

ART. XIX – *Wasdale Hall*

By JANET D. MARTIN, M.A., B.LITT.

**W**ASDALE Hall stands in a natural amphitheatre on the shore of Westwater, at the south-west corner of the lake and sheltered from the prevailing winds by High Birkhow (or Birch How), which rises behind it to a height of some 420 feet. At first sight the Hall appears to be a house of the 1870s or '80s and owing something to Norman Shaw, with its barge-boarded gables and half-timbering. It was, however, built in 1829 with a south wing of 1839, and apparently to the owner's design. The story of the house is interesting, both as an unusually early essay in what was called Domestic Tudor, later apotheosised by Osbert Lancaster as By-pass Variegated, and also as an illustration of the financial difficulties in which an enthusiastic estate-owner could entangle himself.

The owner was Stansfeld Rawson, a wealthy Yorkshire banker, whose family had connections with the East India Company. He was born in 1778, the son of John Rawson (1744–1815) of Stonyroyd, Halifax, and in 1802 was married to Elizabeth, daughter of Timothy and Mary Leach, who had been baptized at St Peter's, Cornhill, in 1781.<sup>1</sup> They baptized seven children in Halifax between 1803 and 1816, and lived for a time at Gledholt<sup>2</sup> in Huddersfield, before settling at Savile Green, Halifax in the 1820s. How Rawson first came to Netherwasdale is not known, but rich (and not so rich) offcomers had been building houses for themselves in the Lake District since the 1770s. Rawson, unusually, chose to build in a late-medieval/Tudor style.

On 5 May 1811 he registered the purchase of five tenements in Netherwasdale from Edmund Lamplugh Irton of Irton Hall. They are unfortunately not named, but they certainly included the two "estates" called "Crook Head and low Crook" which Irton had himself bought only in 1796 from John Walton.<sup>3</sup> Crook was a hamlet of a few houses which was shortly to disappear as the new owner proceeded to create a fresh landscape there. Not a great deal is known about Crook. Five holdings were recorded there in the Percy Survey of 1578, two at Crookhead, one called Dakerstead, one called "Broune house", and a little cottage in Crook Wood. They may represent the five tenements which Rawson bought in or just before 1811, but it would be unusual to find sixteenth-century holdings surviving unchanged into the early nineteenth, although some of the field names of 1578 did so. Dakerstead appears as Daker End on Hodskinson and Donald's map of Cumberland in 1774, and on Greenwood's map of 1823. C.A. Parker refers to its site as being near Wasdale Hall.<sup>4</sup> It is last mentioned in the parish registers of Netherwasdale in 1810, at the burial of William Jopson, apparently its last inhabitant, and was probably an early casualty of Rawson's planting. "Broune house" survived only as a field name, High Brown Hause, in the early nineteenth century<sup>5</sup> and later; Rawson knew it as Brown How. He himself evidently occupied one of the houses at Crookhead as a country retreat, and in 1829 was recorded as the owner of a "neat rural cottage" there.<sup>6</sup> It evidently stood on the site of the northern part of the present Wasdale Hall.

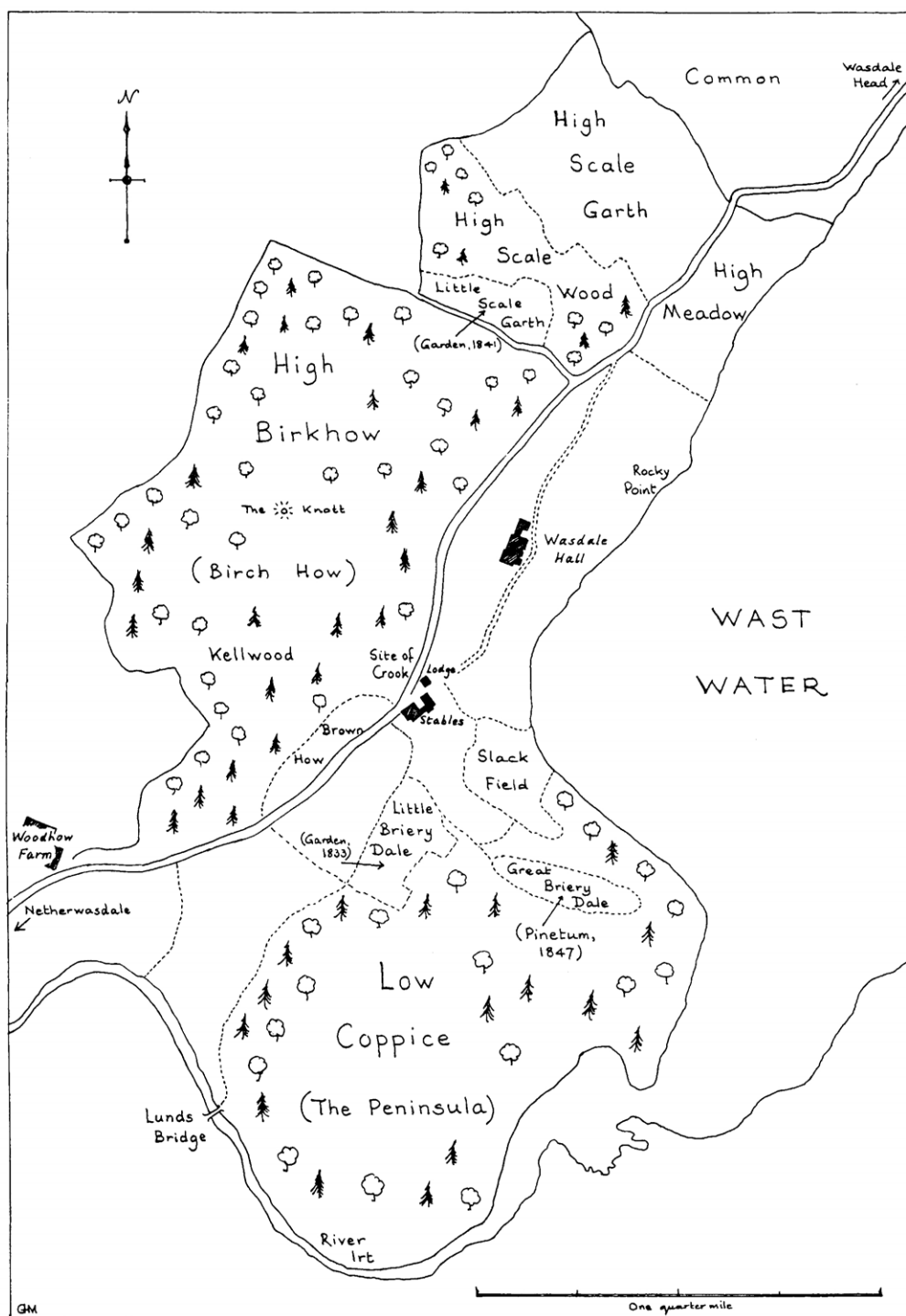


FIG. 1. Wasdale Hall and its grounds. (Reproduced from the 1899 Ordnance Survey Map.)

After making his purchases, Rawson immediately began an energetic and extensive programme of tree-planting. In later years he made a record of what he had done, referring back to detailed wood books and other memoranda which no longer survive.<sup>7</sup> In the spring of 1811 he planted the area which he knew as the Peninsula<sup>8</sup> with no fewer than 71,000 trees. The following spring a further 180,000 were put into Birch How and the Leys, and Rawson noted that "each plantation is about 30 acres – the Peninsula one had a good deal of old shrog wood [scrubby undergrowth] and oak root, that it was only filled up when wanted – the Birch How one had not a *stick* on the Ground, and being very hilly and exposed was planted very thick". In 1813, 56,000 more trees were planted further north in Scale Garth, and in 1814 he planted Brown How and made two plantations in Scale Garth Field and in the High Meadow next to the common, on the northern boundary of his land. Here, for the first time, his notes define the type of tree, "chiefly Alders and Scotch fir", and these early plantings, all before November 1814, were evidently of common trees. In 1823 he added 3,500 young oaks to Birch How "as there seemed nothing but larches and Scotch fir".

Having established a background, he proceeded to fill in his picture. In a separate note endorsed "Particulars of planting at Wastdale November 1814", he gives details of a week's hard planting which he did himself: "This being the first year that I ever had an opportunity of being in Wastdale during the planting season, I wished to plant myself chiefly ornamental trees". He worked energetically for a week between 3 and 9 November, putting in well over 1,000 trees. They included purple, fern-leaved, and other ornamental beech, "farthing-leaved" hornbeam, and Turkey, scarlet, and Lucombe oak, with small numbers of lilac, berberis, and stagshorn, and a white laburnum. These trees were designed to form ornamental boundaries along the edges of the plantations, and in 1831 Rawson noted "These are all doing very well". In the same week he also put in a number of more common trees, including in "the little bit of field behind the farm yard (about ½ an acre I should suppose) every tree myself – a mixture of oak ash sycamore S. Chestnut Larch Beech Silver fir &c", partly plants moved from existing coppices and partly "new plants from W. Thompson".<sup>9</sup>

In March 1815 he came again, with "13 White American Spruce which I brought with me from home", and in 1816 he put in "£10 worth of ornamental trees as per Clarke (of Keswick's) note".<sup>10</sup> Traditional woodland management was not forgotten. Some old coppices had been preserved in the Peninsula and in November 1819 he sold about ten acres of 14-year old coppicewood for poles to two local men who paid him £105, and also 13 tons of bark. In 1820, after he had sold 2,000 larch poles made from thinnings, Rawson noted "W. Tyson says *Rods* pay better than anything – that John cuts his *Ash* ones at 4 years old – qu: if the little island (by Lun's bridge) won't pay better that way than any – also hazel copses – he charges about 3/6 per thousand for cutting and bundling, carriage to Whitehaven is about 5/- per thousand they sell for from 14/- to 16/- per thousand – he says John Tyson cuts his every two years, and gets 10 or 12 thousand every time out of his little bit of a plantation (which is scarcely 2 acres I think) – they are used in Whitehaven for making baskets for the coals – hazel liked best. qu: would not the Alder shoots in the hedges pay best this way".<sup>11</sup>

Fruit trees were the next consideration. On 4 November 1819, "a very wet day",



PLATE 1. Stansfeld Rawson – a cut silhouette, probably of the 1830s [Valentine Museum, Richmond, Virginia, U.S.A.]

he set the "New Orchard" (its position is uncertain) with 92 apple and pear trees, "and some winesour Damson plums – put a little manure into each hole to make them grow freely as W T [perhaps William Thompson] recommended to prevent them bearing too soon". There had been older apples in this orchard. They were stubbed up in November 1820 and Rawson "directed Mr J [unidentified] to send up to plant 4 Greenup pippins, 2 Hawthornden, 2 Keswick Codlins, 4 Pears (like Jargonelle, that was once sent to Stonyroyd), [and] 2 Green gage plums". He added, sadly, "these planted last year in the *New Orchard*, don't seem to thrive *at all*", and in 1845 put in a note to say that they had all died. The climate of Wasdale was probably to blame.

Some trees were noted as having been planted by members of the family. On 5 September 1818 "ER [his wife] planted Cedar of Libanus, Spruce and Silver fir", and in October 1835 his daughters Delia (fern-leaved hornbeam), Mary Ann (cut-leaved beech), and Emma (purple beech) each planted a tree "in corner above the road – W[illiam] H[enry] [his brother] also". Some young plants were raised at home in Yorkshire: "The oaks that we had raised at Gledholt were sent up by Sykes in November 1839". Rawson also collected seeds on his travels. In 1822 he put in five Turkey cypresses and four stone pines "all raised from Cones brought by SR from Smyrna", and on 23 August 1838 he "transplanted Cypress to front of house NB this Cypress and three by walk side (leading to low garden) are the only remaining ones of plants that I raised from seed which I brought out of one of the burying grounds at Constantinople in 1817".

With the trees to a great extent planted and becoming established, Rawson was able, in 1825, to turn his attention to the improvement of his house. The five tenements of 1811 clearly, as we have seen, included houses and at least one farm. In 1814 he refers to "that bit of ground betwixt the garden and farm yard" and to the "low house" which was certainly the farm as it had a mistal. It must be the "low Crook" of 1811 and it stood near the present lodge and entrance gates to the Hall; a note of 1831 refers to two beeches, planted in 1814, "in the little bit of plantation adjoining the mistal door at low house . . . now in the bit of Green betwixt the *lodge* and the gate". Two large buildings and a smaller one, which must be those of "low house", are indicated on a map of 1821<sup>12</sup> and on another map in Rawson's planting notes, close to the present entrance gates. There is no reference to their demolition. There were at least two other houses: Rawson mentions gardens belonging to neighbours called Betty and Ned; "Betty's Garden" was somewhere between the edge of the lake and Slack Field.<sup>13</sup> The last reference to Crook in the parish register occurs in 1824 when Hannah, daughter of the Revd Joseph Kitchen (later incumbent of Wasdale Head), was baptised.

In 1825 Rawson began an extension to his "neat rural cottage", recording that in "March – Aspinalls began to work Arlecdon stone, preparatory to *first* building new Cottage at the South end of old houses". John and William Aspinall were the masons, not apparently local men but imported from Halifax or Huddersfield.<sup>14</sup> This extension consisted of a block on the site of the south wing of the present Wasdale Hall, with a library on the ground floor (the "little library"), and a sitting room above. It was partly "covered in" by October 1825, and a mistal and stable had also been begun on the east side of the present drive, near the gate. Eventually this complex consisted of a stable and coach house, with wood and tool sheds and a



PLATE 2. "Head of Wast Water from Crook", a view published by William Green in 1815. The houses at Crook, demolished by Stansfeld Rawson *c.* 1829, can be seen on the left-hand side. [Armitt Collection, Ambleside]

dog kennel, and a gardener's cottage.<sup>15</sup> One Harry Thompson agreed to do the "joinerwork" in the Hall in June 1826, when Rawson and his wife arrived in a gig,<sup>16</sup> but the extension was still not finished in the following March. Rawson paid a further visit in September 1828 with his wife and two of his daughters, but on this occasion he makes no mention of either building or planting.

In March 1829 he came alone and two major events took place. "Set out", he recorded, "ground plan for *present* house to join upon the above, with John Aspinall". They agreed for "digging foundations – also for pulling down the old cottage". The second development was that the lower part of the plantation on Birch How was cleared in order to divert the road up the dale to run behind the house rather than in front of it, "from the Lodge towards where the little gate now joins it". That work was carried out in 1829 and 1830, and the stretch of road below Woodhow Farm<sup>17</sup> was taken up onto rather higher ground at the same time. By August 1830 the old road, now the drive, was levelled and finished. Thorn hedges were planted along the new roadsides in 1832 and 1838–9.

Work on the house proceeded apace. By 4 June 1829 Rawson's son Charles was able to lay what his father called the "foundation stone . . . in North East Corner of Laundry (or Servants hall) gable". The stone is still there, not a foundation stone in the accepted sense, but a block set into the wall of one of the attic rooms, and bearing the following inscription:

LAUS DEO  
AED  
STANSFELD RAWSON  
MDCCCXXIX  
JOH ASPINALL                      BEN OLIVER  
LAP  
GUL ASPINALL                      JOH HUDDART 18

The central block was being roofed in September 1829, and William Aspinall was cutting the Rawson arms<sup>19</sup> over the front door. The roof timbers were completed by October and slaters had begun to work on the rear part, the foundations of the lodge were dug, and the “peat shed (now Laundry)” excavated, “all solid rock, this last”.<sup>20</sup> By March 1830 the lodge roof was on and plasterers were at work in the house; Rawson noted that the groining of the porch and the hall mantelpiece were completed. In August the plastering was nearly finished and the main oak staircase going up. By October, three joiners from Huddersfield were “busy at work” and had completed most of the woodwork in the house. New buildings were made for the farm at Woodhow, a barn, a stable and mistal, and a sheep shed, in 1831, and in the house “King put up pier tables, sideboard & cr, Race put carpet down”.

The Rawsons continued to use the house for holidays and Stansfeld maintained a brisk programme of wall-building, planting, and creating gardens. In the spring of 1833 he noted: “made the little Brierydale into a Garden”. At first this was apparently for both flowers and vegetables, as a later note of 1841, when Little Scale Garth became the kitchen garden, with fruit trees transplanted from Little Brierydale and new wall trees (presumably espaliers) bought from Cunninghams of Liverpool,<sup>21</sup> stated that the old garden was “made into a *flower garden* entirely”. Little Brierydale can still be identified, but no trace of the garden survives among the overgrown trees and tumbled walls. The kitchen garden wall of 1841 still stands.

In 1839 the new building of 1825, the little library and sitting room, were found to be in a bad state, even after only 14 years: “Dry Rot in the new Cottage that I first built – determined to pull it down, and rebuild with good *collaring*,<sup>22</sup> and line throughout with *brick* – April, James Shaw and William Aspinall went up to pull it down, preparatory to rebuilding. *June 10* – first stone laid by Charles”. The new wing, the present south wing of Wasdale Hall, was larger than the earlier one, housing not only a library with a morning room above, but also a dining room, with a bedroom and dressing room above, and at the rear an ale cellar, a woodstore, and a W.C. Between the dining room and the ale cellar, and reached by a small spiral staircase, Rawson inserted a strongroom, with an ingenious curved iron door which fitted into the spiral of the little stair. This south wing was plastered and its woodwork completed by August of 1840. Unlike the north wing of 1829, the new work was not timbered externally, but was a slightly more elaborate version of what it replaced. At some point, and perhaps now, timbering was added to the cross-wing to match that on the north end.<sup>23</sup>

Rather over 30 years after his first purchases in Netherwasdale Rawson came to live there rather than to use the house for holidays. The family’s arrival was preceded by the installation of further comforts. New “London Grates” were installed in the library and dining room on 27 October 1841. In 1842 a bow window





PLATE 3. "Wasdale Hall, Cumberland", an Allom print of 1832, showing the original south wing, rebuilt in 1839. The detail of the house is well-observed, though the family group is probably stylised. [From T. Rose, *Westmorland, Cumberland, Durham, and Northumberland Illustrated*]

and a new mantelpiece were put into the hall, and on 8 June 1843 the Rawsons "arrived at Wasdale for permanent residence . . . Kendall's men putting up curtains, papering &c".

For the remaining 13 years of his life, Rawson contented himself with relatively minor alterations to the house and grounds. He had already caused walks to be made round the foot of the lake (1830), round the field below the house (1832), to the Knot through Kellwood and round Low Coppice (1833–34), and various others in 1842. Those included one to "the Rock", probably the place on the lake shore which he also called Rockypoint to where on 15 September 1852 he transplanted the *pinus excelsa*, the Bhutan pine, which is still growing there today. Planting continued, partly to replace trees which had failed to thrive, or to add colour and variety. Rhododendrons appeared in a hamper from Mathers [unidentified] in June 1846. In later years they became unmanageable, colonising much of the wood, especially behind the house, and recently a great deal of clearing has been undertaken there which has revealed some paved sitting-out areas which may date from the Rawson period.

In the winter of 1847 Rawson cleared all the trees out of the old orchard in Great Brierydale, a sheltered hollow about an acre in extent between Slack Field and Low Coppice, and began to create a pinetum. In it he planted "all the seedling pines &c that I raised from Himalaya seeds" and "10 Jura pines, that we raised from seed (brought with us from Geneva)". Further conifers were added in succeeding years.



After 1843 not a lot was done to the house. In 1849 Rawson noted: "April. put up oak panelling round our lodging room windows (old deal ones destroyed with dry rot)". In 1851 the privy in the yard at the back of the main staircase and an adjoining shed were converted to make the surviving outdoor pantry, and a new water closet made "in the low arched room". In the same year the gables were pointed with "roman cement", and the window frames were painted in the winter of 1853–54 "whilst we were in London". Earlier misfortunes with dry rot were no doubt responsible for the decision to "kyanize"<sup>24</sup> the timbers in some new outbuildings, a Dutch barn in High Meadow, a woodshed "behind yard", and a stone shed "in little field below road", all built in 1854.

Rawson's final creation, undertaken in the spring and summer of 1856, not long before he died and which possibly reflected some increasing infirmity, was the "ambulatory". This was a covered walk at first-floor level behind the house, "roofs all *fresh* sawn up larch". In November of that year he died at the age of 78, and was buried in the churchyard at Netherwasdale.

Very little emerges of his life as a member of the local community, but in the 1830s he built himself a new pew in the church (1834), paid for the building to be enlarged and a new school erected (1837), and in 1839 he gave a set of communion plate and "new draperies" for the church, and the panelling round the communion table. That panelling, and some of the ornamental woodwork in the library of the Hall is said to have been rescued from York Minster or one of its ancillary buildings after the fire of 1829. The only note of a purely personal nature which he added to his accounts of the development of the Hall and grounds recorded that on 21 January 1835 he "went up to vote for Stanley and Irton against Major Aglionby in the West Cumberland election", a choice which indicates that he was, perhaps not surprisingly, a Tory. About 1840 Rawson made some further purchases in the neighbourhood, acquiring the little farm at Scale (now a ruin), one of the houses at Eastwaite, and Netherwasdale Mill.<sup>25</sup>

William Wordsworth, accompanied by W.S. Landor, paid a visit to Wasdale Hall in June 1832, but unfortunately only mentions going to the "house . . . on the banks of Wast Water".<sup>26</sup> The Rawsons would have known the poet through Stansfeld's mother, who was first cousin to Mrs William Threlkeld, whose sister-in-law Elizabeth brought up Dorothy Wordsworth in Halifax after the death of her mother. Elizabeth Threlkeld married Stansfeld's uncle, William Rawson, in 1790.<sup>27</sup>

Rawson's son, Charles Stansfeld (1813–63), who had laid the foundation stones in the two parts of the Hall, bought the adjacent property called Galesyke in 1840<sup>28</sup> and built himself a house there. He acted as manorial constable and greave in 1845, '47, and '48, but left Netherwasdale to live in South Wales in 1850, for unknown reasons.<sup>29</sup> His house at Galesyke was then occupied by his sister Emma and her husband Matthew Rhodes.<sup>30</sup> After his father died in 1856 Charles bought Wasdale Hall, the house at Eastwaite, and the mill from the executors for £3,950, Scale Farm for a further £250, and some, if not all, of the land, perhaps in an effort to save the estate. The property was already quite heavily mortgaged. Stansfeld Rawson had raised a total of £12,000 in 1852 and 1854, and Charles himself borrowed another £6,000 on his new purchases in 1861.<sup>31</sup> He never apparently returned to Netherwasdale. Sale particulars for the Hall and estate were issued, or at least drawn up and printed, about 1859, but for some reason the sale never took place.<sup>32</sup> In the

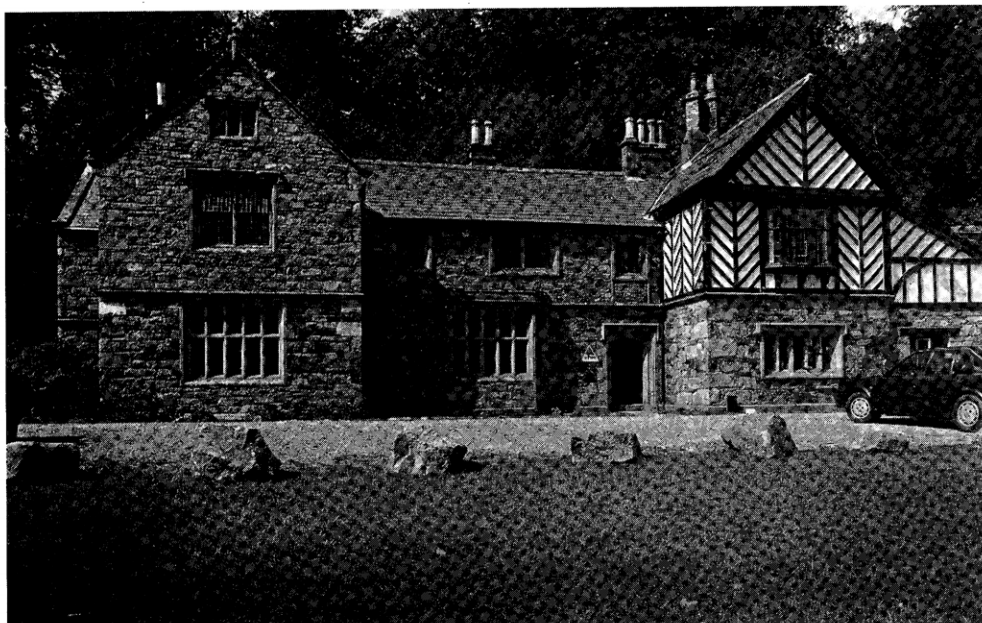


PLATE 4. Wasdale Hall in 1992, showing the central block and the half-timbered north wing of 1829, and the south wing as rebuilt in 1839. The Rawson arms are set over the front door. [National Trust/Robert Thrift]

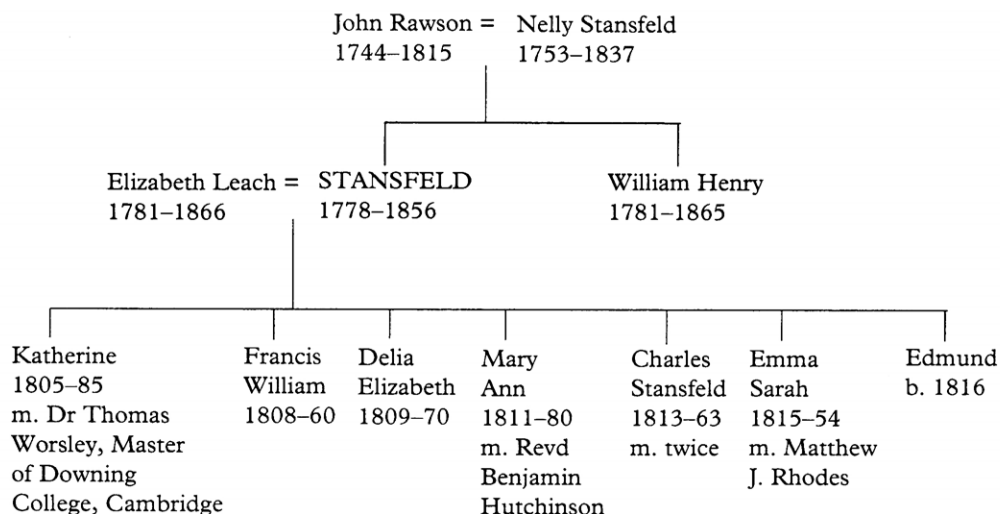
Census of 1861 Charles's sister Mary Anne and her husband, the Revd Benjamin Hutchinson, vicar of St Michael's church in St Albans, and their family were shown to be living at, or perhaps visiting, the Hall, and by 1864 it was let on a yearly tenancy to an otherwise unknown William Furness.<sup>33</sup>

When Charles Rawson died in 1863, his trustees were empowered by the terms of his will to sell Wasdale Hall, with the farms at Scale and Eastwaite, and the mill, in order to pay the now very considerable debts. The sale particulars are dated 23 August 1864:<sup>34</sup> the house, gardens, and pleasure grounds "of considerable extent, are laid out with exquisite taste, [and] abound with ornamental trees and shrubs, and the pinetum, of an acre in extent, is planted with a fine variety of specimen trees". By then "the walled and well-stocked kitchen garden" had heated greenhouses, and the house was said to look out, as it does today, upon "a matchless and varied panorama". In all the estate amounted to rather over 640 acres. The whole property, including the furniture and 3,000 books, was bought by the Whitehaven solicitor, John Musgrave, for £15,000, all the purchase money going to the mortgagees. Wasdale Hall then entered upon the next phase of its history.

John Musgrave lived at Wasdale Hall in the summer months until he died in 1912, at the age of 95,<sup>35</sup> and he ruled Netherwasdale with a despotic hand. He bought a number of farms in the neighbourhood and was a considerable landowner in Netherwasdale, Irton, Wasdale Head, and in Borrowdale. He may be chiefly remembered for his not altogether altruistic enthusiasm for the idea of building a motor road over the Sty Head pass.

The estate was put up for sale in 1920,<sup>36</sup> and was eventually bought in 1923 by Herbert Wilson Walker (died 1934), lord of the manor of Castlerigg and Derwentwater.<sup>37</sup> In 1954 his holding company, Lodore Ltd, sold Wasdale Hall to D.R.S. Bourke Burrowes, and it was bought from him in 1959, with only 53½ acres of land, by the National Trust.<sup>38</sup> All the land on the west side of the road, where Stansfeld Rawson had planted so assiduously in the earliest years of his ownership and including the walled kitchen garden of 1841, had been separated from the Hall and its immediate grounds. The Hall became a Youth Hostel in 1969, and in recent years, under the aegis of the Youth Hostels Association, has been, given the constraints of its present use, restored and decorated to give something of the appearance and even the atmosphere which it must have had in the last century. With the exception of the kitchen, the internal fittings have survived to a remarkable degree, a tribute to the solid work of the Yorkshire craftsmen who made them.<sup>39</sup>

## APPENDIX



Of Stansfeld Rawson's children, only Charles and his sisters figure in his notes. In particular, it is strange that no mention is made of the eldest son, Francis William. He must be the Mr Francis Rawson of Savile Green, Halifax, listed in Slater's *Northern Directory* (1848), 1048. In 1859 his father released a life interest in the old family home at Stonyroyd to him. Charles and all his sisters are commemorated in Netherwasdale church, as is Charles's first wife, Charlotte Elizabeth Octavia (Collinson), who died in 1850; of their seven children, a son and two daughters were baptized there 1842-49. Three of their sons emigrated to Queensland, Australia.

## Notes and References

- <sup>1</sup> See the pedigree above, p. 279, and C.R. Hudleston and R.S. Boumphrey, *Cumberland Families and Heraldry* (1978), 274. Other details have been gleaned from the parish registers of Netherwasdale and memorial inscriptions in the church and churchyard there. I am grateful to Mr and Mrs W.K. McDowall of Parry Sound, Ontario, Canada, for further genealogical information and for a copy of Charles Rawson's will of 1863. Stansfeld Rawson's Christian name is often rendered as "Stansfield", but Stansfeld is the correct form and was his mother's maiden name. It gave everyone trouble. In 1825 it was rendered as "Standishfield" (Cumbria Record Office [=CRO], D/Lec/Box 94, Netherwasdale verdicts 1678-1859), and it appears on a map of 1821 as "Stanefield" (CRO, D/Lec/Maps/Eskdale 27). The story in D. Hoys, *The Lake Country* (1969), 40-41 of a Rawson child being drowned in Wastwater in the time of George IV (and the subsequent haunting of Wasdale Hall by the child and his mother) appears to be a myth. No Rawsons were buried at Netherwasdale at that time.
- <sup>2</sup> The name Gledholt was given to one of the plantations near Woodhow Farm: CRO, D/Mg/83/2.
- <sup>3</sup> CRO, D/Lec/Box 94, Netherwasdale verdicts. Irton sold a good deal of property about this time, and later, in order to maintain an extravagant lifestyle: *CW2*, xli, 109.
- <sup>4</sup> C.A. Parker, *The Gosforth District* (1904), 95; for Crook, see also W. Green, *The Tourist's New Guide* (1819), ii, 250, 280, and G.S. Sandilands, *The Lakes* (1947), 49.
- <sup>5</sup> It appears as High Brown Hause in CRO, D/Lec/Maps/Eskdale 27.
- <sup>6</sup> Parson & White, *Directory of Cumberland and Westmorland* (1829), 239. Harriet Martineau still referred to the Rawsons' house as Crook End in 1855: *Complete Guide to the English Lakes*, 2nd ed., 120. There is a block plan of the house on the map of 1821 (LRO, D/Lec/Maps/Eskdale 27), and a rather more detailed plan in one of Rawson's notebooks (see n. 7 below). The house, which fronted the road, measured 14 x 9 yards, with attached outbuildings to north and south, one of which, probably a barn, was 18 yards long.
- <sup>7</sup> These records survive in two small notebooks in CRO, D/Mg/82/1. One, covering the period 1811-23 was annotated as to the progress of the trees in 1831. The other is more formal and was continued to 1856. Both contain material about the house and gardens as well as about tree-planting, and each overlaps and complements the other. I have not attempted to differentiate in quoting from them here.
- <sup>8</sup> The area on the west side of the lake, defined by the shore of the lake and the river; see map.
- <sup>9</sup> William Thompson, nursery and seedsman, is listed at Ravenglass in Parson & White, *op.cit.*, 232. He also kept the post office. He must have had a considerable nursery; in March 1823 Rawson bought 2,500 2-year old oaks from him.
- <sup>10</sup> Gray & Clark are listed as gardeners, nursery, and seedsmen at Keswick in Parson & White, *op.cit.*, 333. Rawson also bought plants from their contemporaries in Keswick, Atkinson and Mayson.
- <sup>11</sup> W. Tyson is probably the William Tyson, victualler, Strands, listed in Parson & White, *op.cit.*, 241. A John Tyson farmed at Greendale, Netherwasdale at the same time, but another John Tyson was recorded in 1841 at an indecipherable address in or near Crook, and in 1851 at the lodge at Wasdale Hall, where he was a gardener. The farmer is probably meant here.
- <sup>12</sup> There is a tracing of this map by J. Huddleston made by Rawson in CRO, D/Mg/82/2; another copy is CRO, D/Lec/Maps/Eskdale 27. On the dorse of the map in the planting notes another plan gives more detail, and shows the house to have had an outshut staircase.
- <sup>13</sup> Betty is perhaps Betty Tyson of Galesyke who, with her husband Thomas, baptised children at Netherwasdale up to 1813.
- <sup>14</sup> I have failed to identify them either locally or in contemporary Yorkshire directories.
- <sup>15</sup> The buildings by the entrance are described in the sales particulars of 1864: see below, n. 34.
- <sup>16</sup> The journey to Cumberland from Huddersfield or Halifax would not have been a short or particularly easy one in this period. Family lore indicates that the Rawsons travelled in their own coach. If they used public transport, as seems possible on this occasion, they could have come by coach along turnpike roads to Skipton and Ulverston, from where, in 1829, "James Benson's Car" ran three times a week to Whitehaven: Parson & White, *op.cit.*, 729. The gig was presumably hired locally, unless it was mentioned because it was not the usual means of transport from Halifax. But the journey would not have been speedy until the railway was completed to Whitehaven in 1850.
- <sup>17</sup> Rawson registered the purchase of two tenements at Woodhow and "ham & Whittle" [*sic*] on 27 April 1825: CRO, D/Lec/Box 94, Netherwasdale verdicts.

- <sup>18</sup> "Praise be to God/the builder/Stansfeld Rawson/1829/John Aspinall, Ben Oliver/the masons/William Aspinall, John Huddart". Ben Oliver's name was really Benjamin Oliver Knapton. Was his last name omitted in order to balance the stone, or did Rawson perhaps only know him as Ben Oliver? On 4 October 1830 Benjamin Oliver Knapton married Sarah Pharoah at Netherwasdale. They were living at Shepherd's House when their daughter Sarah was baptised in 1833. Rawson noted in 1832 that "Ben entered Shepherd's house"; he was still in the district in 1834 when he witnessed a marriage.
- <sup>19</sup> The arms are described in Hudleston & Boumphrey, *op.cit.*, 274. The family crest was a raven with a ring in its beak, and in the Hall there is still a carved wooden raven, possibly part of an overmantel.
- <sup>20</sup> These are the outbuildings of the present house, whose foundations would indeed have been excavated in rock.
- <sup>21</sup> George Cunningham & Son, 40 Paradise St, Liverpool, with a nursery at Old Swan, are listed in Slater's *Northern Directory* (1848), 487.
- <sup>22</sup> "Collaring" is mainly a mining term for bracing timbers, and evidently means much the same here.
- <sup>23</sup> It was still there as late as 1920 and can be seen in the photographs in the sale particulars of that year: LRO, BD/TB/SP3/42. An inspection made for John Musgrave in 1891 (CRO, D/Mg/229/1) reported that the oak woodwork over the front door needed taking down and that repairs should be made to that on the east gable, where the finials had decayed. The Hall originally had had wooden spouts and gutters, which were to be replaced with iron ones. Some alterations to the plumbing were also recommended.
- <sup>24</sup> "Kyanize" is from the name of J.H. Kyan, who, in 1832, patented a means of impregnating wood with a "solution of corrosive sublimate" in order to prevent decay.
- <sup>25</sup> CRO, WD/NT/70; CRO, D/Lec/Box 94, Netherwasdale verdicts.
- <sup>26</sup> Sandilands, *op.cit.*, 52, quoting a letter of 25 June 1832.
- <sup>27</sup> *Letters of William and Dorothy Wordsworth, 1787-1805*, ed. E. de Selincourt, 2nd ed. revised C.L. Shaver (1967), 146 n.3. Stansfeld's brother William Henry Rawson was also known to the Wordsworths. Their mother, Nelly, was the daughter of David Stansfeld (1720-69), of Hope House, Halifax. His sister, Mrs Elizabeth Moore, had a daughter Mary, who married the William Threlkeld whose sister Elizabeth was Dorothy Wordsworth's beloved "Aunt Threlkeld", later Mrs William Rawson.
- <sup>28</sup> CRO, D/Lec/Box 94, Netherwasdale verdicts. Galesyke appeared in the Percy Survey of 1578, and there was at least one house there which was presumably demolished in 1840. The Census of 1841 records the building of Galesyke Cottage, and a mason, William Eilbeck, was lodging in an outbuilding there. He was still "of Galesyke" when he was married in 1842. Charles Rawson added other properties, a field called Gale Holme registered on 1 May 1841, and the farm at Murt 18 April 1846: *ibid.*
- <sup>29</sup> CRO, D/Lec/Box 94, Netherwasdale verdicts. His departure for Wales is recorded in his father's notebook.
- <sup>30</sup> 1851 Census.
- <sup>31</sup> These transactions are recorded in John Musgrave's abstract of title to the estate, drawn up in 1923: CRO, WD/NT/70. Stansfeld Rawson had sold How Wood shortly before he died: CRO, D/Lec/Box 94, Netherwasdale verdicts, 12 April 1856.
- <sup>32</sup> CRO, D/Lec/Plans/Eskdale and Netherwasdale; there is a copy of the map with a picture and plan of the Hall in CRO, Barrow, Z1504.
- <sup>33</sup> The inventory of furniture in the Hall drawn up on the occasion of it being leased to Furness by Charles Rawson (CRO, D/Mg/194/1) is, however, dated 18 April 1865, two years after he died, and after John Musgrave had bought the estate. The inventory is meticulously detailed, even down to the itemising of "a piece of Rock" in the coat room, a corkscrew in a side table in the dining room, and 84 clothes pegs in the laundry. There were stuffed birds in the drawing room, and the listed china included "6 Common blue Egg Cups". Even the wire guards round the flower borders in front of the library and dining room were noted down. The Rawsons had a six-oared boat and four pairs of oars in the boathouse.
- <sup>34</sup> CRO, D/Mg/83/2.
- <sup>35</sup> He was buried at Netherwasdale on 20 April 1912. Some details of his career are given in an article in the *West Cumberland Times*, 19 March 1904: CRO, D/Mg/185/11; see also R. Eversley, *Wasdale* (1981), 96-8. Musgrave's surviving personal papers are in CRO, D/Mg, and those of his firm in Whitehaven are CRO, D/BT/5.

- <sup>36</sup> There is a copy of the sale particulars in CRO, BD/TB/SP3/42, and a draft and another copy in CRO, D/Lec/Plans/Eskdale and Netherwasdale.
- <sup>37</sup> For Walker, see Hudleston & Boumphrey, *op.cit.*, 354.
- <sup>38</sup> National Trust files.
- <sup>39</sup> I am indebted to the YHA warden, William Greenwood, for showing me the Hall, and especially so to Dr Derrick Holdsworth of Outgate who surveyed the trees at Wasdale Hall for the National Trust in the spring and summer of 1992, and who showed me the pinetum and taught me a great deal about arboriculture. I take this opportunity of acknowledging the debt we both owe to George W. Johnson, Esq., author of *The Cottage Gardeners' Dictionary* (1857), a work which was of the greatest help in identifying the shrubs and varieties of fruit trees in Stansfeld Rawson's notebooks. My thanks also to the archivists in Carlisle, Kendal, and Barrow, to my husband Geoffrey Martin for some gifted elucidation of Rawson's handwriting and for drawing the map, and to Susan Denyer of the National Trust for her kind cooperation and encouragement.