ESKDALE CHAIRS

Susan Stuart & David Jones

Chair making in the North of England is marked by anonymity. Although a considerable number of makers worked in what is now the county of Cumbria, only one, Joseph Sanderson of Penrith, has been discovered to have stamped some of his ladder back chairs and the large group of 'Dales' or single-row spindle-back chairs which were made in this area has been a particular mystery to furniture historians. This article identifies a major group of Dales chairs, thus enabling study of what has been a loosely-defined tradition to be placed on a firm footing.

An informative short article, Eskdale Chairs by Gladys Huddart, published in The Cumbrian in 1955, summarises some characteristics of these chairs: 'Made in cherry and ash wood, they were made in various types . . . the large rocking chair with wings, the plain high backed rocking chair with arms, the smaller nursing rocking chair and arm and ordinary chairs, and miniature chairs for children'.²

Field investigations in the Eskdale valley, (approximately 5 miles inland from Ravenglass and 10 miles from Broughton-in-Furness) and in museum collections in Kendal and Keswick, has revealed good examples of all these variants. In Eskdale itself a group of owners kindly allowed their chairs to be gathered together in the local parish hall, where they were compared and photographed. The slight variations in detail proved to be a point of pride to members of the group. One of the owners described how, as children in the first quarter of this century, they used to compare their Eskdale chairs, arguing with one another about whose family owned the best one. These variations were possible because as 'Older Dalesmen' related to Gladys Huddart in 1955, the makers in this particular area did all their own spindle turning. This is an interesting statement as it implies that some chairmakers used bought in spindles. There was certainly a local concentration of bulk turners; the Cumbrian Lake District remained the major source of supply of turned bobbins for the Lancashire textile industry from the late eighteenth century until the 1970s, and there are many characteristics clearly shared by these loom bobbins and the turned components of chairs made in the Lakeland district. However, in the relatively remote Eskdale valley, accessible from the east only by traversing two precipitous mountain passes, economy and self sufficiency seem to have taken high priority. The Eskdale chair makers used local labour and materials to manufacture all their own components.

Because Eskdale has a close-knit community, which has retained several of its old established families, the identities of craftsmen have been passed down to the present generation of villagers, and can be firmly substantiated by surviving documentary information. The Eskdale chairs discussed in this article were all made by or can be attributed to Thomas Brocklebank and his sons, George and William, who worked alone, or in partnership in the valley between c. 1851 and c. 1900. Church records, trade directories, census returns and apprentice rolls have helped to piece together a picture of the Brocklebanks, their origins, movements and wider contacts within the scattered chairmaking community of north western England.

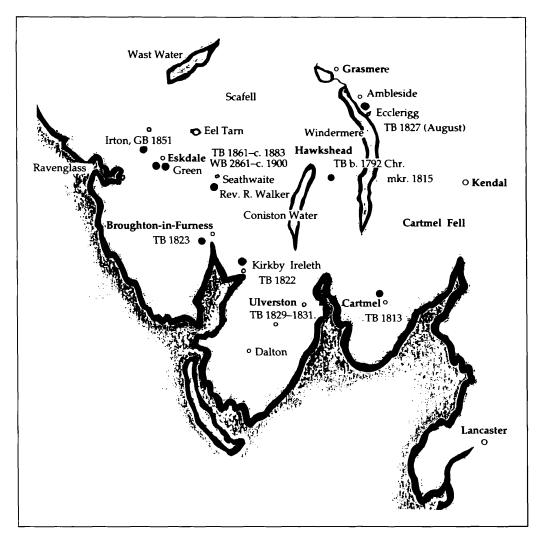
Regional Furniture Volume IX 1995



1. Eskdale resident with two small-sized spindle back rocking chairs



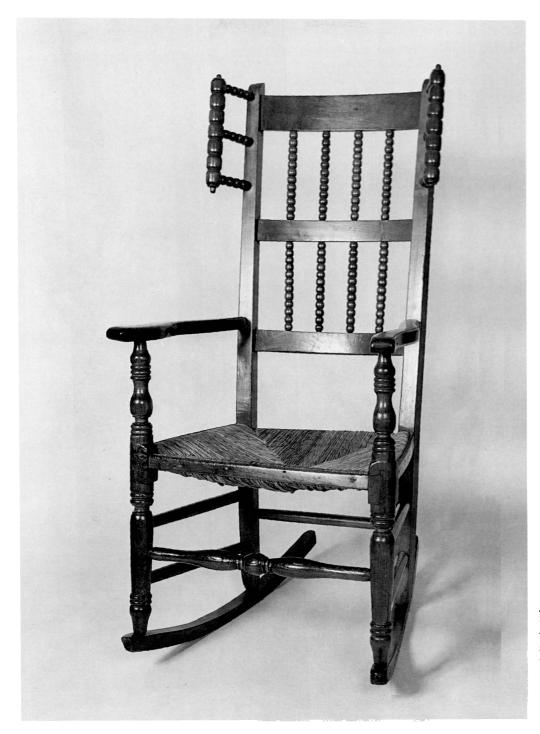
2. Eskdale resident with large-sized high back rocking chair



3. Map showing movement of the Brocklebanks, chairmakers of Eskdale and The Lake District. TB = Thomas Brocklebank, chairmaker, b. 1792-1883. GB = George Brocklebank, chairmaker, b. c. 1825-fl. 1851. WB = William Brocklebank, chairmaker, b. c. 1827-1900

HIGH BACKED WINGED ARMCHAIRS

The best chair in the Brocklebanks' repertoire was the high backed winged armchair, examples of which survive with rockers. These were made principally of cherry. The chairs illustrated in Figs. 4 & 5 have square section stiles united by two rows of four ball turned spindles between slightly bowed rails. The flared, serpentine arms are supported



4. Highbacked winged armchair with rockers Private Collection, Lancaster

on turned and blocked uprights connecting with flat rails, framing a rush seat, above a decorative front, and plain side and rear, box stretchers. The turned front legs are tapered into the rockers whereas the square section rear legs are roughly chamfered to a point. The chairs' most distinguishing features are the 'wings', made entirely from ball turned spindles and tenoned at an angle into the tops of the stiles. These chairs, in private ownership in Lancaster and Windermere, can be dated to the second half of the nineteenth century. What appears to be the eighteenth century prototype for these best chairs survives in the collection of Keswick Museum and Art Gallery.3 The so-called 'bobbin chair' made by Robert Walker (1709-1802), (Fig. 6), is aptly named as the bobbins or 'ball turnings', a phrase used by Gillows to describe similar turnings in the nineteenth century, are used to form all the vertical parts and are employed on the two front stretchers as well as the distinctive wings (Fig. 7). The acorn finial on the wings probably inspired similar residual finials on the winged Eskdale chairs illustrated in Figs. 4 & 5. The high back and low seat is a characteristic of many nineteenth century Eskdale chairs, as is the curved arm, which, in the eighteenth century



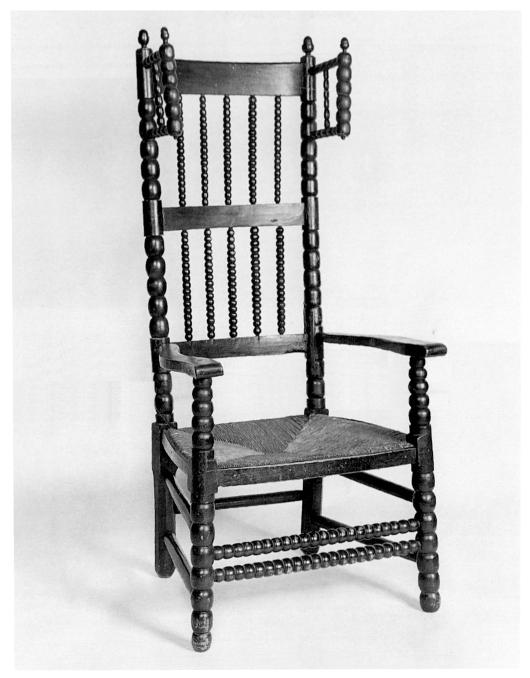
High-backed winged armchair with rockers

Private Collection, Windermere

example, is joined to the stile by a turned ball (Fig. 9). The Walker chair has been stained or painted black, and the chair made mainly of cherry wood in Fig. 4, also has traces of black paint or stain. The reason for proposing that the Keswick Museum high backed winged armchair was the likely prototype for nineteenth century versions made in Eskdale, apart from the obvious similarities, is that this eighteenth century turned chair was made in the Duddon Valley, adjacent to the Eskdale Valley and just six miles from the village of Eskdale Green, where the Brocklebanks set up their workshop (Fig. 10). The Keswick chair is clearly a virtuoso piece which provided inspiration to later craftsmen but, perhaps appropriately, it was made by a picturesque character who was not a professional chairmaker. 'Wonderful' Walker, as he was known in the Cumbrian Dales, was vicar of the village of Seathwaite in the Duddon Valley from 1736 until his death, in his 93rd year in 1802. He is a celebrated figure known for his ascetic lifestyle and acts of piety, a reputation which brought him to the attention of William Wordsworth, who included him in his *Duddon Sonnets*. Walker is a well-documented figure of great historical interest.

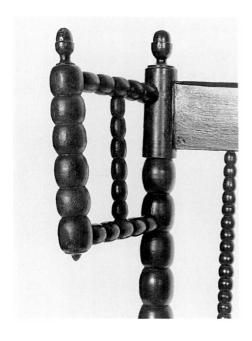
HIGH BACKED ROCKERS, SINGLE ROW SPINDLE BACKS AND CHILDREN'S CHAIRS

A different version of the high-backed rocker from the Brocklebank workshop is illustrated in the Figs. 11 & 12. This type has a similar seat, arm and underframe to the



6. High-backed winged armchair, Robert Walker, eighteenth century

Keswick Museum & Art Gallery



7. High-backed winged armchair, Robert Walker, eighteenth century. Detail of wing Keswick Museum & Art Gallery



8. High-backed winged armchair, Robert Walker, eighteenth century. Detail of seat

Keswick Museum & Art Gallery



9. High-backed winged armchair, Robert Walker, eighteenth century. Detail of arm Keswick Museum & Art Gallery

'best' type, but a very different back which does not have turned wings. Three examples of this style have been examined, all with very distinctive rails dividing two rows of fine ball-turned spindles (Fig. 13). These idiosyncratic rails have turned ends but a central flattened plate, reminiscent of a leather sharpening strop. However, only one side of the rail is flattened, as can be seen in Fig. 13. The rail's distinctive shape is formed by splitting off one face of the central turning. These strop-shaped rails can be seen in an unusual child's high chair illustrated in Figs. 14–16. This chair was made at the turn of the century; its Eskdale Green owner remembers it being used by himself and his brothers and sisters. The angled turning, which acts as a support for the footrest (Fig. 15) has the characteristic profile seen on most single-row spindle-back Eskdale chairs. Examples can be seen in figs. 17, 18, 19, 20 & 21, all of which have single rows of three spindles in this waisted pattern. The cross rails of these chairs, but particularly those in Fig. 20, have flattened front faces which can be compared with the 'strop' rails described above.

THE BROCKLEBANKS

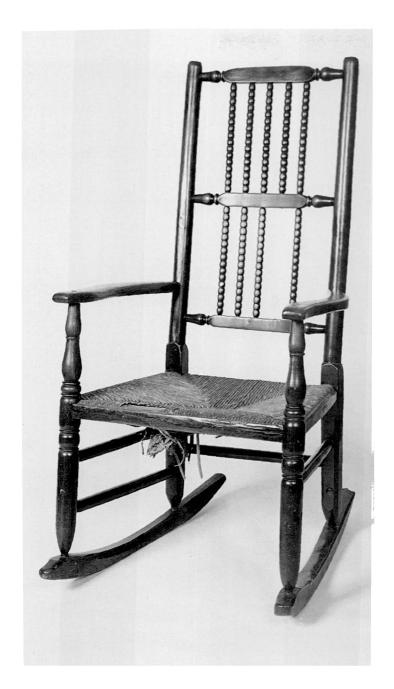
Thomas Brocklebank was born and baptised at Hawkshead in 17926 and was working as a chairmaker at Eskdale Green by 1861. He was still recorded as working in partnership with his son William in 1883, at which date he must have been about ninety-one years old.7 Thomas was the third of at least nine children born to Thomas Brocklebank, a gardener and/or butcher of Town, Hawkshead, and his wife Grace (Middlefell) who were married at Hawkshead in October 1782.8 They were living in Keswick in 1788, when a daughter Sarah was born, however, she was not baptised until January 1791, by which date the family had returned to Hawkshead. The pattern of delayed baptisms and apparent movement within the area was to be repeated by their eldest (known), son, Thomas. We do not know at present from whom Thomas learned his trade, but it is possible that he was apprenticed to the chairmaker, Thomas Fell, of Ulverston parish, who married Ann Stalker at Hawkshead in December 1805.10 Thomas Brocklebank first appears as a chairmaker in March 1813, when he was described as a 'Chairmaker of Cartmel' on his marriage to Jane Swainson also of Cartmel parish at Cartmel Church." He appears to have moved frequently during this period. In November, 1815, a son John was baptised at Hawkshead, to the chairmaker then 'of Hawkshead'. However, by 1822, Jane was dead, and Thomas, a widower, married again, this time to a Mary Coward, at which date he was a 'chairmaker of Kirkby Ir(e)leth', on the Duddon estuary, four miles from Ulverston, and about twelve miles from Eskdale Green.12 Thomas was working at Broughton-in-Furness in August, 1823, when Nancy, a daughter was baptised. Two sons George and William Brocklebank, were both baptised at Broughton on 25th August, 1827, when their father was a chairmaker of Ecclerigg (2 miles from Ambleside)13. The boys were not twins, but brothers baptised at the same date. George and William are of special interest, since they both became chairmakers of Eskdale. Subsequent Census returns make interesting though confusing reading. According to the 1851 Census, George Brocklebank was a chairmaker of Irton, the adjacent parish to Eskdale. He was aged 26 years and was born about 1825 in Manchester. It appears then that if he was the chairmaker's son, Thomas Brocklebank must have worked in Manchester at this period, and George must have



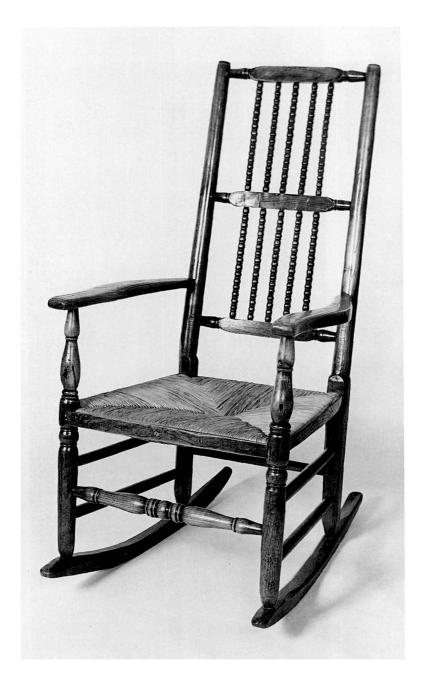
10. The Brocklebanks' workshop, Gatehouse Cottage, The Green, Eskdale. (demolished early twentieth century)

Private Collection, Eskdale

been baptised in Broughton when he was about two years old. George Brocklebank, chairmaker, moved frequently. He married a girl who was born in Ashburton, Devon, and their daughter Mary Ann was born in Birkenhead, Cheshire about 1848.14 Although he was at Irton, near Eskdale in 1851 he appears to have moved out of the area by 1861. William Brocklebank a bachelor, aged 34 years and George's brother, first appears in the Eskdale census in 1861, when he was working as a chairmaker at Gatehouse Cottage, Eskdale Green. He was described as unmarried aged 34 years and 'son' which indicates that his father, had he been there, would have been the 'head' of the household, but was absent that day. We know that William was baptised at Broughton-in-Furness in 1827, but he seemed totally confused about his place of birth, giving a different answer to each census enumerator i.e. 'Stalybridge, Cheshire', 1861; 'Eskdale', 1871; 'Broughton', 1881; and 'Ulverston', 1891. However, the fact that there was this uncertainty suggests that Thomas Brocklebank moved frequently, although mainly within the Lakeland area (his movements are traced on the map in Fig. 3). He apparently also worked further afield, spending a short period in Manchester, and Stalybridge, Cheshire. Thomas Brocklebank had two other sons, both baptised at Ulverston; Abraham in 1829, and James in 1831.15 There then follows a gap of thirty years during which it has not been possible to trace Thomas's whereabouts. Thomas Brocklebank's frequent movements perhaps indicate that he either worked for a master chairmaker as

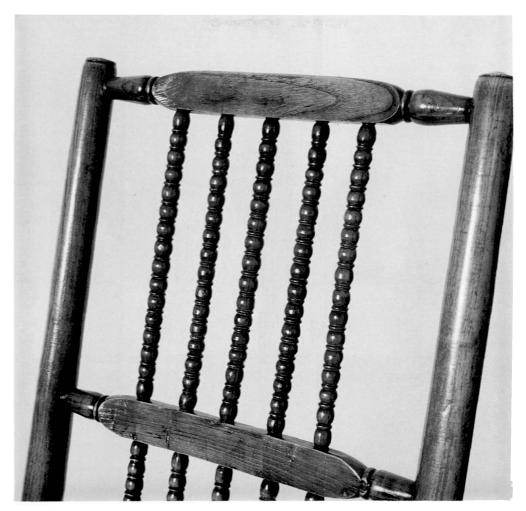


11. High-backed rocking chair, back spindle and front stretcher missing *Private Collection*, *Eskdale*



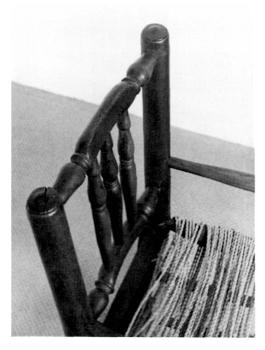
12. High-backed rocking chair

Private Collection,
Eskdale

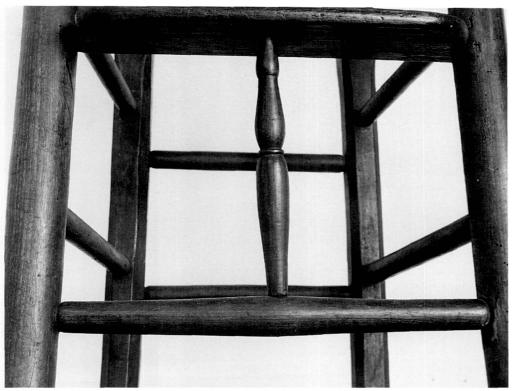


13. Detail showing finely-turned spindles on high-backed rocking chair. These small bobbinturned spindles are a signature feature of the Brocklebanks' work

a journeyman, or that he worked with his son (or sons) in remote places possibly using coppice wood and taking his chairs to towns such as Hawkshead and Kendal on market days. Many members of Thomas Brocklebank's family, besides George and William, had associations with the wood turning trade. Another son, Abraham, who was born in Ulverston, although described as a 'gamekeeper' in 1851 was lodging with a wood turner in Eskdale, and John, Thomas's eldest son, a servant of Thwaite Head near Newby Bridge married a wood cutter's daughter in 1837. Agnes, one of Thomas' sisters married a bobbin turner at Cunsey in 1837, and his youngest brother Middlefell, was also a bobbin turner at Force Forge in the 1830s. Cunsey and Force forge were once iron smelting forges, but with the decline of iron making in the Furness area during

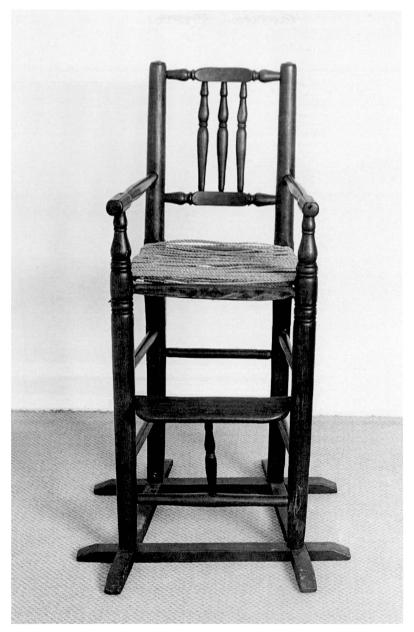


14. Child's high chair. Detail of top rail Permission of The Museum of Lakeland Life and Industry, Abbot Hall, Kendal, Cumbria



15. Child's high chair. Detail of turned support and footrest

Permission of The Museum of Lakeland Life and Industry, Abbot Hall, Kendal, Cumbria



16. Child's high chair, nineteenth century

Permission of The Museum of Lakeland Life and Industry, Abbot Hall, Kendal,

Cumbria

the nineteenth century they were converted into bobbin turning mills. Coppice wood previously used for charcoal making to smelt Furness iron was then used for manufacturing cotton bobbins for the textile mills of industrial Lancashire and Yorkshire. It was perhaps the presence of industry in Eskdale and the coming of the railway in 187518 which enabled George and William Brocklebank and their father, Thomas, to become established as chairmakers in that otherwise remote area between 1851 and 1900. Of the three family members, the father, Thomas had been the most peripatetic. He appears to have moved about every four years around southern Lakeland, but he also ventured further afield south to industrial Manchester and rural Cheshire before finally returning to settle at The Green, Eskdale. This frequent movement demonstrates how even remote chairmakers must have acquired knowledge of other chairmaking traditions. The Brocklebank's family connections with other woodturners who traded with the textile mill owners of south Lancashire and Yorkshire. and their own pattern of movements around rural and industrial areas of the north west of England demonstrate that they were by no means confined to an insular vernacular tradition. It is clear that they probably picked up ideas from observation of other common chairmaking styles, as far away as Cheshire, and that their experience of life in cities such as Birkenhead and Manchester must certainly have exposed them to the world of fashionable furniture making.

Figs. 23 & 24 illustrate two chairs which demonstrate that the distinction between fashionable and vernacular furniture is indeed blurred. These finely turned simulated bamboo chairs with painted decoration would appear to date from the first half of the nineteenth century. Part of a suite of a single armed and six plain chairs now on long loan at Abbott Hall Museum, Kendal, they belong to an Eskdale resident in his nineties, and were purchased locally by his great, great, grandfather. The family tradition is that they were made in Eskdale. In their pattern of construction, although their turning is finer, they do bear a startling similarity to the single-row spindle-back chairs in Figs 20 & 21 and it is not impossible that they were made by a member of the Brocklebank family or their circle. As we have already noted, Thomas Brocklebank was in Kirby Ireleth in 1822 and was a chairmaker of Broughton, about 10 miles from Eskdale, in 1823. Broughton was a small centre of chairmaking which had links with centres of fashion and to illustrate this it is useful to note the case of one well documented family of makers from the town. The Barwick family are recorded at Broughton in Furness in directories from 1826-28, but were clearly working in the fashionable orbit of Lancaster. Henry and John Barwick, 'chairmakers of Broughton' were both made freemen of Lancaster in 1799-1800. They do not appear to have been apprenticed in the town but may have had some connection with William Barwick, son of Thomas, Innkeeper of Ulverston who was apprenticed in 1770 to Myles Pennington, upholsterer of Lancaster.20 Pennington had premises next door to Gillows in Church Street, Lancaster. William Barwick was probably the upholsterer and cabinetmaker of this name working in Liverpool from 1788-95, and it seems possible that the Barwicks of Broughton were apprenticed to him.21 Whoever made them, the 'bamboo' chairs from Eskdale certainly have a connection with fashionable Lancaster in their similarity to products made there. For instance, they have some features in common with a painted or japanned bedroom chair in 'Winfred's pattern' designed by Gillows of Lancaster. This



 Small sized single row spindle-back chair
 Private Collection, Eskdale



18. Single row spindle-back child's rocking chair
Private Collection, Eskdale



19. Small-sized single row spindle-back rocking chair
Private Collection, Eskdale



20. Small sized single row spindle-back rocking chair

Private Collection, Eskdale

lightly-constructed bedroom chair with a cane seat was made in 1801 for Sir David Shaw Stewart of Ardgowan, Renfrewshire.22 It has groups of plain spindles arranged in the chair back in the same manner as the Eskdale bamboo chairs. The professional standard of painted detail on the Eskdale chairs (Figs. 25 & 26) suggests access to specialist painters or japanners. Painters were a distinct branch of workmen whom Gillows complained in 1800 were expensive to employ in the winter months when they were not needed, and it was difficult to keep them 'in the country', (i.e. outside London) in busy times.23 However, there were two tradesmen described as painters available in Hawkshead in the 1820s; William Jackson 'of Hawkshead painter' in 1826 and John Barker who had three sons baptised between 1828 and 1835." Although the 'bamboo' chairs in Figs. 23 & 24 are more delicate and sophisticated than the other type of Eskdale chairs, they have several related features. The turned arms (Fig. 24) are similar to those on both types of children's chair (Figs. 16 & 18), and the same flattened nipple stile terminals are found on many Eskdale and other Dales chairs. There is a clear connection between the arrangement of spindles and cross rails on both types and the lower portion of the back legs conform to the same north western English tradition, in that they are of square section with a shoulder just above seat level. These square section legs are chamfered, which is a north western feature seen on all the Eskdale chairs illustrated, including the eighteenth century bobbin chair made by Robert Walker.

TECHNIQUES AND MATERIALS

Interviews with local residents revealed that the Brocklebank's machinery was hand powered, and that they employed village boys, as cheap casual labour, to operate the wheel of the turning lathe. One villager related his father's story, that as a boy he was paid pennies to do this very monotonous job of wheel turning, and how he would move forward the hands of the clock when 'Chairy's' back was turned. This information has been repeated by the other Eskdale residents whose fathers performed the same task. The Brocklebanks' chair workshop, called Gatehouse Cottage in 1861, is illustrated in Fig. 10. It was situated at The Green, Eskdale, on the main road to Boot and was demolished at the turn of the century as part of a road widening scheme. The ash and cherry wood required for turned chair components was obtained locally, as were the rushes for the seats, which were gathered at Eel Tarn, near Scafell. Several of the chairs examined by the authors in Eskdale appear to have their original rush seats. None seem to have been painted or stained black as was the custom on some Dales chairs. Gladys Huddart collected memoirs of Thomas Brocklebank as a 'lean and wiry' man who delivered his products on foot. She describes in her 1955 article, how he used to carry five chairs on his head by 'turning the first chair upside down and then lacing the four others in its legs'.

This discussion of the Brocklebank chair makers' repertoire makes several useful steps forward in the study of the north western English chairmaking tradition. Firstly it gives identity to the hitherto anonymous group of Dales chairs found over a large area of northern England. The chair illustrated in Bernard Cotton's book²⁵ fig. NW29, p. 330, for instance, can be directly compared with the Brocklebank chair illustrated here in fig. 21. Other chairs illustrated in *The English Regional Chair* which can now be confidently attributed to the Brocklebanks of Eskdale are figs. NW30, 31, 32 and the interior of a



21. Plain single row spindle-back armchair, ash

Private Collection, Eskdale



22. Variant of the small sized spindle-back chair with four spindles and plain turned rails

Private Collection, Eskdale

Lakeland cottage NW24, a watercolour in Abbot Hall Museum, Kendal, apparently illustrates Eskdale chairs in their original setting. Secondly, the variety of the Brocklebank's chairmaking illustrates that they were by no means limited to one vernacular tradition. They were able and prepared to make either a simple spindle-back or a sophisticated and 'fashionable' chair as demand required. In sum, the complex evidence of the Brocklebanks' movements between cities in the south of the region and remote Lakeland settlements might help to explain the wide distribution of 'Dales', type chairs between these very different areas. It seems to be no coincidence that the general group known by this name are associated not only with largely agricultural districts in the north of England, but also with industrial cities such as Manchester.



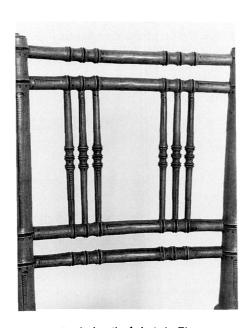
23. Simulated bamboo spindle-back chair with painted decoration. First half of the nineteenth century

Permission of The Museum of Lakeland Life and Industry, Abbot Hall, Kendal, Cumbria



24. Simulated bamboo spindle-back armchair with painted decoration. First half of the nineteenth century

Permission of The Museum of Lakeland Life and Industry, Abbot Hall, Kendal, Cumbria



25. Back detail of chair in Fig. 23
Permission of The Museum of Lakeland Life and
Industry, Abbot Hall, Kendal, Cumbria



26. Front leg detail of chair in Fig. 23

Permission of The Museum of Lakeland Life and Industry, Abbot Hall, Kendal, Cumbria

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The authors would like to thank, firstly, the residents of Eskdale, who have so kindly welcomed us into their homes, patiently answered our questions and allowed us to examine and photograph their chairs. We should also like to thank the following; Edward King and his staff at Abbot Hall, Kendal, for permission to photograph the Eskdale chairs on long loan to the museum; Hazel Davison, curator of Keswick Museum & Art Gallery, for allowing us to photograph the Robert Walker chair; the archivist of Cumbria Record Office, Barrow-in-Furness, for allowing access to census returns, parish registers, and other records. Finally, we should like to thank Mary Hall of Eskdale who first drew our attention to Gladys Huddarts' article, and who set us firmly on the trail.

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- 2. Gladys H. P. Huddart, 'Eskdale Chairs', The Cumbrian, Vol. V, 1955, p. 135.
- 3. Keswick Museum & Art Gallery, accession no. 4450.
- 4. 'The River Duddon. A Series of Sonnets', The Poetical Works of William Wordsworth, Edward Moxon, London, 1847.
- 5. Intriguing circumstantial evidence which links Robert Walker even more closely with Eskdale is contained in the introduction to the Seathwaite register (Introduction to Seathwaite Register, by Margaret Russell, Registers of Furness, Lancastershire Parish Register Society, vol 127, 1988). This reads: 'In his youth he (Robert Walker) spent some time at Borrowdale Place, Boot, in Eskdale, the next valley; with Edward and Agnes Tyson. She was a Walker, probably Robert's sister, whose grandson the Rev. Edward Tyson, succeeded him. It is interesting to note that Borrowdale Place, a farm, now in ruins, was only two or three miles away from Thomas and William Brocklebanks' workshop which was situated on the road to Boot. In such a close-knit community where even now 'Wonderful Walker' casts a long shadow, a chairmaker moving to the area, even fifty or sixty years after Walker's death, must surely have heard of his chairs and may possibly have seen them. Walker's other furniture will be discussed in a forthcoming article.
- 6. Parish Register of Hawkshead (Baptisms & Burials), 1788-1837, Thomas Brocklebank born 12-9-1792, baptised 7-10-1792.
- 7. Bulmers Directory, 1883, p. 196, Brocklebank, Thomas & William, chairmakers, Gatehouse Cottage, Green. 8. Hawkshead Marriage Register, 1754–1837, Ed. Leonard, Kathleen, Research Publishing, London, 1969. Thomas Brocklebank, bachelor of Town, Hawkshead, gardener married Grace Middlefell, spinster 22–10–1782.
- 9. Hawkshead Parish Register op. cit. Sarah Brocklebank born at Keswick 1-8-1788, baptised 23-1-1791 at Hawkshead.
- 10. Hawkshead Marriage Register op. cit., 1-12-1805, chairmaker Thomas Fell of parish of Ulverston married Ann Stalker of Hawkshead by licence.
- 11. C.R.O. Barrow in Furness, Cartmel Register, 8-8-1813. Thomas Brocklebank chairmaker of Cartmel married Jane Swainson of same.
- 12. C.R.O. Barrow in Furness, Register of St. Mary's Parish Church, Ulverston, 3-8-22. Thomas Brocklebank, widower, chairmaker of Kirby Ireleth married Mary Coward spinster by licence.
- 13. C.R.O. Barrow in Furness, Broughton in Furness Register 26-8-1823. Nancy baptised 26-8-1823, daughter of Thomas chairmaker of Broughton. George and William Brocklebank, baptised 25-8-1827, sons of Thomas, chairmaker of Ecclerigg.
- 14. C.R.O. op. cit. Census returns 1851, Eskdale.
- 15. C.R.O. op cit. Register of St Mary's Church, Ulverston. Baptisms: Abraham 5-7-1829, James 7-11-1831, sons of Thomas and Mary Brocklebank chairmaker.
- 16. The Register of Colton (1813-37) LPRS Vol. 133. On 23-10-1837 John Brocklebank, servant of Thaitehead bachelor, son of Thomas, chairmaker (unfortunately no place name is mentioned) married Betty Clarke, spinster, a servant of Rusland hall, her father Leonard Clarke was a wood cutter.
- 17. Hawkshead Register op cit. Thomas Brocklebank's youngest known brother, Middlefell, a bobbin turner of Force Forge, married Elizabeth Stevenson at Hawkshead 14-11-1836.
- 18. The Ravenglass and Eskdale Railway which operated (1995) as a private concern.
- 19. Beard, G. & Gilbert, C. Dictionary of English Furniture Makers, Leeds, 1986, Barwick, Henry & John, chairmakers of Broughton 1824–28.
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- 21. D.E.F.M. op. cit.
- 22. Exhibition catalogue Gillow Chairs & Fashion, Museums and Galleries Commission/North West Museums Service 1991. p. 20.
- 23. Gillows Letter Book 31-5-1800, letter to John Peart Esq. Settle.
- 24. Hawkshead Parish Register op. cit. Jane, daughter of William Jackson and Jane Jackson 'of Hawkshead painter' was baptised 24-9-1826. Three sons of John Barker painter of Hawkshead and Margaret Barker were baptised, John 7-12-1828, Roberts 9-6-1833 and William 25-10-1835.
- 25. Cotton, ibid., Fig. NW29, p. 330.