

ART. XIII – *The Trollopes, the Tilleys and the Penrith connection*

BY W. G. WISEMAN

IT is clear that the novelist Anthony Trollope had a fairly intimate knowledge of, and a regard for, the Lake District. The areas around Penrith and Shap occur in some detail in a number of his works. *Sir Harry Hotspur of Humblethwaite* is centred around the fictitious Humblethwaite Hall, “some ten miles to the north of Keswick”, with the “Caldbeck” flowing through the park, and to the south “there stood the huge Skiddaw, and Saddleback with its long gaunt ridge”. “Airey Force” was a full 15 miles from the Hall, and the Crown Hotel in Penrith has a mention. Vavasour Hall, in *Can You Forgive Her*, is situated between Penrith and Shap – much of the action takes place around Shap and Bampton, with the beauties of Swindale described from what can only be first-hand knowledge. Indeed Anthony and his new wife Rose Heseltine took part of their honeymoon at Windermere and Penrith after their wedding in Rotherham on 11 June 1844.

The initial introduction to this area was brought about by Anthony’s brother-in-law, John Tilley, and developed when his mother, Frances (Fanny) Trollope and his brother, Thomas Adolphus Trollope, took up residence – the men were all keen walkers. The object of this paper is to examine the connection with Penrith and to introduce some of their friends and acquaintances from the area – apart from Tilley, they are introduced by extracts from Thomas Adolphus’s autobiography.¹

John Tilley

John Tilley was born at Peckham, Surrey, on 20 January 1813, the son of John Tilley, a London merchant, and Elizabeth Frazer. He was christened on 27 February 1813 at St Giles, Camberwell.

Educated at a private school at Bromley, Kent, he joined the Post Office on 13 February 1829 as a clerk in the Secretary’s Office, located in Lombard Street, London,² and was so employed when the office transferred to St Martin-le-Grand in September 1829.³ His office colleagues included the young Anthony Trollope, who was appointed as a junior clerk in November 1834. The two formed a life-long friendship, and in 1838 Tilley visited the Trollopes at their home at Hadley, near Barnet in what is now Greater London, for Christmas. There he met Anthony’s sister, Cecilia Frances, and the two fell in love. “That Christmas was, I remember, a very merry one. We were seeing a good deal of a young fellow-clerk of my brother’s in the secretary’s office at the Post Office, who was then beginning to fall in love with my sister Cecilia, whom he married not long afterwards”.⁴ The two were indeed married on 11 February 1839 at St Mary’s Church, Bryanstone Square, London, by a family friend, the Revd Dr Dibdin.⁵

In October 1838 Tilley had been promoted to be Surveyor of the Northern District of England at a salary of £300 with a mileage allowance of 8d. per mile and a subsistence allowance of 26s. a day.⁶ The role of a District Surveyor was essentially that of a district manager, responsible for ensuring that the range of Post Office

activities in their area was operating efficiently and that the revenues were being properly managed. The headquarters of the district were at Penrith and that is where he set up home with his new wife – on Fellside, below the Beacon.⁷

Cecilia's mother, Frances, who had previously lost two sons and two daughters, both named Emily – one in 1813, who died on the day she was born – and a second who died in 1836, aged 17 years – was therefore particularly anxious about Cecilia, her only surviving daughter and had visited her at the marital home a couple of times before the birth of their first child.⁸

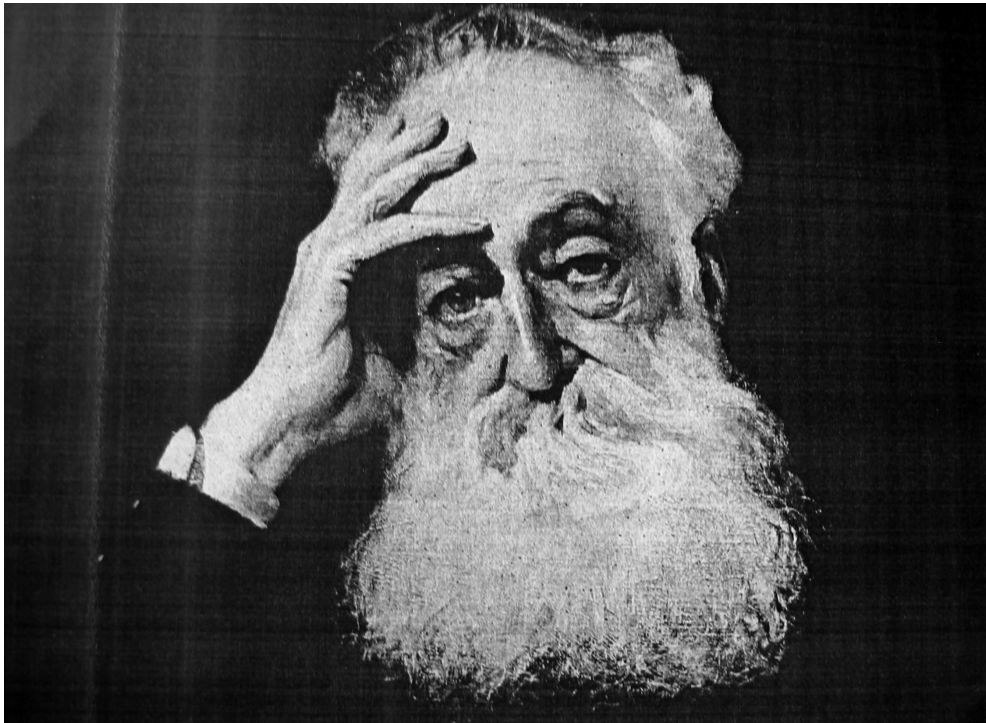


PLATE 1. Sir John Tilley (Courtesy of the British Postal Museum and Archive).

That first child, Frances Trollope Tilley, was born at Penrith on 12 December 1839 and was christened at St Andrew's Church, Penrith on 18 July 1840. The delay between the birth and the christening was caused by the serious illness suffered by Anthony and the fact that his mother had stayed in London to nurse him. By July he was fit to travel and they ventured north: Anthony was to be a sponsor (godfather).⁹ Cecilia was not particularly robust and Frances decided to make her home close by her daughter. "She was pleased with her son-in-law, the postal surveyor for the district, who was providing 'all the minor matters of income, house and so forth' for Cecilia, as Mrs Trollope somewhat grandly put it".¹⁰ Her arrival in Penrith warranted a mention in the *Westmorland Gazette* on Saturday 19 September 1840:

The amiable and distinguished writer, Mrs Trollope, is at present residing near Penrith with her son-in-law, Mr Tilley, one of the surveyors of the post office. Mrs Trollope has recently purchased the elegant little mansion of Eamont Lodge, near this town, which is about to undergo some

alteration. Mrs T. proposes spending a few months in Italy, during which the alterations at her snug retreat will be completed, and on her return to England will become a permanent resident in that quarter.

During her various visits to the Tilleys she had met a number of the neighbours and had stayed the night at Lowther in the company of William, 1st Earl of Lonsdale (1757-1844), his wife Augusta (1761-1838) and their daughter Lady Frederick Cavendish-Bentinck (1785-1862).¹¹

John Tilley's widowed mother Elizabeth¹² and his sister, Susannah had already moved up and were settled in Barco Cottage, Sandgate,¹³ with a local girl, Agnes Archer, as servant.¹⁴ Frances was interested in a house owned by John de Whelpdale but the sale fell through.¹⁵ In January 1841 she then bought a four-acre plot of land at Carleton, and set about having a house built on the higher part of it.¹⁶ There were initial problems with the access and it was necessary to divert the course of a small spring, which caused great concern to Sir George Musgrave from Edenhall, who said it had been a holy well and that in consequence they would never succeed in establishing themselves in that spot.¹⁷ Thomas then began a programme of planting hundreds of trees and shrubs to beautify the grounds and started work on a cloistered walk along the top of the field.¹⁸ The house, named Carleton Hill, was completed and Frances and Thomas spent their first night there on 23 July 1842.¹⁹

In the meantime Cecilia had produced two further children, Cecilia Isabel, born 16 November 1840, christened at St Andrew's 11 February 1841, and Ann Jane, christened at St Andrew's on 1 June 1842.

Frances Trollope was by this time an established novelist and socialite and, together with Thomas she built upon the group of friends and neighbours the Tilleys had gathered. In his autobiography Thomas penned sketches of some of their friends²⁰ and they will be examined in more detail below.

By the spring of 1843, however, life in Penrith appears to have lost its charm for Frances and she went south to stay with friends,²¹ eventually moving on to Florence. Having led such an active social life in London and on the Continent she was finding it difficult to settle in more staid surroundings and ostensibly she was finding the Cumbrian winters harsh. She eventually died in Florence in 1863 and is buried in the English Cemetery there.

Shortly after Frances left Carleton Hill, the Tilleys moved in and Cecilia's son Arthur William was born there in December 1844.²² Frances paid a visit to the house in the following July and was joined by Anthony and his wife Rose but she had returned to Florence by September.²³ It was on this occasion, at Carleton Hill, that Anthony handed over his first completed novel, *The Macdermots of Ballycloran*, to his mother in the hope that she could find a publisher for it.²⁴

The Tilleys' fifth child, Edith Diana Mary, was born at Lytham, Lancashire, in November 1846 and was christened at St Cuthbert's Church there on 6 January 1847, daughter of John Tilley, Esquire of Lytham and Cecilia.²⁵ John was working there organising the distribution of mail in the area,²⁶ but they had retained Carleton Hill and were there in the summer of 1847 when Frances visited and, finding Cecilia ill with tuberculosis took her off to Italy in the hope of improving her condition.²⁷ On 11 October 1848 John was promoted to be Assistant Secretary of the Post Office on a salary scale of £700 rising to £1,000²⁸ and the family moved to Allen Terrace, Kensington, London. The joys of the promotion were, however, soured by tragedy.



PLATE 2. Carleton Hill, Penrith – south front.

Cecilia, who had never been robust, died of tuberculosis on 4 April 1849, followed by the children – Cecilia Isabel on 13 April 1850, Arthur William on 21 May 1850, Ann Jane on 3 August 1850 and Frances Trollope on 17 June 1851. The only remaining child was Edith.

Tilley did remarry – Cecilia's cousin, Mary Anne Partington, at Kensington on 18 May 1850.²⁹ Sadly, she died just three weeks after the birth of their son Arthur Augustus in December 1851.³⁰ He married for a third time – at Kilmarnock on 7 February 1861, Susannah Anderson Montgomerie.³¹ They had three children, only one of whom survived into adulthood and became The Right Honourable Sir John Anthony Cecil Tilley, G.C.M.G., Ambassador to Brazil and Japan.³²

Tilley's career continued to flourish and on 15 March 1864 he was appointed Secretary of the Post Office, replacing Sir Rowland Hill.³³ He was made a C.B. in 1871 and when he retired on 16 April 1880 he was a Knight Commander of the Bath. It was while staying with Tilley and his daughter Edith, on 3 November 1882, that Anthony Trollope suffered the fatal stroke which was to end his life on the 6 December.³⁴ Tilley died on 18 March 1898 at his home, 73 St George's Hanover Square, London, and was buried in Brompton Cemetery.³⁵

Sir George Musgrave

The first persons I became acquainted with in this, to me, entirely new region, were Sir George Musgrave, of Edenhall, and his wife, who was a sister of Sir James Graham. My brother-in-law took me over to Edenhall, a lovely walk from Penrith, and we found both Sir George and Lady Musgrave at home.

. . . He was the *beau-ideal* of a country gentleman of the old school. He rarely or never went to London – not, as was the case with some of his neighbours, because the expense of a season there was formidable, for his estate was a fine one, and he was a rich man living largely within his income, but because his idea was, that a country gentleman's proper place was on his own acres, and because London had no temptations for him. He was said to be the best landlord in the county, and really seemed to look upon all his numerous tenants, and all their labourers, as his born subjects, to whom protection, kindness, assistance, and general looking after were due, in return for their fealty and loyal attachment. I think he would have kicked off his land (and he was a man who could kick) any man who talked in his hearing of the purely commercial relationship between a landlord and his tenants. Of course he was adored by all the country side. No doubt the stout Cumberland and Westmoreland farmers and hinds were good and loyal subjects of Queen Victoria, but for all practical purposes of reverence and obedience, Musgrave was king at Edenhall.³⁶

He was the most hospitable man in the world, and could never let many days pass without asking us to dine with him. But his hospitality was of quite the old world school. One day, but that was after our journey to Italy and when he had become intimate with us, being in a hurry to get back into the drawing-room to rejoin a pretty girl next whom I had sat at dinner, I tried to escape from the dining-room. "Come back!" he roared, before I could get to the door, "we won't have any of your d—d forineering habits here! Come back and stick to your wine, or by the Lord I'll have the door locked."

He was, unlike most men of his sort, not very fond of riding, but was a great walker. He used to take the men he could get to walk with him a tramp over the hill, till they were fain to cry "Hold! enough!" But *there* I was his match.³⁷

Sir George Musgrave,³⁸ 10th baronet, was born on 14 June 1799, the third son of John Chardin Musgrave (1757-1806) of Sunbury, Middlesex. He was educated at University College, Oxford, and matriculated on 21 May 1819.³⁹ He married Charlotte Graham of Netherby on 26 June 1828 at Christ Church, St Marylebone, London, and came into the Edenhall estate on the death, without male heirs, of his elder brother, the Revd Sir Christopher Musgrave, 9th baronet on 11 May 1834. Thomas Adolphus's description of him as the *beau-ideal* of a country gentleman of the old school seems accurate in the light of the known facts. He was High Sheriff in 1840, Deputy Lieutenant of Cumberland and Westmorland, and was a keen antiquarian and collector of Roman coins.⁴⁰ He was an officer and member of the committee of subscribers to the Boys' National School, Penrith, built and opened in Benson's Row in 1816.⁴¹ On 12 October 1839 it was announced that he had become "a subscriber of five guineas annually to the Northern Asylum for the Blind and the Deaf and Dumb at Newcastle-upon-Tyne, and had accepted the office of Vice-President of that most praiseworthy and benevolent institution".⁴² He took a great interest in local agriculture.⁴³ In December 1840 he caused to be distributed among a number of poor families at Penrith, a considerable quantity of coals. Some families got as much as "ten hundred-weight each".⁴⁴ He was a Trustee of the Carlisle and Cumberland Bank,⁴⁵ and was one of the subscribers at the inaugural meeting of the short-lived Penrith and Carlisle Railway.⁴⁶ Musgrave died on 29 December 1872 at the Pultney Hotel, London, and was buried in the Musgrave family vault below the chancel of Edenhall Church.⁴⁷ He was succeeded by his 2nd son, Sir Richard Courtney Musgrave.

Lady Charlotte Musgrave

Lady Musgrave was a particularly lady-like woman, the marked elegance of whose breeding might, with advantage, have given the tone to many a London drawing-room. I have seen her surrounded

by country neighbours, and though she was *velut inter ignes luna minores*, I never saw the country squire's or country parson's wife, who was not perfectly happy and at ease in her drawing-room, while unconsciously all the time taking a lesson in good breeding and lady-like manners. She was thoroughly a help-meet for her husband in all his care for his people. I believe that both he and she were convinced at the bottom of their hearts that Cumberland and Westmoreland constituted the choicest, best, and most highly civilised part of England. And she was one of those of whom I was thinking, when in a former chapter I spoke of highly educated people whom I had known to affect provincialism of speech. Lady Musgrave always, or perhaps it would be more correct to say generally, called a cow a "coo," and though I suspect she would have left Westmoreland behind if evil fate had called her to London, on her own hill-sides she preferred the accents of the native speech.⁴⁸

Charlotte Graham was christened on 18 May 1803 at Arthuret, the daughter of Sir James Graham M.A. Oxon (1761-1824) and Lady Catherine Stewart (1765-1836) who was daughter of the 7th Earl of Galloway.⁴⁹ Charlotte married Sir George Musgrave on 26 June 1828 and together they had at least six children.⁵⁰ She died at Eaton Place, London, on 26 June 1873.

John de Whelpdale

. . . old De Whelpdale, the lord of the manor. I think he and Mrs. De Whelpdale never left their room, for I do not remember to have ever seen either of them; nor do I remember that I at all resented their absence from the drawing-room when I used to call at the manor house.⁵¹

John de Whelpdale was born John Richardson, son of John Richardson and Elizabeth Whelpdale and was christened at St Andrew's Church, Penrith, on 7 September 1760. Elizabeth was the daughter of Thomas Whelpdale (1695-1756), who was a Penrith moneylender, attorney and builder of the Mansion House in Penrith, and sometime steward to the Duke of Portland. She married, without consent, John Richardson, a Penrith attorney, and their son John assumed the name Whelpdale in 1794, later de Whelpdale.⁵² This John married at St Andrew's Church, Penrith on 2 December 1801, Mary Story, who was the daughter of Richard Story, M.D. of Penrith.⁵³ and Margaret Dawson. They lived in "an elegant mansion in Bishop's Yard, Penrith",⁵⁴ and owned Armathwaite Hall in Hesketh-in-the-Forest parish, together with land and property in and around Penrith. He was a Justice of the Peace, Deputy Lieutenant for Cumberland, Lieut-Col. of the Loyal Leath Volunteers and in 1809 was Lieut-Col. Commanding the Penrith Regiment of the Cumberland Militia.⁵⁵ He was High Sheriff in 1804 and was one of the governors of the Free Grammar School of Queen Elizabeth, Penrith.⁵⁶ They had no children – he was buried in the chancel of St Andrew's Church on 16 March 1844⁵⁷ and Mary was buried 11 May 1848.⁵⁸ A memorial to them is in the east window of Christ Church, Penrith, and through his will was established the Whelpdale Charity to support ten poor widows and spinsters within the parish of Penrith.

The Story sisters

Then there were two pretty girls, Margaret and Charlotte Story, the nieces of old De Whelpdale, the lord of the manor . . . One of the girls was understood to be engaged to be married to a far distant lieutenant, of whom Penrith knew nothing, which circumstance gave rise to sundry ingenious conceits in the acrostic line, based on allusions to "his story" and "mystery!" I wonder whether Charlotte is alive! If she is, and should see this page, she will remember! It was for her sake that I deserted, or tried to desert, Sir George's port [see above].⁵⁹

The Story sisters were the daughters of David Story who was born on 11 August 1781 at Penrith and christened at St Andrew's Church two days later, son of Richard Story and Margaret Dawson, and brother of Mary de Whelpdale. He was an officer in the Royal Artillery and married Ann Elizabeth Cubitt (born 4 December 1791 at Catfield, Norfolk) on 11 September 1817 at her birthplace. He died on 13 September 1841 at Fort Leith, Midlothian.⁶⁰

Margaret Story was born on 3 August 1818 and christened on 29 August 1818 at St Mary Magdalene, Woolwich, Kent. In 1844 she married Lieut. George Henry Carleton Sunderland R.N. at Penrith. They settled at Swarthdale and Lund Hall, Ulverston and had at least three children.⁶¹ She died in August 1860 and George died in 1876.

Charlotte Story was christened on 21 February 1821 at St Thomas's, Portsmouth, and married Pentyre Anderson Morshead at Penrith in 1843. They settled in Devon and raised a family of eight children. Pentyre died in the spring of 1879 at Croydon, Surrey, and Charlotte died in 1888 at Plympton St Mary.⁶²

John Nicholson

I made another friend at Penrith in the person of a man as strongly contrasted with Sir George Musgrave as two north-country Englishmen could well be. This was a Dr. Nicholson, who has died within the last few months, to my great regret, for I had promised myself the great pleasure of taking him by the hand yet once again before starting on the journey on which we may, or may not meet. He was my senior by a few years, but not by many. Nicholson was a man of very extensive reading and of profound Biblical learning. It may be deemed surprising by others, as it was, and is, to me, that such a man should have been an earnest and thoroughly convinced Swedenborgian⁶³ — but such was the case. And I can conscientiously give this testimony to the excellence of that creed — that it produced in the person of its learned north-country disciple at least one truly good and amiable man. Dr. Nicholson was emphatically such in all the relations of life. He was the good and loving husband of a very charming wife, the unremittingly careful and affectionate father of a large family, a delightful host at his own table, an excellent and instructive companion over a cigar (hardly correctly alluded to in the singular number!) and a most *jucundus comes* in a tramp over the hills.

Amusing to me still is the contrast between those Cumberland walks with Sir George and my ramblings over the same or nearly the same ground with the meditative Swedenborgian doctor; the first always pushing ahead as if shouldering along a victorious path through life, knowing the history of every foot of ground he passed over, interested in every detail of it, and with an air of continually saying "Ha! ha!" among the breezy trumpets of those hills, like the scriptural war-horse; the second with his gaze very imperfectly turned outward, but very fruitfully turned inward, frequently pausing with argumentative finger laid on his companion's breast, and smile half satirical half kindly as the flow of discourse revealed theological 'lacunae' in my acquirements, which, I fear, irreparably and most unfairly injured the Regius professor of divinity in the mind of the German graduate. For Nicholson was a theological "doctor" by virtue of a degree from I forget what German university, and had a low estimate, perhaps more justified at that day than it would be now, of the extent and calibre of Oxford theological learning. He was himself a disciple, and an enthusiastic admirer of Ewald, a very learned Hebraist, and an unflagging student.⁶⁴

John Nicholson was born on 15 October 1808, and baptised at St Michael's in Barbados, West Indies on 4 November. He was the eldest son of Revd Mark Nicholson,⁶⁵ who was a missionary of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts and was president of Codrington Grammar School 1797-1821 on the island,⁶⁶ and his mother was Lucy Reynold Wilson.⁶⁷

John was at Queen's College, Oxford, matriculated on 14 June 1825, aged 16,

and was B.A. in 1830.⁶⁸ He went to Göttingen University in Germany to study philology under Professor Heinrich August Ewald and matriculated 16 August 1833, but there is no record of any examination certificate.⁶⁹ In 1838 he entered Tübingen University where, in January 1840 he obtained a doctorate – his dissertation being *An Account of the Establishment of the Fatemite Dynasty in Africa*.⁷⁰ He was for many years a member of the Oriental Society and a contributor to Dr Kitto's *Biblical Cyclopaedia*.⁷¹

He married Anne Elizabeth Waring⁷² and they lived for a short time in Lyme Regis where their first child was born.⁷³ After his short time at Tübingen he moved to Penrith and they had the following children, all christened at St Andrew's Church: William Robert, christened on 23 February 1841;⁷⁴ Ann Elizabeth, christened on 25 May 1842; Henry Allayne, christened on 9 October 1844;⁷⁵ Lucy Waring, christened on 1 August 1846; Edith Allayne, christened on 9 July 1849, died shortly after birth; Frances Margaret, born Penrith 8 January 1852, christened 5 February; Francis Reynold, born 1853; Edward Elcock, christened 6 July 1854.⁷⁶

In the 1841 Census they were living at Inglewood House, Penrith; by 1851 they were at The Fell and in 1881 the house name had changed to Prospect House, later to change again to Fellside – a fine sandstone house on Nicholson Lane. In the census returns he is described as having income from land and investments. He was also trustee for this district of the charity established by John Nicholson, stationer of the city of London, by his will dated 28 April 1717, for the relief of such poor persons of the kingdom of England, being Protestants, of the name of Nicholson.⁷⁷ He was president of the Penrith Mechanics' Institute and, with Lord Brougham, was instrumental in establishing the Penrith Working Men's Reading Room, where he taught for many years.⁷⁸ John died at Fellside on 29 November 1886 and Anne died there on 13 April 1892 – they are both buried in Penrith Cemetery. His will, dated 6 September 1884 and proved, with a codicil, at Carlisle, on 31 December 1886, shows that he owned land and property at Thorpe, Sockbridge, Cracoe and Bowerbank in Barton parish, together with shares and investments, to a gross total of £14, 260 11s. 5d.⁷⁹

George Francis Macleod

I remember specially an excellent old fellow and very friendly neighbour, Colonel Macleod, a bachelor, who having fallen in love with a very beautiful spot, in the valley of the Lowther, built an ugly brick house, three stories high, because, as he said, he was so greedy of the view, forgetful apparently that he was providing it mainly for his maid servants.⁸⁰

Macleod was born c.1786 at Shooter's Hill, Kent,⁸¹ the son of John Macleod and Wilhelmina Emilia Kerr. His father was a colonel in the Royal Artillery and his mother the daughter of William Henry Kerr, 4th Marquis of Lothian (died 1775) who had married Caroline d'Arcy only daughter of Robert 3rd Earl of Holderness. The marchioness died in October 1778. By her, Lothian left a son and successor, William John, 5th Marquis, and two daughters, Louisa, married to Lord George Henry Lennox, and Wilhelmina Emilia, married to John Macleod.⁸²

George joined the Royal Engineers and served in India and Sicily,⁸³ and after retiring from the army with the rank of Lieutenant Colonel he moved to Penrith and in 1829 was shown as living at Netherend,⁸⁴ but he later built a house, Barco Hill,



PLATE 3. Barco Hill, Penrith – from the south-west.

and lived there with his servants.⁸⁵ He was a churchwarden of St Andrew's Church in Penrith in 1832,⁸⁶ died on the 26 July 1851 and was buried five days later at Christ Church, Penrith, where his memorial inscription indicates that he was a Companion of the Order of the Bath. His obituary in the *Westmorland Gazette* on 2 August 1851 reported that he was "a gentleman of considerable literary attainment, and greatly respected. On his demise the poor have lost a great friend and benefactor, for his charitable acts were many and great". In his will, dated 13 February 1851,⁸⁷ he left much of his property in Penrith to his servant, Mary White, and made provision for friends, including his executor John McConnell of Beacon Cottage, Penrith. He left his manservant, John Davidson – 7s a week for life and left property to his three sisters and his brothers-in-law –

Caroline Mary Macleod, who married Robert William Gardiner on 11 October 1816 at Funtington, Sussex.⁸⁸

Georgina Macleod who married Henry Pester on 25 July 1828 at St James's, Westminster, London.

Emily Anne Macleod who married Burke Cuppage on 26 February 1828 at St Martin's in the Fields, Westminster.⁸⁹

Such were the friends and neighbours of the Tilleys and Trollopes. The sad postscript to the story is that many years later, in a letter from Thomas to Anthony's son Harry he revealed the real reason for the move from Penrith – "The truth is that

we found our neighbours dull and stupid. You need not mention this to Tilley: – not that we found him or my dear sister or his house dull; – but the neighbours were all his friends.” . . . “The assignment of the severity of the climate as the cause is an admirable euphemism”.⁹⁰ The final sting in the tail is that Fanny later wrote a novel,⁹¹ which is believed to be based on her Penrith neighbours even though she did add a disclaimer.⁹² The message was not flattering.

Acknowledgements

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Notes and References

- ¹ Thomas Adolphus Trollope, *What I Remember* (2 vols, 1887).
- ² He was nominated for the post by the then Secretary of the Post Office, Sir Francis Freeling, a friend of his mother's – Sir John Tilley, *London to Tokyo* (nd), 7.
- ³ His superannuation records survive in The British Postal Museum and Archive (hereafter BPMA), amongst other material from his service and there is a biography written by A. M. Cunynghame in the Post Office staff journal, *St Martin's-le-Grand*, July 1898.
- ⁴ *What I Remember*, i, 300.
- ⁵ N. John Hall, *Trollope: A Biography* (1991), 61.
- ⁶ BPMA –Superannuation Record, vol. 61 (April 1880), 1105-7, Sir John Tilley.
- ⁷ It is not clear which house the Tilleys occupied. Thomas Adolphus describes it as “a pretty house situated between the town and the well-known beacon on the hill to the north of it”; *What I Remember*, ii, 33. In the 1841 Census Tilley and Cecilia were away from home in Darlington and the children were at home with the servants. The address is given as “Fell Side” but this is used for a number of properties in the area in that census and there is nothing to suggest that it was the house later lived in by John Nicholson and subsequently named “Fellside”.
- ⁸ Together with Thomas Adolphus she had travelled up shortly after the wedding, visiting William Wordsworth at Rydal Mount *en route*. Thomas was less than impressed by the great poet and had “managed to incur his displeasure”. There was, indeed, a suggestion that there had been a “little bit of a feud” between Wordsworth then Stamp Distributor for Westmorland, and Tilley. “Wordsworth as receiver of taxes, or issuer of licences or whatever it was, would have increased the profits of his place if the mail coach had paid its dues, whether for taxes or license, at his end of the journey instead of at Kendal, as had been the practice. But of course any such change would have been as much to the detriment of the man at Kendal as to Wordsworth's advantage. And my brother-in-law, thinking such a change unjust, would not permit it” *What I Remember* (1887) ii, 15-17. Wordsworth was Distributor of Stamps for Westmorland from c.1813 until he resigned in 1842: DNB.
- ⁹ Victoria Glendinning, *Trollope* (London, 1992), 97; Teresa Ransom, *Fanny Trollope* (1995), 136, 142-3.
- ¹⁰ Richard Mullen, *Anthony Trollope, A Victorian in his World* (1990), 123.
- ¹¹ Ransom, 144. William Lowther, 2nd Earl of Lonsdale 1787-1872 was Post Master General c.1841 until he was replaced by Edward Granville, Earl of St Germans on 2 January 1846. He was in opposition during Melbourne's ministry but in September 1841 he was summoned to the House of Lords in his father's barony as Baron Lowther and joined Peel's new government as Postmaster General with a seat in Cabinet: see Hugh Owen, *The Lowther Family* (1990), 391-2.

- ¹² Born on 4 February 1785, she was the daughter of Thomas Frazer and Ann Laughton and was christened on 20 May 1785 at St Swithen, London. She married John Tilley, a London merchant on February 1804 at St Andrew Hubbard, London.
- ¹³ 1841 Census Penrith, Sandgate HO 107/174/9 f.19.
- ¹⁴ Agnes was baptised at St Andrew's Church, Penrith on 19 April 1818, the daughter of William Archer, shoemaker of Boroughgate, Penrith and Elizabeth. Another two daughters of theirs were employed by the Tilleys at a later date – Anne, bap. 11 November 1825 and Isabella, bap. 20 September 1835. Ann and Isabella were still with the Tilleys for the 1861 Census, when they were in Dorking, Surrey, as was a male servant, John Monkhouse, born in Brough.
- ¹⁵ Ransom, 144. This was probably Eamont Lodge, the address reported in the *Westmorland Gazette*, Saturday 19 September 1840.
- ¹⁶ An indenture dated 20 January 1841 records the parties involved as “Carleton Carmalt, of Penrith, gentleman, Samuel Carmalt, wine and spirit merchant, and Elizabeth Carmalt, spinster, of the first part; Catherine Varty, of Penrith, widow of John Varty, cattle dealer, of the second part; and Frances Trollope, of Beacon Lane, widow, of the third part”. The property is described as “All that close or inclosure of land situate, lying and being on a place called Carleton Fell . . . containing four acres one rood and nineteen perches . . . late part of the commons and waste lands within the Honor of Penrith and Forest of Inglewood”; *Cumberland and Westmorland Herald* 7 July 1962 [I am indebted to Helen Thornley of Carleton Hill for this reference]. The purchase of the property was also reported in the *Westmorland Gazette* Saturday 13 February 1841.
- ¹⁷ *What I Remember*, ii, 36. I cannot find the well listed anywhere as a “holy well”.
- ¹⁸ *Ibid.*, ii, 75.
- ¹⁹ Ransom, 148. The *Westmorland Gazette* Saturday 23 October 1841 had reported that “. . . This building, which stands in a most exalted situation, commanding picturesque views of pastoral and romantic scenery, is nearly finished, and will be ready for the reception of Mrs Trollope on her return from Italy”. On Saturday 12 February 1842 it was further reported that she had returned from Italy and was staying with the Tilleys until she could occupy the new house.
- ²⁰ *What I Remember*.
- ²¹ Ransom, 149, 158. The *Westmorland Gazette* Saturday 8 April 1843 reported “Mrs Trollope. On Monday last, this noted authoress left Carleton Hill, her beautiful residence on Carleton Fell, near Penrith, for Clifton, near Bristol, where, we understand, she intends to sojourn for a considerable time”.
- ²² Baptised at St Andrew's, Penrith on 5 March 1845.
- ²³ Ransom, 162-3.
- ²⁴ “I could see in the faces and hear in the voices of those of my friends who were around me at the house in Cumberland – my mother, my sister, my brother-in-law, and I think my brother – that they had not expected me to come out as one of the family authors” Anthony Trollope, *An Autobiography* (Folio Society, 1999), 46.
- ²⁵ Lancashire Record Office [hereafter LRO] PR2936/1/3.
- ²⁶ See a letter from Tilley detailing the arrangements: LRO DDCL 1197/50.
- ²⁷ Glendinning, 168; *What I Remember*, ii, 165-7.
- ²⁸ BPMA – Superannuation Record, *op. cit.*
- ²⁹ Mary Anne's mother Penelope, married to Thomas Partington, was sister to Thomas Anthony Trollope (1774-1835), Cecilia's father.
- ³⁰ Later of Eton and King's College, Cambridge and lecturer in Roman History there, author and historian of France and French literature – *St Martin's-le-Grand*, July 1898, 248; Sir John Tilley, *London to Tokyo*, 13.
- ³¹ His own first cousin once removed through his mother's side. Susannah Anderson Montgomerie was born on 18 August 1832 at Maybole, Ayrshire (and died at Brackley in 1880), the daughter of William Eglinton Montgomerie and Susannah Frazer Anderson. Susannah Frazer Anderson (died 1884) was the daughter of John Anderson and married William Eglinton Montgomerie on 7 January 1824 at Govan, Lanark. William Eglinton Montgomerie was the son of Alexander Montgomerie, brother to the 12th Earl of Eglinton, and lived at Annick Lodge, a couple of miles north-east of Irvine in Ayrshire [*London to Tokyo*, 5].
- ³² See his autobiography *London to Tokyo* (n.d.).
- ³³ BPMA – Superannuation Record.

- ³⁴ Michael Sadleir, *Trollope: A Commentary* (OUP, 1961), 331.
- ³⁵ *St Martin's-le-Grand*, July 1898, 250.
- ³⁶ *What I Remember*, ii, 33-4.
- ³⁷ *Ibid.*, 36-7.
- ³⁸ See C. Roy Hudleston and R. S. Boumphrey, *Cumberland Families and Heraldry* CWAAS Extra Series XXIII (1978), 237-8; Burke *Peerage, Baronetcy and Knightage* (1963), 1764.
- ³⁹ John Foster, *Alumni Oxonienses* (1968 reprint), iii, 1001.
- ⁴⁰ See D. C. A. Shotter, "Roman Coins from Kirkby Thore", *CW2*, lxxviii, 17, 19: D. C. A. Shotter, "Roman Coin Hoards from Cumbria", *CW2*, lxxix, 9.
- ⁴¹ J. Walker, *The History of Penrith* (1858), 187.
- ⁴² *Westmorland Gazette* Saturday 12 October 1839.
- ⁴³ *Ibid.*, Saturday 3 October 1840 and Saturday 9 March 1844.
- ⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, Saturday 12 December 1840. In December 1841 he presented blankets and money to the poor of Eden Hall, Langwathby and Penrith, and gave the inmates of Penrith Union Workhouse "a most excellent dinner and the grown up men a quart of ale each"; *ibid.*, Saturday 2 January 1841.
- ⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, Saturday 31 March 1838.
- ⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, Saturday 19 January 1839. At a meeting held in the George Hotel, Penrith, on Tuesday 8 January 1839, E. W. Hasell in the chair, it was "resolved that a Company be now formed of the Subscribers to be called the 'Penrith and Carlisle Railway Company'".
- ⁴⁷ The *Penrith Observer* Tuesday 7 January 1873. On 29 September 2002, the vault was opened for public inspection in aid of church funds. Under an arch are three tiers, each for 3 coffins: these were full by 1873, and Sir George's coffin rests on the floor in front of them, on the south side. His wife's coffin is also on the floor, on the north side, opposite, and still had her white wreath on it, but faded: *pers. comm.* Jeremy Godwin
- ⁴⁸ *What I Remember*, ii, 34-5.
- ⁴⁹ *Cumberland Families*, 136.
- ⁵⁰ Charles Christopher, bap. 8 January 1832 at Goldington, Beds.; Philip, bap. 7 July 1833 at Goldington, Beds.; Caroline, bap. 27 October 1834 at Goldington, Beds.; Agnes, bap. 10 September 1836 at Edenhall; Richard Courteney, bap. 24 October 1838 at Edenhall; Sophia, bap. 29 January 1840 at Edenhall.
- ⁵¹ *What I Remember*, ii, 42.
- ⁵² *Cumberland Families*, 363; *CW2*, xliii, 41.
- ⁵³ See CRO(C) D HUD 17/84. Not as is indicated in *CW2*, xliii, 41, John Story, Surgeon of Penrith. Richard Story has a fine memorial stone in St Andrew's churchyard: *pers. comm.* Jeremy Godwin.
- ⁵⁴ 1841 Census for Penrith HO 107/174/9 f.14 and Samuel Jefferson, *The History and Antiquities of Leath Ward* (1840), 88.
- ⁵⁵ *Cumberland Families*, 363 and obituary in the *Westmorland Gazette* Saturday 23 March 1844.
- ⁵⁶ Jefferson, *op. cit.*, 82.
- ⁵⁷ Obituary in *Westmorland Gazette* Saturday 23 March 1844, where he is described as "a staunch supported of church and state". His will is dated 9 September 1843, proved 4 June 1844: National Archives [hereafter NA] PROB 11/2000; *CW2*, xliii, 47-9.
- ⁵⁸ Francis Haswell, "The Whelpdale Family of Penrith", *CW2*, xliii, 41.
- ⁵⁹ *What I Remember*, ii, 42.
- ⁶⁰ His will, dated 20 December 1841 is in PRO B 11/1955. The 1841 Census shows him as a Lieut. Colonel at Fort Leith, Midlothian, with his daughters, Margaret and Charlotte. Also stationed there at that time was 2nd Lieut. P.A. Morshead, later to marry Charlotte.
- ⁶¹ 1851 Census HO 107/2274.
- ⁶² For further details of the extended families see CRO(C) D HUD 5/77; 17/84; 17/88, and Plymouth and West Devon Record Office 308/298 Yonge family of Puslinch.
- ⁶³ A Swedenborgian is a follower of Emanuel Swedenborg, a Swedish religious teacher (1688-1772) who claimed to have witnessed the Last Judgement and the Second Coming of Christ and was in direct contact with the spiritual world.
- ⁶⁴ *What I Remember*, ii, 38-40.
- ⁶⁵ Baptised at Barton on 8 April 1770, son of John of Hole House, Barton [OS NY 474 252]; *Westmorland Barton Parish Registers* CWAAS Parish Register Series v, 35., pleb. Queen's Coll., matriculated 11 October 1790, aged 20, B.A. 1795, M.A. 1797. Twenty-five years president of

- Codrington College, Barbados, died in Clifton, Gloucestershire, on 16 June 1838, father of John 1825 – John Foster, *op. cit.*, iii, 1023. His will is in NA PROB 11/1898.
- ⁶⁶ *Pers. comm.* from Catherine Wakeling, Archivist at the Society – the dates of Nicholson's presidency differ slightly from those on his memorial (see below). Codrington College, formerly Codrington Grammar School, in St John on the east coast of Barbados, was founded by Christopher Codrington, a former governor of the Leeward Islands, who bequeathed part of his estate and considerable money at his death in 1710 for its establishment. Construction began in 1714 and it was opened in 1745. It still functions as a theological college today. There is an impressive memorial to Nicholson in the Chapel, which reads: "In the memory of the Rev'd Mark Nicholson Formerly a fellow of Queens College, Oxford and Principal of this College from the year 1801 to 1821, who died on the 16th day of June, 1838": information from the Revd Dr Ian E. Rock at Codrington.
- ⁶⁷ Lucy Reynold Wilson was born Ellcock and had married Dr George Wilson in 1796, she was widowed and married Mark Nicholson at St Michael's on 12 September 1807. John had a sister, Ann Ellcock Nicholson, baptised at St Michael's on 12 January 1815; I am most grateful to Greta Payne, Librarian at Barbados Museum and Historical Society, St Michael, Barbados for this information.
- ⁶⁸ John Foster, *op. cit.*, iii, 1022.
- ⁶⁹ "16th of Aug 1833, John Nicholson, England, philology, ex ac. Oxford. Father: priest in Clifton near Bristol, passport by the English ambassador in Frankfurt": information kindly supplied by Saskia Bellem from the Archive Dept. at Göttingen University, Germany. Whilst at Göttingen he translated the *Hebrew Grammar* compiled by Ewald.
- ⁷⁰ The records in Tübingen University suggest that he studied medicine for two years at London and also for a year at Edinburgh before he went to Göttingen; *pers. comm.* Dr Wischnath, Director of Archives at Tübingen. *An Account of the Establishment of the Fatemite Dynasty in Africa* was first published in Tübingen and Bristol in 1840 but has been reprinted as recently as 2004.
- ⁷¹ Obituary in *The Penrith Observer* Tuesday 7 December 1886 and *Penrith Herald* Saturday 11 December 1886.
- ⁷² Christened 22 May 1813 at Ilfracombe, Devon, the daughter of Captain Henry Waring, R.N. and Margaret [memorial inscription].
- ⁷³ John Henry Nicholson born 12 June 1838 – became an educationalist and writer in Australia, where he died on 23 June 1923: *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, v, 337.
- ⁷⁴ Nicholson's younger brother, Dr William, mentioned as a walking companion of Thomas Adolphus in Florence and district in the winter flood of 1844: *What I Remember*, ii, 97-8.
- ⁷⁵ "Henry Nicholson, father John Nicholson of Penrith, landowner, received a Ph.D. from Göttingen University in 1869 – subject geology": information kindly supplied by Saskia Bellem from the Archive Dept. at Göttingen University. He had a distinguished academic career – Professor of Natural History at Toronto University, of Natural History at St Andrews and Regius Professor of Natural History at Aberdeen, elected Fellow of the Royal Society 3 June 1897, published a number of works and died 1899: DNB.
- ⁷⁶ Edward Elcock, 5th son of John of Penrith, Cumberland, arm. Non-coll., matric. 29 October 1877, aged 23, scholar Worcester Coll. 1877-80; B.A. 1881, died 2 February 1886 – John Foster, *op. cit.*, iii, 1022: died Oxford 1886.
- ⁷⁷ J. Walker, *The History of Penrith* (1858), 168.
- ⁷⁸ Mannix and Whellan, *History, gazetteer and directory of Cumberland* (1847); obituary in *The Penrith Observer* Tuesday 7 December 1886.
- ⁷⁹ CRO(C) Wills 888
- ⁸⁰ *What I Remember*, ii, 41.
- ⁸¹ See 1851 Census for Penrith HO 107/174/9.
- ⁸² DNB entry for William Henry Kerr.
- ⁸³ PRO WO 78/884 – Kingdom of Sicily: Messina. Seven sheets of drawings of fortifications drawn by Lieutenant George F. Macleod, Royal Engineers *et al.*, c.1806. He was promoted to Second Captain on 1 July 1806.
- ⁸⁴ Parson and White's, *History, directory and gazetteer of the counties of Cumberland and Westmorland* (1829), 504.
- ⁸⁵ 1841 Census HO 107/174/9 and 1851 Census HO 107/174/9.
- ⁸⁶ J. Walker, *The History of Penrith* (1858), 240.
- ⁸⁷ CRO(C) Wills 632 – proved 8 August 1851.

- ⁸⁸ Sir Robert William Gardiner married on 11 October 1816, Caroline Mary, eldest daughter of Sir John Macleod, Adjutant-General Royal Artillery, and granddaughter on the maternal side of the 4th Marquis of Lothian. They had one son, Lieut.-General and Honorary General Henry Lynedoch Gardiner C.B., retired Royal Artillery, Equerry in Ordinary to the Queen, and one daughter. Gardiner died at Melbourne Lodge, Claremont, 26 June 1864, aged 83: DNB entry for Robert William Gardiner.
- ⁸⁹ Major-General Burke Cuppage (1794-1877) was Lt. Governor of Jersey 1863-9.
- ⁹⁰ Glendinning, 130; Ransom, 149.
- ⁹¹ *The Laurringtons, or Superior People* (Longmans, 1844).
- ⁹² Ransom, 153-5.