

ART. XVI – *James Towers, a Kendal surgeon (1785–1846) and some of his medical colleagues*

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IN these *Transactions*¹ the medical training of Benjamin Browne of Troutbeck was outlined.² He attended Edinburgh University during the winter of 1806–7, travelled there in the company of a “Mr Towers” and then lodged and studied with him without ever indicating his first name or where he came from. The University records show that a James Towers studied there from 1806–8 but did not graduate. I inferred in footnote 13 that he was perhaps the James Towers who married Ann Goff at Holy Trinity, Kendal on 6 December 1814 and who, as an apothecary, had a son James baptised there on 17 September 1815. These suspicions proved to be correct, but in a very bizarre context, as will be seen. Shortly after the proofs for the article had been completed, Mrs Jo Currie, of the Edinburgh University Library, discovered a brief entry in their *Biographical Index for 1822*. It noted that Mrs — Towers of Kendal, aged 28, had been shot by her husband, a surgeon who had discharged two loaded pistols, one killing her and the other wounding him. Since Towers’ identity and career had proved elusive, this event seemed worth exploring in the Kendal newspapers and I am especially grateful to Richard Hall for his help in this respect.

The Holy Trinity registers record the burial of Ann, wife of James Towers, on 8 December 1821. The same day, the *Kendal Chronicle* reported that her tragic death occurred at about 11 p.m. on Wednesday 5 December and that the Coroner’s inquest on the 6th recorded a verdict of “Wilful Murder”.³ J.F. Curwen⁴ notes that in 1821, James Towers lived at 67 Highgate (east side), on the site of the old Tanners’ Inn, in a house adjoining the old Post Office opposite Sandes Hospital. The house would have occupied the southern part of the present Iceland supermarket. When his wound permitted, Towers was taken to Appleby Gaol to await trial at the Spring Assizes, which began on 28 February before Justice Sir G.S. Holroyd. As the case details filled eleven columns of the *Westmorland Advertiser* on 9 March 1822 they must be summarised.

The newspaper noted that the prisoner, aged 36, pleaded “Not Guilty”, was very sallow and appeared unmoved and calm throughout his trial before twelve named jurors. For the Crown, Mr Raincock⁵ outlined the case and called four witnesses to detail the events. They were Miss Whalley, who had been servant to Mrs Goff (James Towers’ mother-in-law) for over twenty years⁶ and had known him for the seven years he had lived with them since his marriage; Miles Read who lodged with Towers as his apprentice; Dr Thomas Proudfoot who lived next door, across the narrow entry passageway; and Dr Thomas Harrison, a Kendal surgeon who had known the prisoner since 1799 and to whom Towers had been apprenticed. (For further detail of Towers’ medical acquaintances, see the Appendix.) Towers, his wife, her widowed mother and Miss Whalley had spent the evening of 5 December at Dr Proudfoot’s playing two rubbers of bridge between 8 and 11 p.m. Although Towers’ play seemed a little eccentric, he had drunk only a middle-sized glass of

rum and water and was not intoxicated. Towers invited the doctor to dine with them the following day, but Proudfoot accepted only when he found that that was their seventh wedding anniversary.

Back at home, in the kitchen, Towers quarrelled with the servant about a book which she had brought downstairs from the drawing room. He was shouting loud enough to disturb the neighbours and kept opening the kitchen door. Mrs Goff closed it several times but, when she went outside to shut the yard gate, he locked her out so that Miss Whalley had to let her in by the front door. Ann Towers tried to calm him, but he said "he would soon stop her gob" and went upstairs twice. He came down with two pistols. His wife was leaning against the mantelpiece and believed he would not use them. He fired, hitting her in the eye so that she died almost instantly. He aimed the other at his temple, but the shot glanced off only injuring him. Miss Whalley rushed to fetch Dr Proudfoot.

The commotion woke Miles Read who rushed downstairs to find the prisoner lying across the doorway of the lobby to the front door. Dr Proudfoot, who had been in medical practice for eleven years, came quickly and found that the ball had entered Ann's right eye and came out at the left temple. She had died almost instantly. Towers had raised himself from the floor and asked Read to load him another pistol so that he could finish himself off, but was refused. Harrison arrived, confirmed Ann's injuries and saw that Towers was wounded on the upper right temple, where two holes suggested that the second pistol ball had passed through the skin, rebounded off the skull and came out again. He laid a piece of lint over it and the prisoner was taken upstairs and dressed by Miles Read.

(Clearly, Towers was the culprit and the only hope for reprieve from the death penalty was for the defence to prove insanity. Since neither side called Mrs Goff as a witness, perhaps she was considered unreliable or too biased against her son-in-law.)

Under cross-examination all of the witnesses helped the defence by identifying Towers' strange behaviour over several years, though each had rather different recollections of the details. They told how he often claimed that there were robbers in the house, put meat under the sofa to feed them and left cash there for them. In bed, he often believed robbers were coming to cut his throat and he pleaded for time to say his prayers. Sometimes to avoid this, he had slept in the stable while, according to Eleanor Kilner who had lived with the Towers from 1815 to 1821, on other occasions, he loaded a pair of pistols upstairs in the library and then sat on guard with them for up to two days in the kitchen. Miles Read confirmed that pistols, often loaded, were kept upstairs or in the surgery. (This explains the ease with which the murder weapons were obtained.) He also recalled an incident about fifteen months before, when Towers had come home imagining that a man had been shot at the *Horse and Rainbow* in Highgate and had been thrown from a window. Read said that six months had passed since the last attack, and during this time Towers was alternately suddenly well and ill, but not under medical supervision. To examine the variable nature of the attacks, it is worth detailing the evidence of one defence witness, a William Bainbridge who had known Towers about five years, was a relative of Mrs Goff, and who was a clerk at Wakefield's Bank in Kendal.⁷

Bainbridge said that, in August 1818, he found Towers sitting facing a corner of the parlour, his hat pulled over his face and his coat collar turned up. He complained that Lilliputians were puffing dust in his eyes, and asked "don't you see

them running along the bell-wire?" He then fancied there were seven robbers in the cellar and asked Bainbridge to help get them out. He was put to bed but continued hallucinating until 8 a.m. He was troubled by imaginary fleas in bed. Robbers lurked behind the curtains and he needed to pray before they slit his throat. He recovered next day. In January 1819, Towers fancied he saw people under the table. They would eat all the meat in the house and he wanted to put meat and money under the sofa to pacify them. This went on until 11 p.m. when he went to bed with his apprentice, Mr Atkinson, while Bainbridge lay in the next room. About 2 a.m., Mrs Goff roused the bank clerk, saying Towers had gone out into the night. His search found Atkinson returning with Towers, who complained again of robbers intending to kill him. He was almost naked and was soaked by heavy rain. Going to the hayfield in 1819, Towers watched a fancied dog-fight intently for five minutes but became rational once they reached the field. Bainbridge stayed the night, but at 3 a.m. another robber incident began which led to Towers taking a loaded gun down to the river where he imagined he saw bulldogs devouring fish and fired at them several times. By 9 a.m. Towers had no recollection of the events and was perfectly sensible. About two years before the trial, when Miles Read began working for Towers, Bainbridge said he stayed for dinner. Towers had two glasses of cowslip wine and about 5 p.m., they went up to the library. As Bainbridge inspected a fishing wheel, Towers fired a fowling piece. The shot passed close to the witness's face and lodged among the books on the shelf. Despite all these problems, cross examination revealed that James Towers had attended Bainbridge's wife as her man-midwife and proved to be fully competent when not suffering an attack.

Other incidents were recalled by James Noble, a Kendal surgeon who had served his apprenticeship under Towers, leaving in 1815. He had had his own practice since 1818 and, in May, called one afternoon to discover two guns and a brass blunderbuss on the floor. A vivid robber incident was in progress, but they managed to get Towers to bed, where he supposed he was in a damp stable being attacked by oxen and was very restless, getting up every fifteen minutes. In the morning he was found raking through the fire ashes, saying he had found a gold mine and thought he heard singers on the stairs. On other occasions, he thought there were fiddlers in the room, that there was a fine, imaginary dog in front of the fire, and was once found in the corner of Mrs Goff's parlour trying to draw silk from imaginary silkworms. He was perfectly rational when not suffering an attack.

Another witness was John Atkinson, a surgeon who had served his apprenticeship under Towers, leaving in October 1819. He confirmed several robber, dog and Lilliputian incidents and related details of the night-walking episode, saying how he had found Towers, wearing only night clothes, bed-socks and a top coat, about 400 yards from home on some steps in New Street. He must have leapt the garden wall and followed the river bank. Alderman Smith Wilson was called and testified that Towers saw him at Appleby Assizes in 1818, asking for advice on the proper way to remove the thieves, hobgoblins and blue-devils which plagued him. Wilson said that, on 8 November 1821, the prisoner was at a Corporation meeting in the court room prior to "riding the fair" on Beast Banks. Towers had seized the mayoral sword "and began to cut as the yeoman cavalry do", much to the dismay of Alderman Maude, Colonel Maude and the witness. Eventually, Towers was persuaded to put it down and one of the mayor's sergeants put it back into its scabbard. Fortunately no harm was done.

Medical opinion was sought from Dr Proudfoot who had seen many cases of lunacy and confirmed that violent attacks might arise suddenly between spells of normality. Thomas Harrison said he had attended Towers for the past seven years, but during the last eighteen months had had no contact with him. He identified Towers' condition as *delirium tremens* and said that attacks might last between a week and a fortnight before the patient recovered. He detailed the symptoms as: suffering all kinds of fancies, errors of judgement, an exceedingly quick pulse (up to 160 per minute), great restlessness, no sleep and a trembling of the limbs, which he demonstrated. Attacks could be brought on by drinking intoxicating liquors to excess and were common in heavy drinkers.

(In view of the hallucinations which followed Towers' visit to the *Horse and Rainbow*, that he had drunk two glasses of cowslip wine prior to the shooting incident in his library and that he had also drunk diluted rum on the fateful evening, it is strange that no witness was asked to state whether Towers was indeed a heavy drinker, or whether his attacks usually followed the drinking of alcohol even in moderation.)

The judge's summing up dwelt on the jury's responsibility to decide whether or not Towers knew what he was doing when he shot his wife. Despite his declared intention to "stop her gob", they took only a few minutes to find him "Not Guilty" on the grounds of insanity. He was committed to Appleby Gaol, to be detained during His Majesty's pleasure. He remained in custody for twenty-four years until his death on Saturday 4 July 1846 and was buried at St Michael's, Appleby on 8 July, aged 61. I have been unable to discover whether his skills as a surgeon were used to help other prisoners, but an incident soon after his incarceration suggests that he had accepted his fate. On 1 February 1823, the Kendal newspapers reported: "A bold attempt to break out of Appleby gaol was made on Sunday last by a man who had been committed for robbing the house of Mr Wilkinson, Yanwath, but the fellow was seized and overpowered by Mr Towers and the chaplain. . .".⁸

Apart from the obvious interest and tragedy of this case, the details do allow some reconstruction of James Towers' family and career. The 1841 census shows that he was then aged 56 and was *not* born in Westmorland. Towers is a surname typical of Furness and a wide search in the IGI and elsewhere yielded only one suitable baptism; at Hawkshead on 12 June 1785. James was born on 13 May, the eldest son of William Towers, a hatmaker of Hawkshead Hill, and his wife Jane (Beck) who married on 29 October 1782 when she was twenty. Their other children were: Thomas Beck (born 18 June 1787), Sarah (born 13 May 1793; died 26 February 1799), Jane (born 31 March 1797) and William (born 17 November 1799). By 1793 William Towers had moved to Near Sawrey and appears to have prospered.⁹ On 27 December 1796, he became a freemason with the Union Lodge at Kendal¹⁰ and, in 1799, was styled "gent" when his youngest son was baptised.

When his wife was buried on 11 November 1824, aged 62, William Towers was living at Lake Bank, Esthwaite, Claife.¹¹ He died on 19 April 1836, aged 77, and left his freehold estate at Towerbank, all his household goods, farming stock, peatmoss and also his pew in Hawkshead church to his youngest son William.¹² Significantly, he left Thomas and Jane (single) £5 each annually "in case of the death of my son James Towers without leaving lawful issue, and the Oldfield estate devolve upon my said son William". This is not explained, but it suggests that he had made provision from his Oldfield estate to provide funds for James (presumably during his long

captivity) and, at his death, it would pass to William to pay the annuities to Thomas and Jane, who stayed single and were buried on 28 September 1846 (aged 59) and on 24 February 1848 (aged 51) respectively. Perhaps William was left nearly everything because he had a young family. He married Agnes Wilkinson at Hawkshead on 29 December 1829 and had children: Alice Jane (bap. 5 July 1830), Sarah (bap. 3 Aug. 1832), William (bap. 15 Dec. 1834) and Thomas (bap. 11 July 1836). William was buried on 31 March 1868, aged 68, and his widow Agnes on 17 February 1876, aged 77.

Since James Towers remained a prisoner until his death he had no lawful issue, for his first son James was baptised at Kendal on 17 September 1815 and buried the next day and his second son, William, was baptised on 16 May 1817 and was buried on 17 November that year. Possibly this double tragedy, though quite common, helped to tip the balance of his mind. As he had no other children by Ann, his brother and sister became entitled to their meagre annuities in 1846, but had little time to enjoy them.

In 1799, when Thomas Harrison first met him, James Towers would have been only fourteen. If this was when he commenced his surgeon's apprenticeship, he could have served the full seven years before entering Edinburgh University in 1806, aged 21.¹³ The midwifery skills he learned there from Dr Hamilton were put into practice competently (according to bank clerk William Bainbridge) and, no doubt, he would have been a successful surgeon had not mental illness overtaken him before August 1818. He married a surgeon's daughter, for Ann (born on 21 December 1792, bapt. 20 March 1793) was the only surviving child of James Goff of Finkle Street who married Betty Dixon at Kendal on 18 November 1788. Their eldest daughter Mary was born on 12 December 1789 and was buried on 20 October 1795 aged five and their youngest daughter, Hannah, was born on 24 April 1795 and buried on 6 January 1796, aged only nine months. James Goff was buried on 26 May 1797, aged only 38, but Elizabeth "widow of the late James Goff, surgeon" was not buried until 28 May 1832 aged 70. I have not been able to prove their baptisms. The *Universal British Directory*¹⁴ lists Messrs Gough and Fell among the surgeons of Kendal while J.F. Curwen,¹⁵ notes that the name *Betty Goff* was scratched on a window pane at No. 12 Finkle Street (now occupied by a new building for the Trustee Savings Bank).

Even while he was in university, James Towers appears to have taken an active interest in the social life of Kendal for, on 4 November 1807, he was elected a member of the Coffee Room, where he could meet other Kendal business men and read a wide variety of newspapers. He allowed his membership to lapse but was re-elected on 1 March 1815 and then "declined" membership in 1820.¹⁶ The evidence from his trial indicates that he probably passed some of his medical skills to at least three apprentices: James Noble (to 1815), John Atkinson (to 1819) and Miles Read (1819–1821). I have been able to prove little of John Atkinson's life, but the others practised in Kendal and Staveley respectively, as outlined in the Appendix. Their initial training with James Towers, though very stressful during his fits, proves a part of his positive contribution to society before his tragic lapse of sanity. By concentrating on details linked to just one episode of his life, as in my earlier study of his college friend Benjamin Browne, it has been possible to open up a rich, but almost unexplored vein of information about several members of Westmorland's medical fraternity. The theme has scope for much more research.

APPENDIX. AN INTRODUCTION TO SOME MEDICAL PRACTITIONERS OF KENDAL.

John Atkinson

After finishing his apprenticeship in 1819, John Atkinson was living in Kendal when he became a Licentiate of the Society of Apothecaries on 11 May 1820, but no other information has been found about his career.

Miles William Read

When James Towers was sent to prison, Miles Read's apprenticeship would have terminated abruptly and his movements for the next fifteen years are at present unclear. He probably went to assist another surgeon but, unlike James Towers, he did not attend Edinburgh University even for one year. He qualified as a Licentiate of the Society of Apothecaries (LSA) on 14 July 1825, while living at Kendal.¹⁷ He later moved to Staveley as successor to William Middleton Scambler who was surgeon there in 1829 but was buried at Ambleside on 16 April 1835, aged 30.¹⁸ Certainly, on 23 July 1836, Miles Read was called to give evidence about an accident at George Suart's bobbin mill at Hugill when James Swiddenbank, who was oiling the mill-wheel gudgeons, was killed when his head became jammed between the wheel and a post and his neck was broken.¹⁹ The 1841 census for Nether Staveley records Miles Read as an unmarried surgeon in lodgings at Hill Cottage with Bryme and Jane Bowness (both aged 45) and their four children. The 1851 census for Over Staveley lists him as a surgeon and apothecary who was a widower, aged 47, and born at Kendal. He was born on 4 June 1803 but was not baptised until 18 May 1806, the twelfth of the children of Roger and Mary Read.²⁰ The census lists Miles Read's own family as Mary Jane (10), Margaret (9), Grosvenor Miles (7), Henry (5) and Fleming (1), all born at Staveley. The last of these was given the mother's maiden name, for Miles Read married Jane Fleming of Staveley at Holy Trinity, Kendal on 13 July 1841.²¹ His wife was buried there on 26 April 1849, aged 29. Their eldest child was baptised on 28 October 1840, before their marriage, and is recorded in the 1841 census as a seven-months-old baby living in Over Staveley with her mother and grandmother, Ruth Fleming, aged 55.²²

I have been unable to find Miles Read's burial anywhere in the Kendal Registration District²³ but, at the 1861 census, his three sons aged 16, 13 and 12 were all apprentice turners at Ings Mill, Hugill, living with Michael Beethom (37) a bobbin manufacturer, his wife Isabella (33), their son and daughter, a servant, four bobbin turners and three other apprentices. This suggests that Miles Read might have died suddenly away from home, for it seems unlikely that he would abandon his children for any other reason. The apprenticeships would ensure that they were cared for, but I have been unable to find whether the daughters were put out to service. Grosvenor Miles Read, baptised 10 November 1844, was married at Staveley on Christmas Day 1865 to Mary Lowther (24), a daughter of William Lowther, weaver. Fleming Read was married at Staveley on 9 September 1871 to Mary Suart (21), daughter of Rowland Suart, an innkeeper.²⁴ Henry Read, baptised on 13 July 1847, married Ruth Hannah Herdson of Ings in August 1881 and died,

aged 80, on 13 May 1928 while playing the organ at evensong in St James's church, Staveley, where he had been the organist for 62 years.²⁵ His widow (of 13 Leaves Road) was buried on 20 October 1942, aged 87.

It is interesting that Miles Read's elder brother Septimus, baptised on 31 December 1786, also became a surgeon, for the *London and Provincial Medical Directory* in 1856 recorded Septimus Read living at 41 Jewin Street, Cripplegate, London. He had been "in practice before the Act of 1815", when he would have been 29. Significantly, Septimus was "Honorary Surgeon to the Westmorland Society" in London, an ideal retirement job for an old Westmerian. The 1861 census notes that he was aged 74 and born in Kendal. His wife Eliza (aged 54) must have been his second wife since, in 1841 his wife's name was Mary (aged 50). Both were born in Middlesex. He was away from home at the 1851 census, leaving his cook, a maid and his medical pupil, Henry Munro of Portobello, Scotland (aged 19) at home.²⁶

James Noble

After his apprenticeship with James Towers, James Noble "of Westmorland" was admitted to Edinburgh University for one year only in 1815–16 and returned to Kendal by 1818, when the trial details show that he had set up in practice. On 15 January that year he qualified MRCS and LSA.²⁷ In 1832 he became a surgeon at the charitable Kendal Dispensary in Lowther Street.²⁸ The 1829 and 1851 directories gave his address as Stricklandgate. The 1851 census states that he was 55, born at Beetham, and had living with him, his wife Rachel, aged 52 and born at Garstang, two daughters Anne (18) and Elizabeth (15), and an unmarried maid Jane Stainton (23) of Sedbergh. He married Rachel Clarke on 25 April 1826 at Kendal, where their children were baptised: John (9 April 1828), James (28 January 1830), Thomas (7 September 1831), Ann (12 December 1832), Elizabeth (23 October 1835, who married Henry William Kirby, parson of Bewholme, Hornsea in Yorkshire, on 1 May 1862) and Samuel Clarke (born 12 June 1837, see below).

James Noble was baptised at Beetham on 10 October 1795, the second son of John Noble, a tailor of Arnside, and Betty (Elizabeth Tyson) who married there on 5 August 1793. The eldest son Robert was baptised on 2 January 1794, when the father was described as the "son of James Noble of Kendal" and the mother as "daughter of Reuben Tyson of Hawkside" i.e. Hawkshead. The remainder of their large family was born at Kendal.²⁹ A "Mr Noble, surgeon" was one of the 41 members enrolled at the first meeting of the Kendal Natural History and Scientific Society in 1835.³⁰ James Noble became a Certified Surgeon under the Factories Act and Medical Officer for Grayrigg in the Kendal Poor Law Union (note 27). He was buried at St Thomas's, Kendal on 31 December 1858, aged 63, and his widow, Rachel, was buried there on 3 October 1885, aged 86.

James Noble's youngest son also became a surgeon. He was educated at Kendal Grammar School, trained at Christ's Hospital, London and at Middlesex Hospital and qualified MRCS and LSA in 1859 shortly after his father's death. He then took over the practice and the Factory Act and Grayrigg Poor Law work (at £35 a year). In addition he became Medical Officer for the House of Correction (at £20 a year) and for the Rechabites, Mechanics, Oddfellows and Free Gardeners. He was among

the first staff at the Kendal Memorial Hospital, later the County Hospital, was the Kendal Borough Police Surgeon, District Medical Inspector of Army Recruits and a Surgeon-Major in the 3rd Westmorland Rifle Volunteers, for which service he received the Volunteer Decoration on 20 January 1893. During the 1914–18 War, he inspected over 5,000 recruits, but refused to accept fees. He was a Governor of the Almshouses and of the Grammar School. In old age he was noted for a long memory, reaching back to Dr Proudfoot (said to have been “wounded in the leg at Waterloo, causing permanent injury”) and also Dr Thomas Gough, son of John the “Blind Philosopher” (see below). He wrote articles for the *Westmorland Gazette* about local manners and customs.³¹ He was a member of the Kendal Newsroom (later the Reading Room) from 1859 and its President in 1876–82 and 1896 onwards. He wrote its authoritative history, published privately in 1909.³² He contributed two articles to the *Medical Times Gazette*, a “Case of large Nasal Polypoid Growth” (1862) and a “Case of Ovarian Dropsy in a Girl aged 13” (1864).³³ On 4 January 1907, he became a Justice of the Peace and, between 1921 and 1925, was given the honour of being Deputy Lieutenant of Westmorland. He died at 6.20 a.m. on Friday, 3 December 1926 at Stricklandgate House, aged 89 and greatly respected.

In 1870 Samuel married Mary Ellen Wetherall of Durham, a cousin of Dr W. Baron Cockill (Medical Officer of Health for Kendal) who became Noble’s partner in 1887. They had three children; the eldest Kathleen Maud was born 14 July 1871 and died 17 October 1874. The youngest Eric Raymond was born 24 July 1879 and died on 4 May 1903, at 29 Wellington Square, Oxford, whilst at the university. The middle child Hugh Percy was born 5 July 1872, became a doctor who specialized in anaesthetics at Middlesex Hospital, returned to Kendal and died 15 May 1922, leaving money to endow beds in Westmorland County Hospital. Mary Ellen Noble died, aged 94, on 6 October 1946 at no. 6, Rest Homes, Maud Street, which she had built for the elderly in 1937.³⁴ Her many charitable acts included Noble’s Rest park (formerly the Kendal Rugby Club’s ground), new stained glass windows and a restoration of the Parr Chapel in Holy Trinity church, a window in Kendal’s R.C. church in memory of Canon Stevenson (her husband’s friend), an electric blower for St Thomas’s church organ, an extension to the St John’s Ambulance headquarters and, finally, for the benefit of young Kendal families with children, she made provision for houses to be built on land behind her home at Stricklandgate House (formerly the library and, until recently the offices for South Lakeland District Council).³⁵

Dr Thomas Harrison

Dr Thomas Harrison, with whom James Towers served his surgeon’s apprenticeship probably from 1799 to 1806, was well-known and much respected in Kendal, where he was Mayor in 1805–6, 1815–16 and 1828–9. When he died on 4 July 1834, aged 60, he was both a magistrate and the Senior Alderman of Kendal. Apparently he combined “a quick and clear understanding, with great physical vigour” and had been instrumental in bringing many improvements to Kendal by his activities on the town council.³⁶ His position probably helped him to write *An Impartial Narrative of the Riotous Proceedings which took place in Kendal on Wednesday, February 11, 1818*.³⁷

He was born in 1774 but, with such a common name, it is fortunate that he and his relations can be identified positively in entries in the later pages of an account book of a "Cow and Horse Doctor" named Thomas Harrison of Church Town, Crosthwaite, Westmorland. The accounts run from 1769 to 1803 and cover all sorts of rustic cures and a multitude of activities from salving sheep to inoculating humans.³⁸ His family then used the rest of the book to record births, marriages and deaths, up to the death of James Harrison on 17 November 1842 after a long and painful illness. This entry seems to have been written by a Daniel Harrison who paid for the gravestone.

Summarising the evidence it is apparent that Thomas, the horse doctor, was the eldest son of Thomas Harrison and Sarah Swainson who married at Crosthwaite on 15 August 1736. Their children were: Elizabeth (1737), Jane (1739), Thomas (bap. 31 Jan. 1741/2), William (1744), Sarah (1746), Mary (1748) and James (1751). The couple moved from Haycoat to Church Town before Thomas was born. Thomas's accounts started when he was 27. He married twice, first on 28 April 1771 to Mary, a daughter of Daniel Robinson of Moss-side, by whom he had Sarah (1772), Thomas the doctor (bap. 23 Jan. 1774), Daniel (1776), Mary (1778), Ann (1780) and Elizabeth, who was baptised on 22 September 1784 three weeks before her mother Mary was buried on 13 October 1784, aged 37. Thomas then married Elizabeth, daughter of Nicholas and Ann Long of Underbarrow, who was baptised on 26 December 1754 and produced four more children: William (1788, d. 27 Sept. 1814 at Kendal), James (1790, d. 1842), Agnes (1791, d. 24 April 1821, after a long illness, at Whitehaven) and Jane (1793). Sarah married Robert Dixon, a shoe maker of Kendal; Ann married William Mitchell (Smith) of Coniston; Daniel married Betsy, daughter of Thomas Cartmell of Kendal; Betty married William Tate of Kendal; Jane married Daniel Fearon of Whitehaven and Mary married John Gough, the "Blind Philosopher" at Kendal on 6 November 1800. Their father was buried at Kendal on 25 July 1809 at the expense of his sons Thomas and Daniel.

Dr Thomas Harrison's medical interest probably stemmed from his father's work, but early details have not been found. At the age of 25, on 5 December 1799, he was awarded the degree of M.D. at Glasgow University where a Senate Meeting on 3 December noted that he had studied medicine at Edinburgh University from 1797 to 1799. Edinburgh matriculations seem to confirm this, and lists of the students in Dr Gregory's classes included a Thomas Harrison of Kendal.³⁹ On 30 June 1800, he married Nancy, daughter of William Bateman of Old Hutton, and produced: Agnes (bap. 21 June 1801), Thomas (2 August 1805), Ann (27 January 1808) and Mary (5 September 1809). Nancy Harrison died in 1821, aged 52.⁴⁰

Of their children Agnes is of special interest. On 23 April 1823, she married John Fell Swainson (baptised on 4 July 1794, son of Joseph and Elizabeth). He was buried on 23 January 1826, aged 31, and was described as a "Gentleman and Lieutenant in the Kendal Troop of Yeomanry Cavalry" of the Market Place. As a widow of Aynam Lodge, which was built for Thomas Harrison in 1824 near Miller Bridge, Agnes next married Thomas Gough, a surgeon of Stramongate on 22 February 1838. He was baptised on 29 December 1804, the third child of John Gough,⁴¹ the "Blind Philosopher" and Mary (Harrison), Agnes's aunt. Agnes and Thomas Gough had a daughter Mary Susan baptised on 5 August 1840.

Thomas Gough had served his surgeon's apprenticeship with Thomas Harrison,

his uncle and future father-in-law and, on 3 October 1833, qualified MRCS and LSA. He was made a member of the Kendal Newsroom on 1 October 1834, and then became a surgeon at the Kendal Dispensary in 1835.⁴² The same year, on 20 August, he and his great friend Cornelius Nicholson founded the Kendal Natural History and Scientific Society. He became the Curator of their museum, first in the former Bank of Westmorland premises in Lowther Street and then, from May 1838, in the former Roman Catholic Chapel in Stramongate.⁴³ In 1851 Thomas Gough and his wife were living at Aynam Lodge, but moved to 73 Stricklandgate after 1860.⁴⁴ When he was buried on 21 July 1880 at Parkside Cemetery, aged 78, he was of Arnbarrow, Milnthorpe.

Thomas Gough's elder sister Mary, baptised on 23 November 1802, married Thomas Atkinson, a surgeon of Highgate on 8 November 1837 at Holy Trinity, Kendal. He was a son of Thomas Atkinson, Officer of Excise, and qualified MRCS and LSA in 1830. He was buried on 12 March 1852 aged 42. At the 1851 census, his wife was 48 and was born at Old Hutton, where her father had gone to live at Middleshaw after his marriage in 1800, until about 1812 when he had Fowl Ing built. Their only child, Thomas Gough Atkinson, died at Fowl Ing on 3 April 1858, aged 19.⁴⁵

Dr Thomas Proudfoot

Thomas Proudfoot was well-known and greatly respected in Kendal long before he died on 14 May 1859, aged 68. A sanctimonious obituary in the *Westmorland Gazette* noted that he was the senior magistrate of the borough and had recently been appointed a Justice of the Peace for Westmorland.⁴⁶ It briefly noted his experience as an army medical officer under the Duke of Wellington and his service to the Kendal Dispensary and the Kendal Natural History and Scientific Society, but laid great stress on his generosity to the poor, his knowledge of the bible and deep religious convictions. A file card at Edinburgh University Library records that he was a "Hospital Mate" in 1811, assistant surgeon with the 27th Foot in 1813 and retired from the army in 1818. He served in Sicily, Spain, France and North America,⁴⁷ experience which clearly influenced his M.D. degree, awarded at Edinburgh in 1819, for studies on "*De Febribus in Oris Maris Mediterranei*" (East Mediterranean fevers). In addition he wrote articles "On Endemic Fever as it occurred at Cartagena in 1812" for the *Dublin Hospital Review* (vol. ii) and "On Asiatic Cholera" for the *Edinburgh Medical Journal* (1833).⁴⁸ Proudfoot was also the author of an important, early article on medical geography: "Topographical Pathology of Kendal and its Neighbourhood", dated 27 February 1822, printed that July, but not published until 1827 in the *Edinburgh Medical and Surgical Journal*.⁴⁹

Proudfoot was a comparative newcomer to Kendal when Ann Towers was murdered. On 9 October 1820, he was appointed Physician to the Kendal Dispensary in Lowther Street.⁵⁰ In 1829, he still lived in Highgate but, by 1841, had moved next door to the Dispensary⁵¹ separated only by the doors to his coach house. A critical account⁵² states that Proudfoot claimed that his M.D. made him the only true doctor in town (though Thomas Harrison was similarly qualified until his death in 1834) and was not universally liked. Apparently his army service had left its mark. He was described as "very pedantic in his manner, though of anything but a refined

and gentlemanly appearance". He was "very stout, somewhat lame and walked deliberately". No mention was made of a wound reportedly sustained at Waterloo. We are told that his medical skill was "anything but extraordinary" and that he had clashed with Hartley Coleridge at a literary meeting in Kendal. Coleridge had deeply offended him by suggesting that, when signing his name, he should not cross the last letter! The critic does not do justice to his victim.

There is no doubt that Proudfoot made a lasting contribution to the social and academic life of Kendal. On 6 December 1820, for example, he was elected as a member of the Kendal Newsroom⁵³ and, at their annual sale of old newspapers etc, bought items like a year's *John Bull* for 18s. in 1822, a year's *Edinburgh Evening Courant* for £1 10s. in 1824 and the 1829 *Army and Navy Lists* for just sixpence, amongst other things. From 1851 he was the Newsroom President and, when he resigned following "continued and severe indisposition", he was given a unanimous vote of thanks on 14 March 1859. In September 1831, he took part in the procession to celebrate the coronation of William IV and, in September 1834, he presided at the Kendal Annual Venison Feast.⁵⁴

At the Commercial Inn on 20 August 1835, he attended the inaugural meeting of the Kendal Natural History and Scientific Society and was one of the forty-one members enrolled. He was elected to the committee, attended regularly and became a vice-president on 9 August 1841. Nearly every year he read at least one paper to the society with a strong bias towards geology, until Professor Adam Sedgwick (1785–1873) became President of the Society in 1840. Following a series of talks given by Hartley Coleridge in March and April 1847, Thomas Proudfoot gave one "On Poetry" on 10 May. One might speculate over a possible connection with their disagreement, noted above. After only one more lecture, in February 1849, Proudfoot resigned from the Society on 28 December 1849 but we are not told why. He was thanked for his services, but his death ten years later passed without comment in the Society's minutes.⁵⁵ A list of the papers he read to the Society is given at the end of this note.

The 1851 census for Kendal records that Thomas Proudfoot M.D. was aged 59 and born in Scotland, a "Physician *only*; Edinbro'". Edinburgh, however, may well refer to his place of qualification rather than birth. His wife Elizabeth was 53 and born at Kendal. They had a cook, Margaret Barrow (25) of Underbarrow and a servant, Elizabeth Slee (28) of Kendal, but no children. As a bachelor, he had married Elizabeth Hunter (spinster) at Heversham on 21 July 1831. She was born on 16 August 1797, the third daughter and fifth child of Benjamin Hunter, a wine and brandy merchant of Lowther Street,⁵⁶ by his second wife Alice,⁵⁷ who was baptised on 19 April 1767, the second child of Isaac Knipe, the curate and schoolmaster at Ambleside from 1753 to his death in 1786. Alice was married to Benjamin at Ambleside on 18 June 1792 by her older brother John and had children: Thomas (1793), Magdalene Agnes (1794), Alice (1795), *Elizabeth* (1797) and Catherine (1799). When Elizabeth Proudfoot died on 3 February 1870 at Milnthorpe, the surviving heirs to her husband's estate closed in.

Within a month a letter was received by John Parkin of the Bank of Westmorland (Thomas Proudfoot's surviving executor) from Frederick Proudfoot of Sangeen in Ontario,⁵⁸ seeking information about his inheritance from his uncle Thomas, who made a will on 23 September 1856 and then amended it in 1858.⁵⁹ Thomas Proudfoot

had carefully listed all his assets and then left specific bequests, including £1,000 each to Mary and Jessie McMichael the daughters of his sister Rachael McMichael,⁶⁰ and 500 New Granada Bonds each to Mary Glencross of Sanquhar, Dumfriesshire (descendant of a sister) and Elizabeth Slee, "Stranger in Blood", who remained his widow's servant until at least 1864. To his wife, he left £2,000 with a further £1,000, to distribute charitably as she pleased, and an annuity of £300 a year, starting 14 May 1860. He left his silver plate in trust to his wife and then to his brother, Colonel Alexander Proudfoot of Ontario. His wife could have her choice of books during her life and then all were to go to the school at Crawfordjohn, twelve miles south of Lanark. This may suggest either his birthplace or where he was first educated. He left his gold watch and "the *income* from all my other property to my brother Alexander of Toronto" and "all my other property" to Alexander's children equally.⁶¹

Unfortunately several problems arose. The first was that Thomas Proudfoot had agreed to sell his properties in Lowther Street to Samuel Gawith, the tobacco manufacturer, for £830.⁶² The contract had not been completed and it was feared that Gawith might claim £130 for non-fulfilment. This was resolved by negotiation. Secondly, the testator did not specify the property which was to provide Elizabeth's £300 annuity, so it was not clear whether Alexander was to receive only the surplus income for life or all those parts of the estate that were not required to support the annuity. Thirdly, Alexander claimed that the widow should choose between her £3,000 inheritance or her marriage settlement, but should not be entitled to both. The executors, John Parkin and Elizabeth Proudfoot, were so overwhelmed by these problems that they filed the case with the Court of Chancery on 9 May 1860 for them to sort it all out. On 22 October 1860, she received £3,487 2s. 3d., including interest, from William Wakefield, the surviving trustee of her marriage settlement, but it is difficult to sort out exactly what else she received from the countless transactions made during her widowhood. Copious accounts were kept by John Parkin and would provide an accountant with an interesting challenge to discover the precise details, and the quality of Proudfoot's investment ability. He died very well-off. There are conflicting valuations of the assets, but the following was recorded on 9 May 1860:

Mexican Stock, new 3% consolidated (21,000 at £22 %)	£4,620
New Granada bonds (500)	77 10s.
More New Granada bonds	960
Buenos Aires bonds	2,558
Peruvian loan	1,365
Venezuelan bonds	1,500
Manchester, Sheffield and Lincolnshire Railway	236 5s.
London and Southwestern Railway	2,577 7s.
Purchase money for House	830
3 shares in Lancaster Canal	103 1s.
Cash in house	40
Cash at bank	470 6s. 8d.
Dividends on shares	178
	15,515 9s 8d.

At this stage the Mexican stock, canal shares and the marriage settlement were intended for the widow.

This summary of Thomas Proudfoot's assets indicates that he was successful in business matters, but a much closer scrutiny of his trustees' accounts would be needed to discover how shrewd an investor he was. The carping criticisms of D.K.K. are insignificant compared to Proudfoot's true contribution to the medical, social and academic life of Kendal. A list of his lectures follows:

List of papers read to the Kendal Natural History and Scientific Society by Dr Proudfoot; with comments from the "Proceedings of Discussion Meetings".⁶³

- 1836 Dec 12 On the Causes of the Migration of Birds.
"set forth the Doctrine of Instinct as the chief cause".
- 1838 Apr 9 On Fossil Organic Remains.
"first of a series . . . cordially received".
- May 14 On Fossil Organic Remains - continued.
"interesting and vivid description of the Carboniferous System and its characteristic groups of fossils".
- Oct — On the Saliferous Series of Strata. [i.e. New Red Sandstone]
"listened to with great attention: no discussion ensued".
- Nov — On Fossils of the Oolitic and Wealden Strata.
"illustrated by beautifully executed drawings: no discussion ensued".
- 1839 Nov 11 On the Cretaceous System.
"considerable information on chemical structure, varieties of component strata, physical geography, extent etc". "A long discussion ensued in which several members took part".
- Dec 9 On the Tertiary Strata.
"particularly the London and Paris Basins". In the discussion the Secretary (Cornelius Nicholson) drew the attention of the meeting to the Gypsum deposit near Kirkby Thore. [*Not Tertiary*]
- 1840 Apr 13 On the Tertiary Strata and their Fossils. [no comments]
- May 11 Ditto - continued
"a discussion ensued on the formation of their shells by Tertaceous animals".
- [Note: Professor Adam Sedgwick became President of the Society in 1840]
- 1841 May 10 On the Mental Powers of Animals. [no comments]
- Dec — On Mental Phenomena. [no comments]
- 1842 Jan 10 Same. "Repeated upon request".

- 1843 Jan 9 Observations on Earthquakes and Volcanoes.
 “long and elaborate history of . . . catastrophes”. Causes not touched on, so discussion “postponed till the philosophy of volcanic action has been explained”.
- Nov 13 Observations on the Theory of Volcanic Action.
 “condensed view of . . . the hypotheses of Woodward, Stukely, Davy, Daubeny and Herschell . . . a brisk and lengthy discussion ensued turning mainly upon the comparative merits of the chemical and electrical theories”.
- 1844 Feb 12 Abstract of a Paper read before the Geographical Society on the Discovery of America.
 [Proudfoot presented the arguments for the Viking discovery of North America. His text seems to summarize an article in the RGS, *Journal* (1838), vol. 8, pt. ii, 114–29]
- May 13 On the Descent of Stony Masses from the Atmosphere.
- 1846 Feb 9 Notes on Gold and Silver.
- 1847 May 10 On Poetry.
- Nov 8 Ditto.
- 1849 Feb 12 On the Sea and its Inhabitants.
 [There were no comments on these last five items]

The manuscript texts for these lectures are at C.R.O., Kendal, WD/K/202.

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Abbreviations

Annals Cornelius Nicholson, *Annals of Kendal* (1861).
 Chron. Anon, *Local Chronology* (1865), Kendal. (Copy at C.R.O. (Kendal)).
 Curwen J.C. Curwen, *Kirkbie Kendall* (1900).
 IGI International Genealogical Index (Mormon Microfiche).
 LPMD *London and Provincial Medical Directory*.
 PW, 1829 W. Parson & W. White, *Directory of Cumberland & Westmorland*, 1829.
 W.G. *The Westmorland Gazette*.

Notes and References

- ¹ CW2, xci, 199–211.
- ² Since publication, two significant facts have emerged. First, one of Benjamin Browne's medical books *Practical Observations on Venereal Complaints* (by Mr Neale, 6th ed. 1793) survives at C.R.O. (Kendal), WD/K/310. Inside its cheap grey-paper covers is Benjamin's signature and "Edinburgh, Octr 4th 1806", which indicates that he had been at university for a month before he wrote his first letter home. The many uncut pages suggest that he did not read the book fully. Second, his former employer's widow Mrs Agnes Simpson, who bore his illegitimate son George on 18 March 1808, died at Woburn Hill, West Derby, Liverpool on 19 September 1858, aged 85. (W.G., 25 Sept. 1858).
- ³ Kendal Coroner's records survive only from 1835 to 1841. C.R.O. (Kendal), WD/K/52.
- ⁴ J.F. Curwen, *Kirkbie Kendall* (Kendal, 1900), 103.
- ⁵ Fletcher Raincock Esq. of Liverpool was appointed Recorder of Kendal on 7 December 1818. *Annals*, 294.
- ⁶ PW, (1829), 658, lists Mrs Elizabeth Goff of Highgate. Elizabeth Whaley and Alicia Anne Thompson were witnesses at James Towers' wedding. Searches failed to find Miss Whalley's burial and baptism.
- ⁷ Apparently he lived at Entry Lane Head, Kendal. PW, (1829), 657.
- ⁸ Chron., 53.
- ⁹ James Towers's father, William, was baptised on 11 February 1759, the only son of David Towers of Colthouse and his wife Alice whose marriage before 1750 has not been found. Their other children were Jane (bap. 27 December 1750, when David was noted as a hatter of "Town"), Alice (bap. 28 March 1756, when David was of Crag) and Isabel (bap. 12 February 1761, the same day as her mother was buried). As a widower, David Towers married spinster Elizabeth Wennington on 7 May 1787 (when his son William was still living at Hawkshead Hill) and, as a hatmaker of "Hill", he died on 14 June 1796, aged 72. The only David Towers baptised in 1724 (23 June) was son of John Towers, a shoemaker of Parkyeat in Coniston parish. John's other children were: Thomas (bap. 3 June 1718), Jane (bap. 8 March 1720) and John who was baptised on 15 October 1726 after his father's burial on 26 May 1726. John seems to have been baptised on 24 February 1684, a son of Thomas Towers of Parkyeat who, as a shoemaker, was buried on 23 April 1715 and whose other children were George (bap. 8 February 1687) and Thomas (bap. March 1690).
- ¹⁰ H. Poole, *Union Lodge, Kendal 1764–1864*, 75. (Copy at C.R.O. (Kendal)).
- ¹¹ The family details come from the Hawkshead parish registers.
- ¹² A microfilm of the will of William Towers senior is at C.R.O. (Kendal), MM 2143.
- ¹³ Perhaps there was a connection between the start of James's apprenticeship in the profession of surgeon with a much respected citizen of Kendal and his father being styled "gent" in the Hawkshead parish register.
- ¹⁴ *The Universal British Directory* (1790), 473.
- ¹⁵ J.F. Curwen, *op.cit.*, 378.
- ¹⁶ Minutes of the Kendal Newsroom 1779–1879 are at C.R.O. (Kendal), WD/K/189.
- ¹⁷ C.R.O. (Kendal), WDY/153. (Extracted from a list at the Guildhall Library, London).
- ¹⁸ PW, (1829), 673. William Middleton Scambler qualified as a LSA on 19 May 1825. He was born at Hawkshead on 1 April 1805, the eldest child of Dr Richard Scambler, later of Ambleside (who died 9 September 1820). (See CW2, xci, 205.)
- ¹⁹ C.R.O. (Kendal), WD/K/52, Kendal Coroner's Book, 51–2. Read was called again on 10 Feb. 1838 when George Brownrigg, son of John, was burned to death while his mother Jane was baking bread. *Ibid.*, 150–1.
- ²⁰ Their children were John (1778), William (1780), Joseph (1781), Miles and Roger (1783), another Roger (1784), Septimus (1786), Mary (1788), Thomas (1792), Margaret (1796), another Margaret (1802) and our Miles (1803).
- ²¹ His father was recorded as Roger Read, deceased merchant, who presumably had lived at Shaw's Yard, Stricklandgate. (PW, (1829)) Her deceased father Daniel Fleming, had been a farmer. Miles's daughter Margaret was baptised at Staveley on 26 January 1843.
- ²² In 1861 Ruth Fleming was 77 and a grandmother to the Raven family in Over Staveley. She was born at Grayrigg.
- ²³ A search at St. Catherine's House, London, also failed to find his burial.
- ²⁴ The 1871 census lists Grosvenor's family as his wife Mary (29), William M. (4), James (3) and

- Grosvenor H. (9 months). In 1881 Fleming's family was his wife Mary (30), Harry (9), Elizabeth (4) and Agnes P. (2). In 1891, Henry had his wife Ruth (36) a son John M. (3) and his father-in-law John Hudson (53) living with him at Hugill.
- ²⁵ Tablet on south wall inside the church.
- ²⁶ Census microfilms at Guildhall Library, London.
- ²⁷ *LPMD*, (1850), 390 and 523.
- ²⁸ C.R.O. (Kendal), Card Index of Surgeons.
- ²⁹ John and Elizabeth Noble moved back to Kendal and produced: Elizabeth (1797), John (1799), Mary and Ellen (1804), Agnes (20 October 1805), another John (1808) and Ann (1810). It is noteworthy that on 6 November 1826 Agnes married Joseph Clarke a linen and woollen draper of Kendal. Two of the witnesses were James and Rachel Noble, the couple's brother and sister respectively. The other witnesses were Mary Clarke, and Elizabeth Thompson (née Clarke) who had married John Thompson at Kendal on 17 July 1821. This couple, Agnes Noble and Joseph Clarke were witnesses at the wedding of James and Rachel Noble earlier in 1826.
- ³⁰ C.R.O. (Kendal), WD/K/195/1.
- ³¹ Details from his obituary in the *W.G.*, 11 December 1926. This states that Samuel's older brother John became General Manager of the Midland Railway. He was introduced by S.C. Noble as a guest to the Kendal Reading Room many times from 1880 as being of Derby. Another brother, Joseph, whose baptism has not been found, became the Manager of the Hull & Barnsley Railway. He was introduced to the Reading Room in 1882 as being from Belfast and then several times from 1885–93 as from Hull. The relationship of W.J. Noble, of "Temple, London", introduced in 1885–93, has not been traced. (see note 32).
- ³² Copy at C.R.O. (Kendal), WD/K/191b, based on the Newsroom minute books. (WD/K/189) The Visitor's Book (WD/K/191a) records the introduction of several guests including his son Eric of "King William's College, Isle of Man", in 1897.
- ³³ *LPMD*, (1870).
- ³⁴ Wall-plaque outside the Maude Street houses.
- ³⁵ Details from the family grave in St. Thomas's churchyard, parish registers and her obituary in the *W.G.*, 12 October 1946.
- ³⁶ C.R.O. (Kendal), WDX/749/1.
- ³⁷ Printed by Airey & Bellingham, (Kendal, 1818). H.W. Hodgson, *Bibliography of the History & Topography of Cumberland & Westmorland* (1968), 140.
- ³⁸ C.R.O. (Kendal), WDX/188/1.
- ³⁹ Correspondence from Edinburgh University Library to Mr D.C. Wilkins of Stockport, 29 Jan. 1991.
- ⁴⁰ She was baptised at Preston Patrick on 21 March 1769.
- ⁴¹ John Gough's children included Susannah (bap. 14 Oct. 1801), Mary (23 Nov. 1802), Thomas (1804), John (5 Feb. 1807), Harrison (13 June 1809), Elizabeth (20 April 1814) and Ann (8 May 1818). John Gough died at Fowl Ing, near Kendal on 28 July 1825 aged 68. For Thomas's account of his father's life and work, see *Annals*, 355–68. The *W.G.* reported the deaths of his widow, Mary, on 31 July 1858, aged 81 and of their second son John, on 3 April 1859 at St George's Place, Little Norton, Bradford.
- ⁴² *LPMD*, (1850); C.R.O. (Kendal), WD/K/189, Newsroom Minutes; Curwen, 349; C.R.O. (Kendal), Card Index of surgeons.
- ⁴³ C.R.O. (Kendal), WD/K/195/1–2, Minute Books of the Society.
- ⁴⁴ Curwen, 349.
- ⁴⁵ *W.G.*, 10 Apr. 1858; Curwen, 407.
- ⁴⁶ He took the required oaths of office at the Michaelmas Sessions 1857. C.R.O. (Kendal), WQ/O/15.
- ⁴⁷ *LPMD*, 1850.
- ⁴⁸ *LPMD*, 1856.
- ⁴⁹ Vol. 18, 374–393, copy at C.R.O. (Kendal), WDY/85.
- ⁵⁰ C.R.O. (Kendal), *Chron.*, 44a.
- ⁵¹ This is seen by comparing the maps of Kendal by John Wood (1833) and Henry Hoggarth (1853). Published in facsimile by the Record Office at Kendal.
- ⁵² By D.K.K., *Reminiscences of Persons and Places in Kendal Sixty Years Ago* (1890), 148–9. (Copy at C.R.O. (Kendal)).
- ⁵³ C.R.O. (Kendal), WD/K/189, Minute Books give annual lists of members in the order of their years of

seniority. Proudfoot gradually rose from no. 97 in 1820 to no. 7 in 1855, when he presided over the Newsroom's amalgamation with the Market Place Newsroom.

⁵⁴ *Chron.*, 84b and 98b.

⁵⁵ The minute books from 1835 to 1901 are at C.R.O. (Kendal), WD/K/195/1-2.

⁵⁶ *Universal British Directory* (1790), 475. (Copy at C.R.O. (Kendal)).

⁵⁷ Benjamin, baptised at Kendal on 1 March 1752, was a son of Thomas and Catherine Hunter. He married Elizabeth Dickenson (spinster) on 25 May 1786 and their son Benjamin was baptised on 3 May 1787. Elizabeth was buried on 6 February 1788, aged 25.

⁵⁸ Frederick had been told of Elizabeth Proudfoot's death by the solicitor of his Aunt, Mrs William Proudfoot (letter 4 March 1870).

⁵⁹ C.R.O. (Kendal), WD/MM/175. Papers detailing Dr Proudfoot's Trust, 1840s to 1870s.

⁶⁰ Mary (a spinster) had emigrated to Port Perry, Ontario and gave power of attorney to Glyn, Mills Bankers to deposit her inheritance at the Bank of Upper Canada in London.

⁶¹ In 1859, Alexander's address was Southampton, County of Bruce, Canada. He had seven children living: William Stephen, Frederick, Mary, Elizabeth, Amelia Isabella, Alexander and Thomas.

⁶² The firm is still in business there and in properties nearer to the river.

⁶³ C.R.O. (Kendal), WD/K/196.

