The all-pervading struggle for political supremacy forms an intriguing backdrop to the 18th century history of Appleby and its buildings. If the surviving physical evidence for all the town's old buildings could be related to a full study of property ownership using the Lowther and Hothfield deeds and political summaries, this article should act as a useful introduction to the possibilities and difficulties. In the meantime, it shows that studies of building history should not be divorced from wider social and environmental factors and it provides a detailed (though incomplete) account of two of the most fascinating old buildings in a town full of architectural interest.

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## Notes and References

- <sup>1</sup> Nikolaus Pevsner, *The Buildings of England, Cumberland & Westmorland*, 1967, 221. No source is stated and the date may be transposed from 1765 noted in *D.N.B.*
- <sup>2</sup> Details of both families are in C. B. Norcliffe, *Some Account of the Family of Robinson of the White House, Appleby* (1874), *passim*, summarized in R. S. Boumphrey, C. R. Hudleston and J. Hughes, *An Armorial for Westmorland and Lonsdale*, 1975, 66, 251.
- <sup>3</sup> C.R.O. Carlisle, D/Lons/L, Carleton 3/2.
- <sup>4</sup> C.R.O. Kendal, WD/Hoth, Box 23, Accounts for 1692 and 1700 especially. Cited in references as – (Hoth, 23).
- <sup>5</sup> Plans drawn by Messrs. J. Jackson Saint & Co., 22 Lowther Street, Carlisle.
- <sup>6</sup> "The Ground Rooms from floor to floor 10ft 4in; The first storie from floor to floor 10ft 2in; The upper storie 7ft clear; to the upper Bed of the two lowest course of window soils [sills] 2ft 10in; to the upper Bed of the highest 2ft 4in; The height of the open[ing] of the windows 6ft 6in; The Breadth 3ft 3in; The ht of the Door 8ft; The Breadth 4ft; Thickness of the wind[ow] Jaum 6½ inches; Thickness of the soil [sill] 5in; Height of the great Keystone 2ft 5in Breadth at Bottom 10 inches; Height of the little one 20in Breadth at Bottom 5in; Thickness[es] of the fascia 11in . . . of the frize 9in . . . of the Cornice 18in . . . of the Ashlar under the Batlement 8in . . . of the Basis 7in; Height of the Pannel & Pedestal 3ft; Height of the Raile 9 inches". Handwriting unidentified.
- <sup>7</sup> On 21 September 1702, Christopher Earl had been paid "for paving 100yds of pavement by the side of Southfield House at 4d. per yard". In 1694 "The charge of Building the Farmhouse, Barn and Byar in Southfield . . . Timber only Excepted" was £80. "The Bark of 14 Oaks set out for the Building at Southfield" was sold to Mr John Lowson. Edward Wilson, the new tenant, paid £92 a year rent. "John Willson and Partners, for Damage done them in Rough pasture by Carriage of Materialls . . ." were allowed 4s. 6d. whilst, on 28 March "Expences at the Bargain and Payments for Building Southfeild house and at the raising the Timber Work thereof" came to 9s. (Hoth, 23). The present farmhouse, 1½ miles south-south-east of Appleby was built in 1791 and the older house, about 50 yards further south, was demolished a few years ago.
- <sup>8</sup> "Mortan feberearary 13 day  
Mr Carlton, I am informed that you haf got leaf to git som som stones in hillton quare if I gif leaf, so I desir you wil be pleased to send Coreste eareall and John Shoor or elles I will desecharg them again for them hogans dos booth spoil the ground and the quarre and I do tell you Pillain that thar shall non come their but Corste earrel this is all from your frind henery Abram" [amongst vouchers]. Was "Lycocks son, at Hilton Quarrey 7 days" prior to 2 November 1717 one of the Hooligans?
- <sup>9</sup> Probably of Kings Meaburn (d. 1748) and rebuilt Bampton church in 1726. CW2, lxxxi, 107, 112.
- <sup>10</sup> Sash windows and window seats may have been introduced to Cumbria in 1697 by Sir John Lowther of Whitehaven (d. 1706) when extending the south wing of Flatt Hall. He wrote as if both were innovations. Ancient Monuments Society, *Transactions*, vol. 28 (1984), 86-7.
- <sup>11</sup> C.R.O. Carlisle, D/Lons/L, Appleby Election 1754, "Brief of titles to Burgages".
- <sup>12</sup> On 8 January 1701, Gardner had 1s. "for Mendinge A Chest and removeinge and fixinge the table to entertain the Corporation". Another intriguing, but unrelated, item was a payment, on 8 June 1708, to "George Dent Whitesmith . . . for Nails, Locks, Keys, Bands and for Iron Work for a new Dore in the Tower when the pretender was about landing in Scotland . . .".
- <sup>13</sup> A William Dobson, mason, was buried at Kirkby Thore on 12 October 1727. Presumably he carved and set the shield of arms on Barton church porch in 1703. CW2, lxxxiii, 119-120.

- <sup>14</sup> The Flakebridge trees, at £1 8s. 3d. each, were inferior to those from Whinfell at £2 15s. each. This distinction is confirmed by numerous entries in the estate accounts for Appleby Castle (Hoth, 23).
- <sup>15</sup> On 2 Feb. 1717, he agreed to buy these from James Aderton, 6 score to the hundred.
- <sup>16</sup> These 13 trees were probably felled by James Richardson, paid 4s. on 22 June 1717.
- <sup>17</sup> Roods of boards comprised 441 sq.ft. which produces an error of one penny. Carleton noted that "Thos Watson [of] Ousby says 4 Carts will bring 1 Rood boards".
- <sup>18</sup> As a ton of Country slate covered 23 sq. yds. (C.R.O. Kendal, WD/Ry, 22) and a rood about 49 sq. yds. (i.e. 2·13 tons), each cartload was less than 3 cwt, about the load a mule could carry.
- <sup>19</sup> Slater's calculations (in vouchers):

"back roof 47ft long depth backsides 24ft	2 roods 28 yds [49 sq.yds per Rood]
In Gutter 45ft long depth 7½ft	37½ yds
the other side of the Gutr next street the same	38½ yds [sic]
front roof depth 20ft length 52½	112 yds [or 116·66 sq.yds]
	<hr/>
	216 yds [+ 2 roods]

6 Roods and 16 yds Slate at 9s. per Rood is £2 17s. od." [counting 50 sq. yds per rood]

- <sup>20</sup> The Dalton family lived at Cliburn.
- <sup>21</sup> On 30 August 1707, 17s. 6d. was paid "To Thos Knot for plastering where the new Beam was put in the [Castle] Tower . . . and for Colouring two Gaites and a Ballister and for Oyle and Whitelead". On 15 August 1704 he had £2 13s. "for 22 daies plaistering and White washing and his man 20 daies". James Unthank supplied lime for the Castle's Upper Hall. Appleby Castle accounts (Hoth, 23).
- <sup>22</sup> "October the 24th 1718, An Acct of work done for Mr Carleton. The shashes in the front each 18 squares at 5d. each square is 7s. 6d. per window, all the 13 windows comes to £4 17s. 6d.: on the Backside in two windows are 48 squares at 5d. each is £1 9s.: Shash frame for the Staircase window 9s.: shash frame for the Closet window 3s." and labour for self, Tho Towson, Ed. Morland, Philip Bell £1 15s. 6d.; Pound of glue 6d.
- <sup>23</sup> C.R.O. Carlisle, D/Lons/L, "Appleby Election 1754"; C.R.O. Kendal, Hoth, 30, 1693 List (Hoth, 2).
- <sup>24</sup> He left £500 to each of 5 surviving children, including Dorothy Braithwaite, (bp. 1689), widow of Richard Braithwaite of Warcop. In addition, Thomas (bp. 1685) was given customary land in Appleby, and estates at Lowgill (Brough) and Long Marton. Punhack Hall and Carleton's library went to William, the 4th son, Clerk of the Peace for Westmorland until his death in 1736. John, (bp. 1693) the 2nd son had already had £1,500 since he went to Oxford and Christopher, the 3rd, had had £1,000 at his marriage. Robert had been buried on 18 October 1720 aged 30 and Jane had married Peter Russell of Newcastle on 25 February 1728.
- <sup>25</sup> Will proved at Carlisle, 11 Dec. 1765. His first wife Dorothy, daughter of James Bird of Brougham Hall, had died on 17 May 1750. Carleton's second daughter, Dorothy (bp. 1720), who married George Stephenson of Warcop in 1743 is not mentioned in the will.
- <sup>26</sup> "Plans of . . . Late Carleton's Great House" (Hoth, 34 and Fig. 3a), and "Burgages belonging the Earl of Lonsdale in Appleby . . . 1787" (Hoth, 2).
- <sup>27</sup> One error is apparent. The fourth burgage in the Wiend in 1766 is labelled "Down Burgage J. Metcalf, H.C. claims it" in Humphrey Carleton's handwriting. Another hand has added "No. 75" incorrectly. This polling number should be on the "Great Yard", plot 66 on the Lowther plan. The error might have arisen from Carleton's claim. C.R.O. Kendal, Hoth, 34.
- <sup>28</sup> C.R.O. Kendal, Hoth, 2.
- <sup>29</sup> Nicolson & Burn, i, 375.
- <sup>30</sup> C.R.O. Kendal, Hoth, 2.
- <sup>31</sup> "Dr Robert Richardson, Surgeon", *Universal British Directory*, 1790. In 1874 it was used for the Judges' lodgings (Norcliffe). In 1938 (*Kelly's Directory*), it was the County Court office for the Registrar and High Bailiff.
- <sup>32</sup> C.R.O. Carlisle, D/Lons/L, Appleby Title Deeds, "Williamson's Burgage".
- <sup>33</sup> In 1714 John Morland M.A. became rector of Skelton and, in 1728, vicar of Penrith also (N. & B., ii, 387, 407). He was buried at St. Andrew's, Penrith on 17 May 1748. His wife Margaret was buried there on 23 November 1740.
- <sup>34</sup> At Kirkby Thore, on 20 February 1726, John Williamson of Appleby married Jane Pearson of Langton, Bongate (bp. 5 Oct. 1707, daughter of Richard Pearson and Agnes (Harrison) who married 5 Sept. 1704 at

Bongate). Ruth Williamson was baptized on 8 May 1727 and Ann on 4 November 1728 at St. Lawrence's Appleby,

- <sup>35</sup> Mr Richard Baynes, Alderman of Appleby was buried on 2 April 1729 and Mrs Deborah Baynes widow, on 24 May 1735. A datestone over the rear of the archway immediately north of the White House is inscribed R<sup>B</sup> D 96 in 17th century style. Jephtha Winder, shoemaker, bought his house from Jeffrey Beck of "Ednall", Cumberland for £40 on 17 October 1710. The deed (Hoth, 3) says it was adjoined by "the Burgage House of Mr Timothy Banks called Bleamires Burgage on the north side" and by that "late George Armstrong's on the south side". This is an important clue. Timothy Banks was agent at Levens Hall until his brother died at Skipton in 1703. From 1704 to 1724 all of his letters to Col. James Grahme were addressed from Skipton (Levens Hall MSS, Box E, Banks 1/-). He worked as agent to Lord Thanet until 6 August 1714, when "Mr Morland my Lords Secretary" arrived to check his accounts. They were faulty and, though he called on Mr Carleton to witness them, he was disgraced, dismissed and impoverished. Presumably this would coincide with William Morland taking over the White House. Timothy was a brother of Jonathan Banks, schoolmaster at Appleby from 1686-1721, and was buried at Skipton on 14 May 1725.
- <sup>36</sup> Wm. Morland's will, proved at York on 14 June 1720, mentions his mother Bridget and uncle Jacob Morland; William Morland of the Inner Temple; "Cousin Wm. Emerson my Clark" as well as two sisters Elizabeth Gooday and Bridget Bell and his wife Elizabeth. John Morland, his brother, was executor.
- <sup>37</sup> John Kerfoot's affidavit, 31 August 1753, included in the deeds.
- <sup>38</sup> Richard Spooner was buried at Appleby on 24 June 1752. His will, dated 23 Dec. 1751 (copy in deeds) is rich in family details and mentions the lease of his freehold estate at Catherine Holme, Ormside, for 14 years at £7 5s. to Thomas Mattinson, "brother of my wife". Hence he married Margaret Mattinson at St. Lawrence's on 1 July 1747, and she eventually married Richard Simpson of Longmarton at Crosby Ravensworth on 19 September 1753.
- <sup>39</sup> The same vendors had already signed Articles for sale at the same prices to James Watson of Meaburn Hall on 22 May 1753. Presumably he gave way to Mrs Lowther, whose property he occupied.
- <sup>40</sup> Whereas the initial "Estemate" allowed £3 15s. for "Boarding the Parlor, 15 yard finding all", the arbitrators allowed only £2 8s. for "16 yards of Flowering" at 3s. but added £1 8s. 6d. for sleepers, joists and for framing them.
- <sup>41</sup> Whereas the "Estemate" allowed 15s. for casing doors and 16s. for windows, the arbitrators allowed £1 1s. per door and 18s. for "windows, Shutts, seats, Elbows and Architraves" plus 8s. 6d. per sash.
- <sup>42</sup> The original "Estemate" allowed for "Breaking a Door into the yard" in this position.
- <sup>43</sup> The "Estemate" priced the casing of 3 large windows at 21s. each compared to the valuers' 23s., but the latter cut the price per sash window from 15s. to 13s. 6d. each, excluding glazing.
- <sup>44</sup> The width was omitted from the specification, perhaps because it tapered, but was included in the subcontract of Thomas Wilson (carpenter), mentioned later.
- <sup>45</sup> All of the White House building documents are in C.R.O. Carlisle, D/Lons/L, Misc., "Plans, Valuations and Cha[rge]s of Mr John Robinson's House, Appleby".
- <sup>46</sup> The arbitrators recorded him as Wm Rawes, probably tenant of Mosedale quarry (NY 494 097). Certainly in 1739, £10 2s. 1d. was "Pd Wm Raws for 97 Load of Blew Slate Bro[ugh]t from Mosedale Quarry to the Dairy House at Meaburne Hall at 2s. 1d per Load" (C.R.O. Carlisle, D/Lons/L, AM 73, 7). William Rawes of Wetsleddale was buried at Shap on 10 August 1768 and a Robert Rawes (probably his son baptised 4 Sept. 1740) married Anne Hudson there on 1 January 1763 (their eldest child being another William). Robert Rawes was tenant of Wrengill quarry, Longsleddale between 1786 and 1796 at least (Levens Hall Mss., W. Richardson's Letters to Lady Andover).
- <sup>47</sup> Like the High Warehouse (47) and Low Warehouse (48) successively north-west of it, this property had been owned by William Smith who sold all three to Philip Woofe who sold the Melting House to Lancelot Robinson and both warehouses to John Williamson. All were then bought by John Robinson's grandfather John (d. 1746) who also bought (49) and (50) adjoining. Conveyance 9 May 1780, Robinson to Thanet, (Hoth, 29).
- <sup>48</sup> Nicolson & Burn, i, 440 and ii, 216.
- <sup>49</sup> D.N.B., xvii, 26; Norcliffe *op. cit.*, 38.
- <sup>50</sup> C.R.O. Kendal, Hoth, 2.
- <sup>51</sup> D.N.B., xvii, 27 and Norcliffe *op. cit.*, 35. This date is compatible with Howard Colvin's suggestion that Henry Bellas, a carpenter of Appleby, might have been responsible for the alterations (*Dictionary of British Architects* . . . , 1978, 106). He supervised the rebuilding of Hillbeck Hall near Brough in 1775-7 for John



Metcalfe (Thomas Carleton's son-in-law) and included Gothic windows of a similar shape modelled on the designs of Batty Langley in *Architecture . . . in the Gothick Mode*, 1742. Bellas was buried at St. Lawrence's on 8 July 1777 aged 55 and Robinson sold the White House in 1780 (see below).

<sup>52</sup> R. S. Ferguson, *M.P.s of Cumberland & Westmorland . . .* (1871), 469, 129.

<sup>53</sup> Other causes for their quarrel may have been Lord North's policies on the American War (*D.N.B.*), Robinson asserting his independence from his former employer and friend (Norcliffe, 41) or even a row over debts (refuted by Norcliffe, 42). Lowther was a Whig when he married the Tory Earl of Bute's daughter on 7 September 1761, between being elected for Parliament in March and assuming his seat on 3 November.

<sup>54</sup> H. M. Colvin, *op. cit.*, 54.

<sup>55</sup> C.R.O. Kendal, Hoth, 51.

<sup>56</sup> C.R.O. Kendal, Hoth, 51.

<sup>57</sup> C.R.O. Kendal, Hoth, 2.

<sup>58</sup> These two burgages had been converted into a garden with a garden house. They had been sold by Anthony Ward, Mayor of Appleby, on 1 June 1764 to Anthony Slack and William Wilson, both sadlers, who in turn sold to John Robinson on 22 October 1773 and 29 June 1775 for £13 5s. and £6 12s. 6d. respectively. Both plots were 7 yds × 7 yds.

<sup>59</sup> C.R.O. Kendal, Hoth, 29.

<sup>60</sup> On 1 December 1670, Thomas Robinson married Mary Colston only daughter and heir of Thomas Colston who owned two burgages in Scattergate and was buried on 1 September 1670. Michael Coulston and his wife had gained them by a verdict against Edward Lowson in 1614 and a conveyance in 1616. The marriage seems to have begun the Robinsons' accumulation of property in Appleby (Hoth, 30).

<sup>61</sup> C.R.O. Kendal, Hoth, 1.

<sup>62</sup> C.R.O. Kendal, Hoth, 3.

<sup>63</sup> C.R.O. Kendal, Hoth, 29.

<sup>64</sup> C.R.O. Kendal, Hoth, 1.

<sup>65</sup> C.R.O. Kendal, Hoth, 25.

<sup>66</sup> C.R.O. Kendal, Hoth, 6.