

ART. XVIII – *Rickerby: An Estate and its Owners - Part 1*

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TODAY's estate of Rickerby House (now Eden School, 1988) and Park was the creation of William Richardson (from 1767); James Graham (1747–1820, husband of William's co-heiress); George Head Head (by purchase, 1834; died 1876); and his heir and distant relative Miles MacInnes (died 1909). This article explores the wealth of topics in the estate's papers.¹

In the late 17th–early 18th century, when these deeds begin, Rickerby was an average Cumberland village of small farms, the houses fronting the west side of the “Town Green”, their crofts each of an acre or two backing to the Rickerby Beck. By the 1720's the village had shrunk; many garths, tofts, and toftsteads are mentioned in the deeds, signs of depopulation. Occupied holdings comprised dwelling-house, barn, byre (for wintering the cattle), garth or garden, orchard (often), well, croft, and lands either as closes (hedged mostly) or parcels in the open fields (“Rickerby Townfields”). There were also the “New Improvements”, “Improved ground”, and various intacks, some named after their creators (e.g. Allison's Intack).² The holdings were both freehold and copyhold; the latter mostly in the manor of Rickerby, with common of pasture in the barony of Crosby-on-Eden and peat rights on Houghton Common, but a few were of the manor of Houghton and Rickerby. There were few leases other than of tithes. Some of Rickerby's farms had fishing rights (“severall Fishery”) in the Eden: “dovehouses” (1745) and “warrens” (1768) are also mentioned. At least one owner had rebuilt on his toft by 1729. The deeds show much coming and going between Rickerby, Linstock, Parkbroom, and Carlisle.³

During this period the people of Rickerby administered themselves as yeomen and as customary tenants of the Gilpins of Scaleby Castle, lords of the Manor of Rickerby; but in 1767 a native of Rickerby, who had made a fortune in London, began buying up farms one by one, and bought the lordship of the Manor in 1768. This was William, younger son of John Richardson of Rickerby, yeoman, by Jane his wife; their two sons John and William were baptised at Stanwix in 1726 and 1728. John stayed locally, married, and had one son, William; his brother went to London as a youth, became a merchant in the City, grew rich, was “Mr” in 1771, “Esq.” by 1779, began buying in his native place (aged 39) in 1767. In this desire to build up a landed estate in his birthplace (rather than near London) as a seal of his rise in society, William was precursor to Joseph Cowper of Skelton (buying in 1820's onwards; died 1841) and Henry Grainger of High Ireby (buying in the early 19th century to 1866): both were farmers' sons sent to London as youths.⁴

On 19 October 1767 William Richardson of the City of London, merchant, paid £35 for “The New House”, a freehold house and garth or garden behind it, at the Croft-head in Rickerby, let to tenants by the owners William Clark senior and junior, of Rickerby yeoman (who makes his mark) and Rickergate, Carlisle, maltster, (who signs). On 1 December 1768 William Richardson bought the Manor of Rickerby for £200. On



FIG. 1 Map of the Rickerby estate.

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Christmas Day 1771 his father (now styled "senior, of Rickerby, gent.") gave him as a present "the freehold Dwelling House lately erected" and garden adjoining, and stable on the north end of that garden, at Rickerby. This is the core of what became Rickerby House. Between March and October 1773 William took up residence at Rickerby; from October 1773 he is styled "Esquire". In March 1773 Clark junior sold him a 1-acre piece "at the south-east end of his croft at Rickerby abutting on William Richardson's garden and John Richardson's close on north-east". In October 1773 John Story of Rickerby yeoman sold him a freehold close called Croft or Garth (3r.30p.) there, with Clark's Lane on the east, Rickerby Beck on the west, the public road through Rickerby on the north, and Samuel Boustead's garden hedge; bringing the outlay that year to £120 and £60 respectively. On 25 November 1779 his father gave him a freehold piece of land at the south-east end of his house in Rickerby, "one part whereof a Building (now used for a Kitchen) hath been lately erected and the Remainder thereof hath been converted into a Yard which adjoins to the King's High Way leading through the Village of Rickerby; Also a freehold Parcel at the south-east end of the said John Richardson's field at Rickerby called The Croft (on part whereof two Stables have lately been erected and built by the said William Richardson) containing by Estimation one Rood"; it had a well in it. So, by 1779, William's house had got its stable-yard set up, on the free site given by his father. On 5 April 1780 William gave £664 for the ex-Clark freehold house, barn, byre, garth or garden, in Rickerby, with $\frac{1}{4}$ -acre piece of meadow next to it, on the south side of "the Road through Rickerby"; it abutted on William's lands on the west; included was the 6-acre close adjoining called The Croft. On 19 April 1781 he gave £572. 5s. od. for a freehold close (size not stated) "in Rickerby Holme on north-west of Kenny Holme" (i.e. Kinney Holme, on Rickerby Beck's west bank), and a garth in Rickerby on the south-east of the road, sold to him by the Knubleys, yeomen, of Moorhouse, an ancient farm in the fields near Rickerby. An unlocatable sliver of both was copyhold: William declared it enfranchised forthwith. On 5 November 1781 he paid £115 to Montague Lind of Aldermanbury, merchant, for the family's Rickerby property, by then declined to a house, barn, an old house-stead, and a garth and garden, customary of the manor of Rickerby, rent 1d. (i.e. ancient tenement). It had front and backside together with common of pasture and turbary, and was sold with "all Improvements of Common . . . taken or to be taken up and Improved for and in respect of the said Granted Tenements". In April 1782 he gave Clark junior £2. 12s. 6d. for $\frac{1}{2}$ -rood of meadow in Rickerby Holme, south of the Carlisle-Rickerby road. In September 1782 he gave Richard Lowry of Stanwix, gent., £105 for his freehold house at Rickerby with its "Croft, Garths and Gardens" ($1\frac{1}{2}$ acres) adjoining, on the south of William's orchard and on the north of "the Hill called the Heugh"; let to John Bowman, it had front ground, backside, and a well. On 7 November 1782 he bought the Nicholsons' freehold cottage and garth at Rickerby for £8; it stood across the Carlisle-Linstock road opposite "the Building now or late the Tythe Barn of Rickerby", and had a well. The vendor was Jonathan Nicholson of Botchergate, yeoman, son of the late Robert Nicholson of Rickerby, yeoman and it was let to Margaret Levingson. There were four additions in 1783: on 18 January, £20 for the cottage and garth at Rickerby in the angle of a field-road (west and south abuttals) with Rowland Hegdale's land on north and east; it had a well; let to Robert Harding, sold by James Birbeck of Denton Mills (parish not stated). On 5 May, £200 was paid for the "freehold Toftsteads and Orchard Garths or Gardens . . at

Rickerby” let to three people, with common of pasture (only) in the manor of Rickerby, and no well, only “waters”; sold by John Story of Blackhall, yeoman. On 10 May, an outlay of £100 for Samuel Boustead of Rickerby, whitesmith’s freehold toftsteads and orchard garths or gardens at Rickerby, occupied by Samuel and his mother, also without well or peat-rights. Neither Story’s nor Boustead’s toftsteads etc. are further located. On 12 July William’s father, “late of Rickerby but now of Sprunston” (a farm south of Carlisle, in St Cuthbert’s parish) gent., gave him a freehold piece of land next to the previous one at the south-east end of his croft; it was 27 by 4 yards at the north-west end and 26 by 9 yards at the north-east side; undeveloped as yet. On 11 June 1784 his father sold him, for £20, freehold, “All that Building lately Erected by him the said William Richardson in the Orchard of the said John Richardson at Rickerby . . . now made Use of as a Coal house and for other purposes by . . . the said William . . . ; Also full and free Use of the Pump and Well in the Yard behind the Dwelling-house of the said John Richardson at Rickerby for the said William Richardson and his . . . Servants”; also with full right of passage through his father’s gateway between the public road and the yard, orchard, well, and building, also to William’s stable and gardens; “with full Liberty to lay down and make Use of Materials” for repairing any of William’s wells and buildings there. From this it appears that William’s mansion arose partly on his father’s land: William built, then father conveyed. On 13 June 1785 he paid £402. 10s. od. to William Clark of Rickergate gent. for the 5 $\frac{3}{4}$ -acre Waterside Close of meadow in Rickerby Holme, which brought his land there to the River Eden on the west; on the south the Duke of Portland, and on the north Mr. Richard Lowry.

In 1786 he made no purchases; in November 1787 he bought for £1644. 4s. od., Ambrose Holme, a house and farm of 50 acres south of Eden in St Cuthbert’s parish, sold freehold by the Knubleys with four seats in the six-seat Pew 107 in St Cuthbert’s Church gallery, Carlisle, and all tofts. That month, too, the Knubleys sold him, for £609 more, their 7-acre close at Outer Eastholme, its tithe-hay, and Rickerby’s corn and grain tithes; excluded, for as long as the Knubleys chose, were their fishing-rights, including “to fasten a Fishing Boat to a Post to be fixed for that Purpose” there, on land next to the road to Ambrose Holme on the south of Eden; the Knubleys to keep to that road. The tithes’-rent was 46s. 8d., £10 a year to the Vicar of Stanwix, and 26s. od. a year to Rockcliffe Parish under John Grearson’s Bequest (of the City of Carlisle, gent.). In 1788 William Wharton, Excise Officer in Carlisle, sold to William another seven-acre freehold close in Outer Eastholme, and its tithe-hay, for £200.

Now the Tithe Barn (bought in 1782 from the Knubleys) would be useful. In June 1705 it was sold by William Gilpin of Scaleby Esq. to Charles Smithson of Carlisle, gent., for 50s. od. freehold, as “All that Barn called the Tyth Barn lately built upon the Waste of the Manor of Rickerby by the said Charles Smithson . . . at Rickerby Town End”, with one-rood parcel there, and a direct track to it from the “Rickerby Town”-to-Linstock road. In September 1712 Smithson, now of Newcastle-upon-Tyne, sold it to Smith of Fingland, yeoman, for £20. The Knubleys bought it for £50 in August 1765 from Elliot of Rickerby, yeoman, having bought the tithes-lease from Elliot that July. The lessor was the Bishop of Carlisle, for Rickerby corn and grain; tithes of hay of Rickerby Holme and Moor (east of Rickerby) were held of the Vicar of Stanwix as part of his manor (8d. rent for the Holme, 4d. for the Moor) as a tenant-right estate that went with one particular house in Rickerby.⁵

On the whole, William had been able to buy what he wanted, by patience and ready money; but one owner's condition for selling his house, buildings, and garden, was sale to him of a plot of equal size and William's paying for the erection of a replacement house etc. on it; the contractor was Mr. Joseph Twentyman of Carlisle, joiner, whose plan and estimate William now had. The vendor was Samuel Boustead of Rickerby, whitesmith. It was agreed, on 22 February 1783, to sign the deeds by 1 July, by when Twentyman was to have begun building and was to complete it promptly on William's choice of Samuel's two potential sites. He chose the south end of Mr Rowland Hegdale's field, bought it, and sold it to Samuel for £100 on 10 May. By 1784 Samuel's son had thereon a house, barn or byre, cow-house, stable, shop, and orchard; area, 1r.26p. William also gave Story of Blackhall £200 and 2¼ acres as exchange for Story's house etc. in May 1783, to be levelled and cleared forthwith; and acquired 10 acres from his namesake and nephew in 1787.⁶

Thus in these 21 years (1767–88) William had spent £5427. 11s. 6d. on 24 purchases, built a "neat house", added over 40 acres in Rickerby, and 50 acres at Ambrose Holme. The district nicknamed him "Nabob", but his vigour, acumen, and enterprise in London and at Rickerby and Bleatarn, as estate-getter and land-improver, and his evident wealth and manner, justified this. His few surviving London papers include a deed securing the many annuities to be paid by A.J. Alexander Esq. late of Edinburgh but now of Leicester Fields, 1772, on his sugar plantation, equipment, and slaves, at Little Bacelot, Egmont Bay, Tobago: full details were given on the third skin of the deed. William commuted to London from Rickerby in the 1780's–1790's.⁷

In 1787 Stanwix's Vestry proposed to improve their church by inserting new sash windows, moving the pulpit, and blocking the door etc., and posted up details for signature for or against. William took this chance to offer a gift for it if given leave to build a fine new pew, to be his property thereafter. On 25 May the Vestry agreed, but directed the churchwardens to allot the site. The vicar, the Rev. J. Farish, and nineteen principal persons signed in favour, six signed against, and one had changed sides to join the proposers a week later, on 3 June. The churchwardens' and Vestry's choice was that the pew should occupy the east corner of the north aisle, facing the pulpit. Support had risen to twenty-two for, none against. The proposals moved formally in the Vestry on 8 July were these: wall up the present main entrance (the south door) and place the pulpit, reading-desk, and Parish Clerk's pew (i.e. three-decker) there ("opposite" is deleted); insert west door with sash window over; insert east window in chancel; scrape exterior clean and whitewash it. "William Richardson of Rickerby Esquire being present at this meeting" generously offered to pay for all this and to plaster and roughcast the east, west, and south walls, whereat the Vestry gave leave for the pew to go where the three-decker now stands, instead of the Vestry's previous site. However, by 2 September the leading parishioners had second thoughts, and overruled the Vestry: the pew was now to be in the north-west corner, facing the ex-south door; Miss Aglionby had moved against, but withdrew. William now took his plan to the Diocese's Consistory Court on 25 January. No-one came to oppose it in court, and on 22 February 1788 Paley as Vicar-General confirmed it, now built, 7'3" long by 6'3" wide at the east end of the south aisle. A rough pencil sketch-plan on the dorse of 8 July's minute confirms this, and shows what may be the pulpit opposite, and other stalls in the chancel. In 1703 Nicolson remarked on the prominent Aglionby pew ("J.A. 1659") in the chancel. The chancel had

a flat ceiling then, and the nave which was narrow and high needed constant upkeep; the font was too low, the Royal Arms decayed, and the churchyard-fence gappy. In 1645 and 1745 the church was damaged by the military. It had one bell in the bellcote. In 1752 it had two west windows and a north door central in the chancel. On its south side, in 1830's, were two pairs of 18th-century round-headed windows, with a short chancel and one similar window on the south, together with a modest three-light, off-centre, with east window. This church was demolished and rebuilt in 1841, being repaired after an internal fire in 1843. The pre-1841 church's north aisle had been walled up, suggesting shrinkage of population, certainly by 1829, and perhaps even by 1752.⁸

William Richardson Esq. was also well-known locally as a pioneering improver. In 1785, "at a great Expence", he strengthened and "beautified" the banks of the Eden and Rickerby Beck, with the full approval of his father and all others. In November 1785 his father gave him leave to inclose such roadside waste as would "straighten some Hedges and greatly beautify the Village of Rickerby", and to gate Rickerby's field-road(s) for the general local benefit. In 1797 his Bleatarn (p.Irthington) estate had the sole Cumberland example of irrigation seen by Bailey and Culley; though poorly-sited, they commended him "for the spirited example he has set in many other improvements." He had made Bleatarn's "poor black moory soil, growing very short heath, not worth 6d. an acre", into good land by a four-year process: "first autumn, ploughs; second autumn, ploughs across; third summer, limes it (150 bushels per acre); fourth April, grasses it for sheep." If arable was desired, he reckoned the net cost would be £8. 11s. 6d. per acre. He was among the first six to introduce long-woolled sheep into Cumberland (in his case, from Northumberland) in 1794–97; his example was instantly followed by "Mr. Graham, of Barrock-Lodge" and others, before 1797. These latter hired tups at high prices, and gave as much as £4 to £5 for each ewe. Leases were in 1797 rare in Cumberland, and horse-hoes, horse-drills, and threshing-machines unknown there. Average rural rents were 15s. od. per acre; near towns, £2–£4; paid in cash. Tithes were mostly paid in kind.⁹ Rickerby was partly inclosed by private agreement in 1752, followed by Crosby-on-Eden, Linstock, the remainder of Rickerby, Tarraby, and Houghton by private agreement in 1772.¹⁰ By 1805 Richardson was letting farms, on eleven year leases, at Whitrigg (Crosby-on-Eden) and Parkbroom. His husbandry clauses forbade much ploughing; his leases describe new buildings, house, oven, coalhouse, at Parkbroom, and brick or stone buildings, slated, at Whitrigg; the lessees there (rent £100 per year) were of Wydon near Haltwhistle, whereas Parkbroom's were of Crosby parish, rent £260. By 1794 his house had "beautiful gardens furnished with stoves, pleasure grounds, and other ornaments . . . He now amuses himself in this retirement with buildings and agriculture, having improved the estates he has purchased here, and in the neighbouring parishes, to a high degree," i.e. in Rickerby, Linstock, Brunstock, Crosby-on-Eden, Walby, Bleatarn, and Scotby.¹¹ The *Carlisle Journal* of 2 June 1804 reports "fine new green pease" gathered in his gardens at Rickerby that week. The "other ornaments" (1794) may have included gazebos, for in 1895 Haverfield was told by "old residents" that "Squire William Richardson, nick-named the Nabob, had a sort of 'Belvedere' to enjoy the view" south from Bleatarn: the mound there, south of the Blea Tarn (itself south of the Wall), might well be the belvedere's base. The tarn was drained between 1865 and 1895.

In 1768 William Richardson Esq. bought the lordship of the Manor of Rickerby from

the Trustees of the late Richard Gilpin of Scaleby Castle Esq. Its lord in 1653–1668 was Cuthbert Studholme, gent.; in 1669–1674 succeeded by Michael Studholme gent., Citizen and mercer of London, who with Barbara Studholme of Carlisle, his widowed mother, sold it for £420 to the Rev. Richard Gilpin of Newcastle-upon-Tyne on 15 September 1674. From 1674 the Gilpins of Scaleby Castle held the lordship. By 11 May 1748 Richard Gilpin was hopelessly mortgaged for £9,222 and was unable from his income even to pay the interest. In desperation he conveyed to the Trustees, to manage and if possible to pay off the debt, charged on Scaleby Castle, Manor and Demesne; Scaleby Mill (water corn mill); parts of the former Scaleby Common; Scaleby Moss; Highfield Moor (a farm near Bleatarn); leasehold tithes of Crosby and Holm-end; Whadub (farm in Barony of Crosby); Manor, Demesne, and Tenements of Rickerby; and the house, kiln, and malthouse in the Cathedral grounds leased from the Dean and Chapter. His Trustees were Andrew Hudleston of Hutton John Esq.; Peter How of Whitehaven Esq.; William Hicks of Whitehaven Esq.; John Gilpin of Whitehaven Esq.; Thomas Gilpin of Whitehaven merchant; and the Rev. Curwen Hudleston and Miss Sarah Dove, both of Whitehaven (she formerly of Scaleby Castle). Dove, Hicks, and the Rev. Curwen Hudleston were already his mortgagees; Peter How and Thomas Gilpin later went bankrupt. The main mortgagee, in £7,000, was Edward Stephenson of Abbey Holme (Holm Cultram) Esq.; the others were Joshua Lucock Esq. and Mr. Jeremiah Adderton. Dates of the mortgages are not stated in the 1748 deed, but some are given in the 1745–68 Rickerby mortgages. Stephenson foreclosed on Scaleby. In 1674 the Manor of Rickerby had been sold to Gilpin for £420; what Mr. Richardson paid in 1768 is not stated. Its purchase emphasised his local dominance.¹²

William Richardson never married; he died on Thursday 5 February 1807 at Rickerby, and was buried at Stanwix four days later, aged 79. His will was proved at Carlisle on 16 February 1807; his personal estate within Carlisle Diocese was about £12,500. His father, John, “late of Rickerby” but now of Sprunston, was buried at Stanwix on 19 January 1789, aged 87; his will, dated 1785, proved in 1793, left all his Rickerby freehold houses and lands to his son William of City of London, Esq., in trust for the testator’s other son John and wife Jane, together with son William (styled “of Rickerby, gent.”), with power to William junior to sell to his Uncle William Esq.; 5 guineas to William Esq., who made his own will on 2 March 1802, “in good Health of Body and of sound . . . Mind . . . (Praised be God for the same)”, in which it appears that he detested his nephew William, his heir-at-law, for he left him not one penny. He left £2000 to his nephew William’s children to be forfeit at once if his said nephew tried to upset or trouble his devisees in any way. His nephew had eight children, born 1782–1805. He inherited his grandfather Richardson’s estate, which he mortgaged in 1809 for his eldest son’s benefit. William Esq. left £4000 in trust for Rosetta Herne, in 1802 “at Boarding School with a Mrs. Canon at Little Chelsea”, for her marriage and offspring if any, but she was still unmarried in 1827. William’s main devisees were two young sisters whom he must have met in London, Simpson by name; the elder, Maria, was by 1802 living with him at Rickerby; the younger, Harriet, had in 1791 married James Graham, a rich Carlisle man who could give promise of £220 p.a. jointure. William Richardson Esq. voluntarily offered to supplement that with £4000 payable six months after his death. Trustee for Miss Herne’s legacy was “my friend James Graham Esq. of Barrock Lodge”. James was also tenant in trust of William Esq.’s Walby,

Crosby-on-Eden, Linstock, and Parkbroom estate (bought from Rooke, James, Wilfrid Hudleston, Thomasin Mauleverer, Mrs. Jane Baty, and others). Part of Rooke's Walby estate was held in trust by the testator's friend the Rev. Browne Grisdale of Carlisle, D.D., also the testator had lately surrendered his Scotby estate, viz. houses and lands near Wheelbarrow Hall and in Scotby itself, which were to go to Harriet and Maria, with his "Manor or reputed Manor of Richardby otherwise Rickerby", its mansion, gardens, hot-houses; his freehold lands in Rickerby, Stanwix Banks, East Holme, etc.; his freehold house and its land at "Blettern" (tenant: Peter Hobson); his other freehold house and land at Ambrose Holme (land let to George Topping), all tithes (leased) in Rickerby, Linstock, High and Low Crosby, and all his "Moneys, Bills, Bonds, Notes, Mortgages, Government and other Securities for Money, Stock of Cattle and Horses, Crops, Husbandry Utensils, Plate, Linen, Household Furniture and Effects." To James and Maria went all mortgages, to act above his nephew's head. To two City friends, Benjamin Mills, drysalter, and William Musgrove, gent., frequent borrowers from him, he left £2000 each. To John and Jane, children of George Bell of Knells, £50 each on each reaching 21; to Harriet and Maria's brothers William and Henry Hanson Simpson Esqs, 100 guineas each, with 50 guineas to the Rev. Browne Grisdale; 5 guineas each, "as Tokens of my Respect" to the Rev. Michael Wheelwright (Curate of Stanwix in 1787) and his solicitor Mr. Robert Mounsey, and to Maria, "so as to make her equal with her Sister . . . Harriet", he left £4000, payable six months after his death. The will was signed by William Esq. in a large firm strong hand, with a non-armorial seal.¹³

James Graham was of a Kirkclinton family; he died in 1820 aged 73, which gives his birth-year as 1747. The only James Graham baptised that year in Kirkclinton was James, son of John Graham of Thorny Flats (wife not named), who had five children baptised at Kirkclinton in 1741/2–1752. James was the third child; his second child, also James, had died aged four months in February 1746/7. By 25 January 1791 he was "of Carlisle St Mary, Esq."; a James Graham was an owner in Rickergate in 1789–90, assessed at 9½d. for Land Tax; no other James Graham appears for that parish then.¹⁴

On 20 January 1791 the deed of covenant prior to marriage settlement was drawn up for the wedding of James Graham of City of Carlisle Esq. to Harriet Simpson of "Richardby" spinster; parties 3–5 were William Richardson of Rickerby Esq., John Hanson of Killingbeck Park near Leeds Esq., and the Rev. Browne Grisdale D.D. of City of Carlisle. After reciting that Harriet is heir to Henry and James Hanson Esqs after the deaths of her uncle William Hanson Esq. and her father James Simpson Esq., in £2500 total, and William Richardson's £4000 gift, it states that James Graham Esq. is "possessed of large personal property though not as yet seized . . . of sufficient . . . real Estate . . . to secure . . . the said Jointure . . . but having lately contracted for the purchase of divers Messuages Lands . . . and Premises . . . of . . . (the) Duke of Portland . . . at Barrock Field Ellerton Grange and elsewhere in the Parish of Heskett", will charge these for the jointure as soon as he receives the deeds; meanwhile he settles his estate on John Hanson and Browne Grisdale as Trustees, and signs with an armorial seal. The marriage bond was sworn on 25 January, and the couple were wed at Stanwix Church the day after by the Rev. Dr. Browne Grisdale. James's signature is shakier than Harriet's; William Richardson and Maria Simpson witnessed, William shakily, Maria with small neat hand. On 21 February 1807 Maria gave her half of Rickerby to Harriet, for love, as sister. On 22 April 1808 James bought Moor Close (3 acres freehold) from

John Lowry of Bunkers Hill Esq. for £160; on 20 May 1808 a settlement was signed in favour of the couple's second son James Reginald Torin Graham, then aged ten, or failing him on their other children except their eldest son. Trustees included Harriet's brother William Hanson of Bitterne Manor in Hants Esq.; with power for James and Harriet to revoke, until they could decide what to do. They did so revoke in February 1812.¹⁵

James Graham bought-in further additions to the Rickerby estate: Atkinson's estate (late Routledge's) sold by Mary, widow of James Atkinson of City of Carlisle Esq. (she was a Routledge by birth) and John, her eldest son, (by November 1806 "of the Heralds' College in London Esq.") for £6800, described in the 1806 fine as 40 acres arable, 10 acres meadow, 10 acres pasture; sold to James Graham on 2 February 1808, who on 30 November 1819 mortgaged it and another ex-Routledge estate (undescribed) to John Ritson of Maryport, sailmaker, for £3000; Ritson assigned this to Richard Cust of Carlisle Esq. (after James Graham's death) in 1828. On 1 April 1809 James Graham was mortgagee for £2000 to William Richardson Esq.'s nephew, William of Rickerby gent. and wife Elizabeth (Trustee, John Lowry of Bunkers Hill Esq.), on behalf of William their son now in the Madras Establishment of the Hon. East India Company. The estate was a freehold house, barn, byre, stable, orchard, and croft behind same, total 3 acres, at Rickerby. The deeds were to be completed on the son's return from India but it was sold, however, without him, on 2 August 1809, to W.R. Giles of Carlisle. This was part of the late John Richardson of Sprunston's settled estate (died 1789), as was the house etc. (3 acres) sold by William Esq.'s nephew William's son Thomas of Carlisle, ironmonger, to James Graham "late of Barrock Lodge but now of Rickerby Esq." on 5 April 1814 for 10s. od. William gent. was living at "The Beeches" (today's name) east of Rickerby in 1839, and has confused several who thought him his uncle.¹⁶

In September 1809 James Graham exchanged $2\frac{3}{4}$ acres with Isabella Halton of Carlisle widow, and in April 1814 exchanged $3\frac{3}{4}$ acres on the east of Old Eden bordering William Hodgson of Houghton House Esq.'s closes Intack and Brick Kiln Close at Rickerby, $4\frac{3}{4}$ acres; the latter abutting on north side of the public road through Rickerby and partly then a garden. In October 1814 he gave £425 for the $4\frac{1}{4}$ acre Allison's Intack sold him by George Ferguson of Carlisle Esq. In August 1815 he gave £990 and paid off the £800 mortgage on Story's estate ($19\frac{1}{2}$ acres), which in September 1801 had comprised a house, six one-room cottages, a garden, and eight closes including Robson Holme, Quarrybank, and Quarryholes. He, his wife, and Maria also continued to lease the corn and grain tithes of Rickerby and Linstock, and Crosby's pasture tithes, till 1838 at least. These had been William Richardson Esq.'s; those of Linstock (ex-Mauleverer) in 1797 including Linstock Tithe Barn. Those of Bleatarn (ex-William Esq.'s) were sold in May 1809 to James Graham by Sir F.F. Vane of Armathwaite, Bart. under private Act, for £395. 5s. od. By 1819 his estate and Maria's at Rickerby totalled 152a.2r.7p.; in 1833, it was 165 acres. Total acreage of Rickerby township was $560\frac{3}{4}$ acres.¹⁷

In 1774 Barrock Field and Ellerton were within the cultivated parts of Hesket parish; there was a house at "Barwick Field" in 1774, but none yet on Barrock Lodge's site; and there was a sizeable house at Ellerton Grange.¹⁸ In or soon after 1791 James Graham built the main part of Barrock Lodge (now Barrock Park otherwise The Manor Nursing Home), facing south-west (five bays, two each side of door) on the terrace above the River Petteril; an unpretentious two-storied house. East lodge's gothick ogee windows

resemble those in the house north of Rickerby House gardens extant in 1819, and thus was probably built for James Graham, though in his time with today's west half only.

James Graham was evidently loth to leave Barrock Lodge, his own creation, for his wife's inheritance at Rickerby; but by January 1810 he had done so, and advertised Barrock Lodge and grounds to let. Its farm was to let that October, described as of 167a.or.19p., excellent land, owner-occupied, with good farmhouse and "very good Thrashing Machine"; land suits "the turnip and clover system"; tenant, William Irving, Barrock Lodge; offers to James Graham Esq. at Rickerby; closes 1 December. Dispersal sale 9 November includes Ayrshire milch-cows; also hay at Rickerby and Stanwix; also new sort of late-sown wheat, enabling turnips to be in its ground late.¹⁹

Barrock Lodge's grounds contain, in the first field north-east of the house, an octagonal late-18th century dovecote lined with stone shelves and nesting-boxes. Dovecotes of the large freestanding sort were genteel status-symbols. Just north of it is Cumberland's only tunnel-shaped ice-house, with stone walls, brick roof (arched), presumed earth floor and wooden door, entered from north; c.7 m by 1 m by 2 metres high, c.2 feet below surface.²⁰

In 1813 James Graham sold Barrock Lodge and Estate to William James Esq., aged 22, bachelor, grandson and heir of William James of Finch House near Liverpool Esq., West India merchant, whose ancestors were of West Auckland (Co. Durham) by 1747 and of Culgaith in 1668. Barrock Lodge's new owner owned large slave-worked estates in Jamaica; he married a girl from near Liverpool in 1816, was High Sheriff of Cumberland in 1826, Radical MP for Carlisle 1820–26 and 1831–34, MP for East Cumberland 1836–47, and Chairman of the Carlisle Canal Company. His great-great-granddaughter, Rosemary Evelyn James (Mrs E.S. Powell), sold Barrock Park Estate in 1975 and settled in France; after some years without use, the house is now a nursing home.²¹

Rickerby was handier for Carlisle, and on richer soil, but was as yet smaller than Graham's Barrock estate now sold. Though he did not move there till 1812, 1813, or 1814, he "restored" the house and got the Rickerby-to-Carlisle road moved further away on the north. Hitherto it had run south and west of "Richardby Villa", crossing Rickerby Beck on a bridge 90 yards downstream from today's, 66 yards due south of today's road; little trace is now visible of this old bridge. On 20 November 1809 two Justices met in special Sessions, viewed the spot, and granted the new route as "more Commodious to the Public"; James Graham was given the old road's land and soil. The Justices were the Rev Dr Browne Grisdale and Mr Thomas Lowry. The map shows a west-facing house with south wing (i.e. stables), gardens on west, with a long narrow range along the north, and a further L-shaped building at the north-east corner. The new route passed north and east of the House. On 24 February 1810 the *Carlisle Journal* advertised "To be built by Contract, a Bridge over the Beck at Rickerby for James Graham Esq. – A Plan and the particulars will be seen by applying to Mr Peter Nicholson, Architect". The level road to Rickerby could be risky: the *Carlisle Journal* of 16 March 1805 reported that "A Gentleman's Carriage proceeding to Rickerby was nearly carried away by Flood". By 1819, stepping-stones had replaced the former bridge.²²

It is possible that James Graham had moved to Rickerby by Autumn 1812: a letter from his wife Harriet to her friend Mrs Kitty Senhouse of Netherhall, dated at

“Richardby, 12 October 1812”, regrets that none of her servants “wants to come from here to you” at Netherhall; and the *Carlisle Journal* on 28 November 1812 reported that a 30lb. pumpkin, four feet round, two feet wide, had been “lately cut in the garden of James Graham, Rickerby, Esq.”²³

James and Harriet Graham had eleven children. The eldest, Anna Harrietta (or Henrietta) was baptised in St Mary’s, Carlisle in 1792 and died a spinster in 1817. The next nine were all baptised at Hesketh. Barrock Lodge had been built by 25 December 1794, for it is given as abode at baptism of Laura Isabella their second child. Four of the children married; Georgi(a)na Maria to Major James Macalister of Stanwix, Madras, and Arran (she died at Arcot near Madras in 1819); James Reginald Torin, his parent’s heir, in 1821 married Eliza(beth Jane) Saurin of Dromore Palace, Co. Down; Harriet Mary Ann married the Rev Charles Butler Stevenson, who by 1831 was of West Court, Callan, Co. Kilkenny, with whom Harriet’s sister Maria, still unmarried, went to live after Harriet her sister’s death in December 1830; and the youngest child Augusta Mary, to G.F. Parry of Twisden (Kent) Esq. The five younger sons all entered the Army; two (J.R.T. and Charles Henry) fought at Waterloo, aged 17 and 13, and lived; but all except J.R.T. then died young in India, bachelors. Georgi(a)na’s child died aged 15 months; and J.R.T. and Eliza had three daughters, at least two of whom died unmarried in 1892 and 1909.²⁴

The eldest son, William Richardson Graham, born their third child in 1796, was named after Harriet’s benefactor William Richardson Esq. of Rickerby. Despite this good start, by 1815, aged 19, his father was fed up with him. The Grahams had Scottish connections, and by February 1815 William had appalled his family and their friends by marrying “a Miss Cuningam, half-sister (by a Dairy Maid) of Sir William Cuningam,” wrote Mary Warwick in Carlisle, on 4 February, to her friend Mrs Kitty Senhouse in Maryport, “a very bad Match it must be. Mrs. G. takes it very *Ill* & so does Miss Simpson; Mr. G. says nothing, but I hear he has made up his Mind to do nothing for them, which serves them *very* right poor young fool he is but just eighteen, the bride is supposed to be 28, or 29. Mrs. G. has seen no body since it happened – I hope Bath will be of service to her. The Family never mention the subject to any body.” The Cunninghams of Capington in Ayrshire were a very old Scots family (as doubtless the bride had impressed on William), but this Sir William died (officially) childless by Mrs Graeme (his wife since 1799) who by 1816 was said to have divorced him. William’s mother Harriet was, by 1816, in touch with her Edinburgh lawyer F. Walker in George Street, in the hope of rescuing “my poor boy” through a Scots-law divorce. Harriet had been ill: Maria acted for her, calling at Mr Walker’s, who told her it would not be costly, and strongly recommending the offer of a yearly payment to the ex-bride. On 2 June 1816 Harriet wrote that Maria had promised to pay this “in case this hated marriage was dissolved: I flattered myself matters were in train to rid my Son of this most dishonorable connection”; the in-laws (“the Baronet”) were “villainous” and selfishly vindictive; luckily her son has found some “warm friends in the Highlands”, but he himself “seems at present almost indifferent as to the result being determined (if possible) never to see her more: but he is *yet* very young, and a few years must make him thankful to have got quit of so disgraceful an alliance altogether.” William was then aged 20, an infant in law. Very soon he rented a cottage in Strathdearn, near Inverness, from Alexander Grant, Midmills, Inverness. His Aunt Maria Simpson financed this attempt at a new start, aged

21, in independence and out of his father's way; soon he had moved to "The Cottage", King's Mills, Inverness, otherwise called "Richardby", Midmills Cottage. The link with Maria, and supplier of ready money, was his factor Thomas Mackenzie Paterson, writer (i.e. solicitor) in Inverness, who helped him with advice, and the getting of servants (married gardener, cook, washerwoman), food, furniture, horse-hire, gig-hire, farrier, gunsmith, miniature-painter, merchant, negus, postage, bank (British Linen Bank; Inverness Agent, Bailie Alexander Mackenzie; head office, Edinburgh). He befriended a local lunatic, Peggy Tulloch, paying for her stay in the Northern Infirmary, Inverness: William playing the part of a gentleman. But he had never been let off the lead at home: he soon got into debt, despite his factor's efforts and advice. He fled Scotland by 21 October 1817, owing £301 11s. 7d., and his factor spent the next decade trying to recover it; periodically going to see Maria, e.g. at Sidmouth, through snowbound Selkirk, February 1823; and calculating the vast interest accruing under Scots (but not English) law. William had cost Maria and family £477 to set up in Scotland; she and Harriet were willing to settle the score, but their solicitors Saul of Carlisle held out, under English law. By 1827 Paterson, £500 out of pocket since February 1818 for him, and now retired to Drumcudden near Cromarty, bade his Carlisle lawyer Simon Ewart sue Capt. J.R.T. Graham and Maria Simpson forthwith. The result is not stated; Ewart also acted for William's Inverness banker.²⁵

William spent the rest of his life at Rickerby, under his father's control, who however ignored him as a living failure and disappointment. In 1819 he drew a set of careful survey-plans of the Rickerby estate for his father and Aunt Maria, beginning with the House and grounds, and using various scripts: very possibly as a peace-offering of some useful skill, as atonement. His father died in 1820 and William was left some money in his will, but under his Trustees' strict control. He died intestate (without property) at Rickerby on 11 April 1827 aged 31, and was buried at Stanwix on 18th. His elder sister Anna Harrietta had died there unmarried in June 1817; their mother Harriet died in Nottingham Place, Marylebone, on 28 December 1830, and was buried at Marylebone on 3 January 1831.²⁶

James Graham spent the 1790's improving his Barrock estate and raising his family; by 1804 he had returned to Carlisle business affairs, being the main founder of the Carlisle New Bank on 31 October 1804. His partners were Robert Warwick (formerly Bonner, of High Callerton near Newcastle upon Tyne, who inherited Warwick Hall Estate in 1792 and took the surname Warwick), Thomas Ramshay (agent at Naworth), Robert Mounsey (solicitor in Carlisle), and James Beck. Each partner put in £6000 in 3 per cent Consols as capital; the partnership to last 21 years from 31 December 1803, retirements excepted. Mr Beck was to be Managing Partner and to engage in no other business while acting as such. Banking in those days was mostly by private firms, issuing their own banknotes backed by gold.

By 1811, according to Jollie's *Directory*, Carlisle had five banks, viz. (brackets show whom drawn-on): Forster and Co., Castle Street (Down, Thornton, and Co.); Graham, Mounsey, and Co., English Street (Sir R.C. Glyn, Bart., and Co.); John Hebson, English Street (Masterman, Peters, and Co.); David Carrick and Sons, Scotch Street (Masterman, Peters, and Co.); Elliot and Foster, Scotch Street (Sir R.C. Glyn, Bart., and Co.); but omits J.M. Head except as a grocer. His banking interest began in 1804 and his Bank was soon known as Carlisle Old Bank. He was also a stamp-distributor and

agent for the Royal Exchange Insurance Office at his Botchergate-head shop, which by 1829 had become part of Court Square.²⁷

Clients of Graham's Bank in its heyday included the Cumberland Rangers, a Volunteer corps raised by Henry Howard of Corby Castle Esq. to repel invasion from without or riots or revolts within Britain, in 1803, successor to the by-then defunct Loyal Edenside Rangers. The Cumberland Rangers' records include the Bank's letters and accounts. The clerk then was C. Holme, 1805-6; manager, Mr John Beck, who by 1811 is there styled "Deputy Receiver-General for Cumberland, at the New Bank, Carlisle". The Rangers were centred on Corby Castle.²⁸ Another client, Capt. Thomas Cust, Indian Army, died 1795, brother of Richard Cust, many years stationer in Westminster thence Carlisle, who in June 1787 borrowed 1200 Calcutta sicca rupees on a bond from "James Graham of Lucknow Esq.", at 12 per cent interest. On 10 November 1803 "Mr. Graham of Barrock Lodge" handed this "bond to him" to Robert Mounsey, solicitor, bidding him press the late Capt. Cust's family for payment "as Mr. Graham has at this Time occasion for the money". Richard Cust protested at this "extraordinary" delay, and that "the present low price of the Funds" rendered Thomas's estate of low value, Thomas having sired numerous children by various native ladies. Three of these children were lodged at Mrs E. Blain's Carlisle dame-school. She was indignant for them, writing to Richard Cust on 24 May 1804, "I do assure you I grudge when I see Nabob Graham's Carriage go by every day to think how meanly he has robbed these Children"; by February 1804 Richard had paid up. The current value of a sicca rupee was then 2s. 6d.; most of the £345 was interest. This is the sole reference to the source of James Graham's pre-1791 wealth. In 1787 this "Son to John and Mary Graham born at Thorneyflatts in the Parish of Kirklington, 11 September 1747" was 40, and had succeeded in prospering in India, one of the goals of rural Cumbrian youths. The nickname "Nabob" was used of him in the 1890's. The Custs later banked with Head's Bank and its successor the Cumberland Union Bank, but in 1810 they still used Graham's, paying-in the balance of the late Capt. Thomas Cust's India estate, £2137. 10s. 10d. The Bank's receipt bears a shield of Carlisle arms (Bishop's impaling City's) and is No. 2984, signed by C. Holme on 11 December 1810 as clerk to Messrs. Graham, Warwick, Ramshay, Mounsey, and Beck, the then partners.²⁹

Another client was John Lowry of Bunkershill, Esq., entrepreneur, who in 1803 bought from John Milbourne four weaving-shops with dwelling rooms above, total length of terrace 167 feet, and other land, in Duke Street (today's name) for £1600, and gave Graham's Bank a bond (as client) in £5000 with power to sell his property if he default; he went bankrupt in 1822.³⁰

At the start of the decade 1810-20 James Graham was prosperous, having in hand his India money, his wife's inheritance, and Barrock's sale-proceeds; but the expense of launching his large family, and difficulties at his Bank, led him in his will to direct his Trustees to "consider the future of the Bank". He died in April 1820, and his partner Thomas Ramshay died a month later. In 1821 Robert Warwick went bankrupt, and by June 1824 John Beck the erstwhile manager was also bankrupt. Management was now left to Robert Mounsey and Mr Rowland, principal clerk at the Bank, with Harriet and Maria's brother William Simpson as consultant (in effect), Trustee for James Graham's children. In 1820 the Executors, hearing that to wind up the Bank would ruin them, resolved to continue it until the 21-year term was up. Rickerby was advertised to let in

December 1821, but Harriet and Maria continued to live there until 1822. William Simpson visited them in both years, and saw the Bank's accounts, but by 1823 these ceased to be sent him. In December 1823 Maria wrote to Mounsey for the truth: he advised winding-up, but due to many bad debts he indicated that this would need a large sum from each partner to supplement the assets. James Graham was overdrawn by £500–£600; the late Mr Beck's debts were payable by the Bank, though some of his land would sell well as building-ground. Even so, £5000 each was needed from Graham's Executors, Ramshay, and Mounsey. By 23 January 1824 "most of our cash notes have been recalled and paid off, and only £2500-worth are in circulation. Most of our debtors are local individuals, shopkeepers and manufacturers, who will cause a run on us as soon as word gets round: so we must meet soon, to have cash ready. So far our reputation has been high". Simpson replied (February) "Agreed but unable, as Trustee for the young Grahams: why not foreclose on some mortgages?" Mounsey reminded him that he (Simpson) was as involved in the Bank, in the past and now, as any active partner; there were no mortgages save for cash accounts. Mounsey and Ramshay each had their £5000 ready: Simpson stalled. By 28 February 1824 "the run on us has begun." Simpson insisted on "accounts first", and not from "a mere clerk": in April, Mounsey sued. In his case for opinion his solicitors added that "Mr. Graham formerly owned much land, but when he died it was found to have been very much reduced, and will probably not realise much more than £10,000"; the Executors had over £5000 in hand, but caution was urged, "as these bad debts are mostly Mr. Mounsey's clients, and he plans to start a new Bank, and to have their custom there." (He did not, though.) Counsel opined that Simpson must yield the £5000, should see the accounts, and should avoid litigation, it being costly and ineffective. By c. 1827 the Bank was wound up.³¹

The Grahams remained at Rickerby, raising £4000 by mortgaging Bleatarn to Anthony Langcake of Carlisle Esq. in 1827 to pay Maria's legacy from William Richardson Esq. (died 1807). James R.T. Graham, Captain, 2nd Dragoons, married in 1821, mortgaging Rickerby to secure £220 jointure. Harriet his mother, by then of 15 Nottingham Place, Marylebone, wrote her will, letter-fashion, on 21 June 1827, at her brother William's house. She gave her "dear Sister Maria" first pick of Rickerby; left £180 a year to Miss Rosetta Herne of Little Chelsea; to J.R.T. her son, the House itself and her pearl-handled dessert set; to Eliza his wife, "a Ring of one large Ruby with smaller ones around, as mark of my high regard"; bidding "my dear children not to trouble their Aunt Maria, as they must be aware of the great sacrifices she has made for them in many ways." The will's tone is affectionate but practical.³²

Rickerby was let to Bishop Percy and family while Rose Castle was restored and improved in 1829–30. He took up residence in late July 1829, and may have had the idea of sending for Rose's Chinese wallpaper after enjoying Rickerby's in the drawing room.³³ The Grahams (exemplary in consulting and acting together as a family) began moves to sell Rickerby and share the proceeds in 1828; the process took six years, with final quitclaim in 1850. Their solicitor George Saul, in June 1846, bought some of what had been Maria Simpson's estate. Their agent, William Morley of Corby, also acted for Corby Castle; in and after 1828 he made a valuation of Rickerby, Walby, Ambrose Holme, Bleatarn, Parkbroom. In 1840 he gave a signed declaration as to the Rickerby Estate; in the 1840's, just after Maria's death, he declares that he is now aged 70 and was Agent to her sister Harriet's children. In 1826 James Graham's Trustees had tried to pay

off James's share of the Bank's debts by mortgaging, but Counsel had advised against. Augusta Mary, newly-wed to G.F. Parry, told her husband of the family's tangled finances and on 15 November 1831 he wrote from Brighton offering to help. Rickerby was put up for auction at the Bush Inn, Carlisle, 14 June 1832, described as "the Manor or reputed Manor, fishery, mansion, outbuildings, grounds, hothouses, cottages, and lands, all in and around Rickerby Village, total 36a.3r.15p., lately occupied by the Bishop of Carlisle", and now occupied by Captain Graham and ten others (his tenants, all named); includes a "Drying House" let till Martinmas 1838. Sale particulars (same day) for house, fishery, and 109 $\frac{1}{4}$ a.3r.18p. at Rickerby were for the [Home] Farm. Captain J.R.T. Graham authorised Simon Ewart to buy in for the vendors the Manor, mansion etc., "Paddock Cottages and Lawn", and the other lot, that day; but on 16 May 1833 Capt. Graham agreed to lease the House, grounds, and 109-acre farm for three years to George Head Head of City of Carlisle Esq.; lessee to keep the grounds as pleasure grounds; rent £1000 total, payable on the lease's completion; the lessor to spend £300 at once on "substantial improvements" to the House; provision for the lessee to purchase the House, grounds, and farm before 11 November 1834 for the £13,500 bid at the sale. If Mr Head did buy it, J.R.T. Graham was to refund him the £700 balance; and meanwhile Mr Head agreed to advance him forthwith £5000 at 4 $\frac{1}{2}$ per cent secured on the estate, which was already mortgaged to Richard Cust Esq. for £3000. Abstracts of title were made in 1833–34 for counsel's perusal, opinion, and drawing the deeds; the Estate's plans (apart from the 1819 set) were left with counsel in London, but never returned. Even in 1828 J.R.T. Graham could buy a bargain: Samuel Boustead of Rickerby, yeoman, sold his house, yard, and three weaving-shops behind, comprising 15 loomsteads with dwelling-rooms above, with 3-rood garden, in Rickerby (mortgaged since 1822) for £600. A recovery was prepared in 1833, for the Manor, 10 houses, 5 cowhouses, 10 gardens, 140 acres of land, 10 acres meadow or pasture, 5 acres wood, and free fishing in Eden. In 1834 the Grahams drew up an agreement of themselves and spouses as to their shares in the coming sale, to prevent any delays from differences of opinion impeding it. On 3–4 November 1834 the deed was done: Rickerby was sold to G.H. Head for £13,500, of which £1800 was for William Richardson (old William's nephew), £3000 for Cust, and £600 for John Brown of Carlisle, ironmonger; the deed includes sale-plan with field-names. The Grahams then drew up a trust deed for the rest of the estate (Linstock, Walby, Scotby, etc.), Trustee (W.H. Simpson) to sell it, pay off the £4000 mortgage, and share out the balance as cash; this trust deed was signed on 12–13 August 1835. Two piecemeal sales in 1842 included Ambrose Holme to John Richardson of Linstock Castle gent. for £3500; and Morley now valued Maria etc.'s farms in Crosby-on-Eden, and at Wheelbarrow Hall, Scotby, Bleatarn, and Crosby Moor (with plantation), total 480 $\frac{1}{2}$ acres, for £13,961. 11s. od., let for £525. 11s. 5d. By November 1841 J.R.T. Graham was "late of Duke Street, St. James's, but now of Clapham near London, Esq.", when he mortgaged for £200, moneys expected from the coming sale; endorsed "Paid off". On 10 November 1842 G.H. Head succeeded F.J. Graham as their Trustee, and was so until the 1850 quitclaim. F.J. Graham had been their Trustee since 1837, and had reduced the main mortgage sums to £2500 by sales in 1837 to 12 July 1843, by the time J.R.T. Graham had moved to Denmark Hill (now in London S.E.).³⁴

In 1892 Messrs. Saul proceeded to the final distribution of the estate of James Graham

(died 1820), and advertised for his kin in the Carlisle papers; their research's fruits have lately come to Cumbria Record Office (Carlisle), and include certified extracts from the East India Co.'s records (as to the young sons' deaths), the declaration of Miss Rosetta Herne (1840) of Park Place, South King's Road, Chelsea, who had known the Grahams well since 1797; extracts from J.R.T.'s granddaughter's family Bible (sole proof of his father's parentage and birthplace); much detail of J.R.T.'s daughters; and of the offspring of Harriet M.A. Graham and the Rev C.B. Stevenson (and of his two further marriages, both however childless) and of the offspring of G.F. and Augusta Mary Parry; Saul's resulting pedigree of the family shows that J.R.T. himself died on 20 January 1865 at Douro Place, Kensington, as stated by his daughter Georgina Geneviève resident there in 1893.³⁵

The Grahams' departure from Rickerby was further hastened by the voracious appetite for money, in 1836–7, of J.R.T. Graham's "pet child". It was a machine to clean "even the worst wheat" and oats to produce good flour without injuring it by kiln-drying; it had a small steam-engine and by 17 November 1836 he had one already working outside Paris. Viability depended on high corn prices. By 2 February 1837 he had a partner in London, "where it will be made better and faster than here; it will need £1100 all told. As for my Canal shares, sell them at once, they never seem to get much better." He foresaw "an enormous Fortune" from his invention's sales, and was getting it patented in London. By 16 February his development costs were growing and the patent was slackly worded. His half-pay commission as Captain was ("worth £3000") but he was reluctant to sell – prices were low, it would only fetch £1000; his pay was £137 a year, or £50 a year to his widow. As for buying-in more lands for Rickerby, "I wish we were rid of them all, as in my case the money would be more useful". The Machine's "inventor" claimed he was now making £3700 a year from it and hoped to get the Navy's bread-supply contract. By 13 March, he asserted "the French have eleven of these Machines now"; by 10 April, he thought it could do well in Poland etc.; and he has taken premises for it in Lambeth. By 20 May the family was trying to accommodate his hopes; by 20 June he was back in Paris; by 12 September, at Duke Street, St James's, with a foray to Paris (his wife remained there) that autumn: "endless delays" (21 November) and lack of ready capital were his plans' undoing, despite his urgent enthusiasm.³⁶

In this first part of the history of the Rickerby Estate and its owners, I have shown how in less than sixty years the estate was created by an enterprising son of one of the local farmers; expanded by the husband of one of his heirs; and sold to this latter's lessee. The second and concluding part will describe what George Head Head, that lessee, did for the Estate and for the City and County, and will continue the story up to the late 1980's.

APPENDIX I

JOHN RICHARDSON
of Rickerby, yeoman, = JANE
hence Sprunston, gent.
died 1789, had issue

JOHN = JANE
1726-c. 1809

WILLIAM SEN.
of Rickerby and
City, died 1807,
unmarried S.P.

WILLIAM JUN. = ELIZABETH
of Rickerby
Cottage, gent.
1761-1840
son of the above
John, had issue

1. THOMAS LOWRY
1782-86

2. JANE
1783-

3. WILLIAM
1786-1811
in India -
East India
Company
1809-

4. JOHN LOWRY
1789-1811

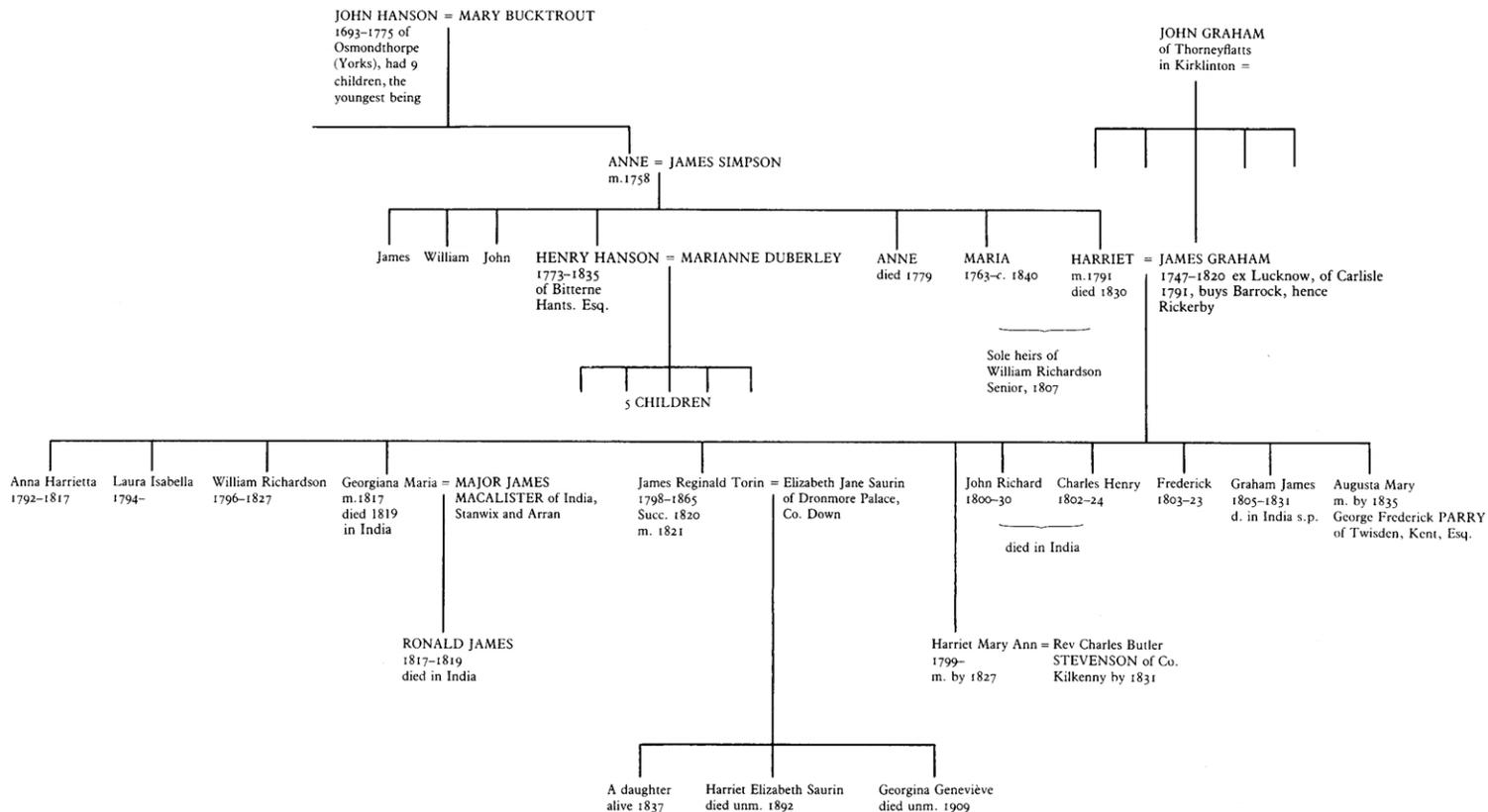
5. THOMAS
of Carlisle
1792-1841

6. ELIZABETH
1795-
m. ROBERT
CULLEN

7. RICHARD
1801-24

8. HENRY
1805-23

APPENDIX II



Acknowledgements

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Notes and References

All sources cited are in the County Record Office, Carlisle, unless stated.

- ¹ C.R.O., Carlisle, D/Ric.
- ² "Green", D/Ric/4 (1752). Farms and village's layout, D/Ric/1–8. "Brick-kilns", D/Ric/4, cf. D/Ric/7. "Intacks", e.g. D/Ric/7. "Improved grounds", e.g. D/Ric/2.
- ³ "Manor of Houghton and Rickerby", e.g. D/Ric/33 (1637); "Manor of Rickerby", e.g. D/Ric/105–106. "Dovehouses", "warrens", D/Ric/3. Common of pasture in Crosby Barony and peat-rights in Houghton, e.g. D/Ric/3 (1745). Rebuilt on toft, 1729, D/Ric/2. "Coming and going": Bartholomew's *Survey Gazetteer of the British Isles*, c. 1952, gives only this Rickerby, but Rickerby as surname had reached Cargo, Castle Carrock, and Skelton by 1688–1698 (see CQ/11). Such surnames were given to persons coming from one place into another.
- ⁴ Baptisms, PR/117/1; Joseph Cowper, D/CC; Henry Grainger, DIG. John Cowper, however, like George Head Head, bought an already-created estate, viz. Carleton Hall near Penrith (D/CC).
- ⁵ "The New House", D/Ric/7; Manor, D/Ric/3 and 106; core, D/Ric/8; March–October 1773, D/Ric/7; Clark's, D/Ric/4; Lind's, D/Ric/13; 1779–85 purchases, D/Ric/8; "Averish otherwise Ambrose Holme", D/Ric/7; John Knubley bought it from Thomas Pattenson Esq. and wife, of Melmerby, for £1200 in June 1781 (D/Ric/37). Outer Eastholme, D/Ric/7. Tithe Barn and hay-tithe, D/Ric/5; its 1782 sale, D/Ric/4 and bond in D/Ric/6.
- ⁶ Replacement house, D/Ric/10; Mr Rowland Hegdale was County Gaoler in (CQ/11, e.g. 1708 Easter). Story, D/Ric/14. William junior, D/Ric/14. In 1741/2 Boustead was of Linstock (D/Ric/14).
- ⁷ Ambrose Holme, D/Ric/37; "neat house", Hutchinson, II, 584; "Nabob", e.g. CW1, xiv, 193; Tobago, D/Ric/14; commuter, D/Ric/103 p.2. He also lent money in Cumberland as mortgagee, e.g. in 1787 to Thomas Harrington of City of Carlisle gent., on land in Castle Sowerby (D/Ha/4/33).
- ⁸ Vestry, D/Ric/53; Consistory court, DRC/3/19; Nicolson, *Miscellany Accounts*, 104–5, cf. Waugh in D/Mh/1/9, 77. For views of its exterior see Ca/C17/1 (1752), D/Sen. c.1800 painting (Eden Bridges from south), Rev W. Ford's sketchbook, c. 1830's (Carlisle Library). See also Parson & White's *Directory*, 1829, 443.
- ⁹ 1785 works, D/Ric/6. J. Bailey and G. Culley, *General View of the Agriculture of Northumberland Cumberland and Westmorland* (1797), 206 (irrigation), 207 (Bleatarn), 215 (sheep), 182 (rents and leases), 184 (horse-hoes etc.).
- ¹⁰ Inclosure 1752, D/Ric/29(iii) (alludes to); 1772, see copy in D/MBS/1/10. Linstock and Crosby Commons had been inclosed in 1691 (DRC/2/121).
- ¹¹ His leases, D/Ric/14; "1794", Hutchinson, II, 584; Linstock etc. (all but Scotby and Walby), D/Ric/37; Scotby, D/Ric/16; Walby, D/Ric/38. Often his trustee was the Rev. Browne Grisdale, D.D. "Belvedere", CW1, xiv, 193 and Plate VII there; "drained", *ibid.* Plate VII and Ordnance Survey 25-inch Cumberland Sheet XVII.6.
- ¹² Buys the lordship, 1768, D/Ric/3. Descent of the manor: Studholmes, D/Ric/105; Gilpin, D/Ric/105–106. "1748", D/Ric/14. Abstract of title for the 1768 sale, D/Ric/106. Gilpin's 1745–1768 Rickerby mortgages, D/Ric/3. Stephenson's foreclosure, C.R. Hudleston, R.S. Boumphrey, and J. Hughes, *Cumberland Families and Heraldry* (1978), 130 cf. 324, cited as *CFH*. Bankruptcies of How and Thomas Gilpin, and 1674 price, D/Ric/106 (Abstract of title).

- ¹³ Date of death, *Carlisle Journal*, 7 February 1807, deaths column; burial, PR/117/12 (the entry is in large print); probate at Carlisle, P 1807. “Richardby” is a genteel 18th–19th century variant of “Rickerby”, see e.g. PR/117. John Richardson’s burial, PR/117/2; probate, P 1793. For description of Sprunston as late 17th-century farmhouse with late-18th century barns see CS/DOE/3/3, 14 (1983). Nephew William, D/Ric/103, 2. Rosetta He(a)rne: Harriet Graham’s will, 1827, provided £180 p.a. for her. William Esquire’s £4000 for Harriet was interest-free (D/Ric/13).
- ¹⁴ Was of Kirklington, DX/1113/53, Hudleston, Boumphrey and Hughes, *o.c.*, 133; baptism, PR/156/3; “1791”, DRC/7/6, 2; Land Tax, CQRP/1/23 (1789) and 24 (1790) (Cumberland Ward); his marriage, PR/117/7, 66. James Graham was not apprenticed in Carlisle, nor was he admitted as a freeman there.
- ¹⁵ 1791 prelude, D/Ric/13; for a drawing of the seal see D/Ric/104, 3. James Graham is “bachelor” in the marriage register. John Lowry (1808) is stated to be eldest son and heir of John Lowry of Dur[r]ahill gent.; for his career see CW2, lxxxviii, 227f. For the 1807, 1808, and 1812 deeds, see D/Ric/13.
- ¹⁶ Atkinson’s estate, D/Ric/11; for John Ritson’s shipping investments see TSR/2/1, 4/1, 1/2 etc., (card-indexed in C.R.O., Carlisle); Cust, see also D/Cart/C11. Sales 1809, 1814, D/Ric/6. “1839”, DRC/8/163; confusion, e.g. *Carlisle Journal*, 19 December 1916, 4 (Borderer).
- ¹⁷ Exchanges in 1809, 1814, D/Ric/7; Allinson’s Intack, D/Ric/7; Story’s, D/Ric/12. Tithes-leases, D/Ric/19, *cf.* 18; D/Ric/18 is a legal manoeuvre for raising £2919. 11s. 10d. Linstock tithes 1797, from Mauleverer of London, D/Ric/19; Vane sale, D/Ric/19 (recites will of Sir L.W.F. Vane, died July 1786). 1819 acreage, D/Ric/109, note inside front cover; 1833 acreage, D/Ric/13; total acreage (1839), DRC/8/163. Added in 1819 were two slivers on the old Eden Bridges approach road, sold for £24. 7s. 6d. by Cumberland Quarter Sessions, valued at £300 an acre (Ca/5/2/88, with plan).
- ¹⁸ Map of Cumberland by T. Hodkinson and T. Donald, 1774. “Barwick Field” is the house at grid ref. NY 441477, 5/8 mile south-south-west of Wreay Hall, not the core of Barrock Lodge itself, as thought by Pevsner, followed by the compiler of the Scheduled Buildings List, 1986, ref. S/DOE/3/46.
- ¹⁹ “In . . . 1791” is implied by D/Ric/13; “five bays” etc., my own note, 1988; additions, Pevsner, *The Buildings of England: Cumberland and Westmorland*, 64, *cf.* S/DOE/3/46; East Lodge’s gothick, noted 1988; “1819” gothick, D/Ric/109, and 1988 visit. The east half of Barrock Park’s east lodge is of later idiom, and its site in the Petteril Crooks East tithe map, 1846 (DRC/8/151), as is the racecourse; the drive was then treeless. To let 1810, *Carlisle Journal* 13 January and 27 October 1810. Barrock Lodge’s architect is unknown; H. Colvin’s *Biographical Dictionary of British Architects 1600–1840*, 1978, place-index, omits it. By 1861 it was “Barrock Park” (Ordnance Survey, 6-inch map, Cumberland Sheet XXXI). “Thrashing Machine”: James Graham as pioneer in this as in sheep-breeding, see Bailey and Culley, 1797, 184, 215. See below for his son J.R.T. Graham’s grain-drying machine.
- ²⁰ Dovecot extant by 1861 (OS 6-inch, *l.c.*), dated by Pevsner *l.c.* to late 17th century and by S/DOE/3/46 p. 56 to late 18th century with description 1986; Hodkinson and Donald’s 1774 map omits it. For the icehouse see CW2, lxxxii, 151 and Figure 5 there.
- ²¹ James was a Radical, see R.S. Ferguson, *Cumberland and Westmorland M.P.s 1660–1867* (1871), 389–390. On the family see C.R. Hudleston, R.S. Boumphrey, and J. Hughes, *Cumberland Families and Heraldry* (1978), 184; *Burke’s Landed Gentry* (1853 edition), 644. Mr E.S. Powell, in a letter to C.R.O., Carlisle, 26 April 1967 (ref. D/10/10), thought that James got his Radical views “from his step-father Col. Monier-Williams”; he added that “all over the house” (Barrock Lodge) were “a number of papers and letters about James’s career and politics”. These have not come to C.R.O., Carlisle. Previous use of the house, after the Powells left, was as holiday flats. In 1846 the James’s estate here was 164½ acres (DRC/8/151).
- ²² He was still at Barrock Lodge in 1810, e.g. *Carlisle Journal*, 6 January 1810, advt. In 1809 Rickerby was vandalised (*ibid.*, 29 July 1809, 2). “Richer soil”, *Carlisle Journal*, 22 December 1821, 2 (advt.), and 1914 sale particulars, DX/132/1914/20. “1812”, letter from Rickerby, D/Sen/6/56; 1813 (sale) or 1814, D/Ric/6; “restored”, *Carlisle Journal*, 2 February 1892, 2. Local Jottings (but its “1775” is hopelessly wrong). 1809 diversion, CQ/11/1809–10 Epi./2–3, with plan; own notes, 1988: the pre-1810 road runs as now-2-foot-wide ridge east through the garden of the “c.1819 gothick house” cited above. Stone footings of the 1810 bridge are in the west bank of the Rickerby/Brunstock Beck here, c.18 feet wide (noted on visit, 1988). “Commodious”: by only seven yards! For Nicholson, a well-known architect, see Colvin, *o.c.*, 593–4. For Nicholson’s bridge as if seen from above, see D/Ric/109, Part I; this plan also shows the stepping-stones.
- ²³ Letter, D/Sen/6/56; pumpkin, *Carlisle Journal*, 28 November 1812, 3, col. 2.
- ²⁴ For their full pedigree see D/Ric/103; by the time the youngest was born, James Graham was old (60). *Burke’s Landed Gentry* (1849 edition), Vol. 3, 147, wrongly states that Maria Simpson died in infancy (!). She

- lived a long life, devoted to her sister's family, and never married. For Charles's dramatic escape before Waterloo, see *Carlisle Journal*, 8 July 1815, 3. J.R.T. Graham's eldest daughter was last heard of alive in 1837, see D/Ric/103 n. 24.
- ²⁵ Mary Warwick, D/Sen/6/59; W.R.G. was 19, in fact. Harriet ("poor Mrs. Graham of Rickerby") had left for Bath last Monday. On the Cunninghams see *Burke's Peerage and Baronetage* (1859 edition), 256–7. Source for Sir William's divorce is a letter from Harriet Graham, 2 June 1816, a photocopy of which I received from Dr W.P. Honeyman of Stanwix in June 1988, who had the original and had heard of my interest in Rickerby. For W.R.G. in Inverness see D/Ric/21 (letters, vouchers, promissory notes); his bank's head office had him under scrutiny by 8 November 1817 (*ibid.*, letter to its Inverness agent). Letters of Horning (i.e. proclaiming) the debt were granted on 21 October 1817 (*ibid.*).
- ²⁶ These 1819 plans are now a very valuable record, for the Estate's other plans were taken to London in 1834 for counsel's perusal and never returned. Later bound into a volume, they include one plan (Kinney Holme) by John Studholme, 1817. Their reference is D/Ric/109; the signature "Wm Graham" there closely resembles that on W.R.G.'s holograph letter to the Northern Infirmary, Inverness, 31 May 1817 (D/Ric/21). For location of his "Cottage" at Midmills see *ibid.* 21 October 1817, and at King's Mills see *ibid.* bill for Peggy Tulloch. His death, *Carlisle Journal*, 14 April 1827, 3 (deaths column); his burial, PR/117/13. "Without property", see Rosetta Herne's declaration, 1842, copy 1892, 2; Harriet's death, Rosetta, *l.c.*; her burial, see G.G. Graham's declaration: all these three last are in DX/1113/53.
- ²⁷ Robert Warwick, see *CFH*, 197, and e.g. D/Lid; Carlisle New Bank's foundation and career, see D/Ric/23, Case & Opinion 1824; for earliest Carlisle banks and their roots in Carlisle trade and politics, see R.S. Ferguson, *Cumberland and Westmorland M.P.s 1660–1867* (1871), 305–309, and *The Universal British Directory* (1790), 630. Beck was of Botchergate, gent., in 1796 (D/Ric/19).
- ²⁸ Cumberland Rangers, D/HC/1/2–3, 6; Loyal Edenside Rangers (defunct by 1801), D/HC/1/7. As a Roman Catholic, Henry Howard Esq. could not hold an Army commission, but was allowed to raise and train this corps as Colonel, to hold that rank in time of invasion (*ex inf.* Col. R. May, who thinks this unique). For John Beck as client of Head's Bank in 1834 see D/Ric/126.
- ²⁹ Cust, D/Cart/C11/54, including the 1787 bond itself. "1747", DX/1113/53, extracted from the Grahams' family Bible then (1892) with his granddaughter Miss G.G. Graham at 7 Douro Place, Kensington. "Nabob, 1890's", e.g. *Carlisle Journal*, 2 February 1892, 2 (Local Jottings). Custs' accounts, D/Cart/C11/66 (e.g. 1857), 67; 1810 receipt, D/Cart/C11/59. For a later hushed-up Nanson scandal involving Cust money and Carlisle banks, see D/Cart/C11/24, Case for Opinion 1891 reciting 1870's events.
- ³⁰ D/Ha/Acc.5791/2; *CW2*, lxxxviii, 227–231 *et seq.* By November 1834 he was "of Moresby, Esq." (Ca/5/2/87).
- ³¹ D/Ric/23, narrative Case 1824; Rickerby to let, *Carlisle Journal*, 22 December 1821. James Graham's sales are not reflected in D/Ric, and may merely be a wrong influence by the case-drawers. The bankrupt Robert Warwick's estates were sold to the Hollingsworths in 1824, whereupon he went to Bishop Auckland (D/Ric/147).
- ³² Mortgage to Langcake, D/Ric/22, 14–15. Langcake, see also D/HC/2; he was a Carlisle manufacturer. In 1800 he and two other such leased Glencairn Mill in Heads Nook for 17 years (D/HC/2/64/6, *cf.* D/HC/2/45/2). There were Langcake's Buildings in Carlisle in 1815 (D/Ric/150), and Wesleyan prayer-meetings were held in Langcake's Lane, Carlisle, in 1845 (DFCM/11/167). His will was proved at Carlisle in 1829. For Harriet's original will see D/Ric/21; wind-up of the Bank, D/Ric/28. After 1820, "Mr. Ramshay" would be the Rev. Thomas Ramshay, son of Thomas Ramshay deceased (D/Ric/100).
- ³³ *Carlisle Journal*, 25 July 1829, report; Rev. James Wilson, *Rose Castle* (1912), 105; Jean MacInnes, *History of Rickerby*, (c. 1965), 14.
- ³⁴ Acting as one, e.g. D/Ric/19 (1828), D/Ric/22, D/Ric/28; Saul, 1846, D/Ric/27; Morley, D/Ric.28 and D/HC, e.g. D/HC/2/45/11. "1826", "1828", D/Ric/28. Sale to Head 1834, Ca/5/2/87; 1835 Trust Deed, D/Ric/22 and 40; 1842 sales, D/Ric/25; 1842 valuation, D/Ric/24. G.H. Head as Trustee 1842, D/Ric/40. Denmark Hill, (JRTG), D/Ric/40; by 1850 he had moved to Clapham Common (DX/1113/53). F.J. Graham as Trustee, see also D/Ric/28. Final quitclaim 1850, D/Ric/40. The 1806 Militia List for Rickerby shows 16 workmen's families then there, all but two of whom were childless (CQ/Militia).
- ³⁵ DX/1113/53. Miss G.G. Graham died unmarried in 1909; she gave the reredos in Stanwix Church in memory of her family (*CFH*, 133).
- ³⁶ "Pet child", D/Ric/28, letter 16 February 1837, 4 foot; "here" (1837) is Paris. No details of 1830's patents now survive (P.R.O. Guide, II.274). Kiln-drying injured Irish oats sent to London (D/Ric/28, letter 17

November 1836). A “Drying House” (not further described) is included in the Rickerby sale particulars of 14 June 1832 (D/Ric/28). As for the Estate, even in March 1837 J.R.T.G. agreed on a “field to buy” for it (D/Ric/28). On the dorse of 19 April’s – “sell the Canal shares at once.” J.R.T. notes that his share of the Estate is £6148 (*ibid*).