... whether the virtues long practised in Parents may not become innate and hereditary in their children? I think so.

The only published information about the ancestry of Thomas Bewick’s mother, Jane Wilson, is derived from a single source, his Memoir (Bain, 1975). There he mentions his uncle Christopher, aunt Hannah and a cousin, but of the earlier generations Bewick (hereafter TB) goes no further than to say:

My maternal Grandfather, Thomas Wilson & my Grandmother, whose maiden name was Hannah Thompson, lived at Ainstable in Cumberland; but whether he was Curate of the Parish of that place, or Parish Clerk I do not know — it is certain however that he was one or the other, and that he taught a School there, — and from the circumstance of his teaching his Sons, and some of his Daughters Latin, I conclude he taught some of his Scholars the same Language. [Memoir, pages 1-2]

It has been possible to confirm these names from the parish registers of Ainstable and neighbouring Kirkoswald, and to extend the family tree (see Provisional Pedigree, overleaf). Other details are to be found in TB’s diary of his visit to his family in 1780, some family letters, Jane Bewick’s (not always accurate) notes on her father’s correspondents, and sundry other archives.

A picture emerges of a group of farming families deeply rooted in the Eden valley in eastern Cumberland whose forebears can be traced back to the earliest parish registers in the late 17th century, but with surnames — Wilson, Thompson, Bowman, Nicolson, Brown, Hodgson and others — that appear in 14th century records for the area. No definite instance of an ancestor of TB’s mother having originated outside the two parishes of Ainstable and Kirkoswald has been found, though the possibility cannot be excluded in all cases. These two villages and their outlying farms, under the west-facing escarpment of the northern Pennines, seem to have changed little even today in population and extent since early medieval times (Nicolson and Burn, 1777; Hutchinson, 1794; Jefferson 1840).

One difficulty affecting the family records needs to be explained. As James Hodgson (1925) describes it ‘the register of the parish of Ainstable, ... begins only with the year 1680 (though some few entries have been copied from an earlier book) and from that year to 1729 was very badly kept by the vicar George Hodgson’. Hodgson was the vicar for 57 years from 1680 to his death in 1737 (Hutchinson, 1794). His Bishop, William Nicolson, described him in 1704 as the ‘careless Vicar’ of Ainstable and ‘rascally curate of Armathwaite’, whose care of the registers was ‘very Scandalous’ (Ferguson, 1877); indeed the earliest register, which in Nicolson’s day dated from 1611, must later have disintegrated from neglect and is now lost. In 1727 two outgoing churchwardens, Isaac Thompson and Will Moorhouse, both illiterate, signed with their marks a petition ‘W e present that our church is very irregularly served having only one sermon in a month, and prayers being read by Mr Hodgson’s son who is not in any orders’ (Parish Register, hereafter PR). Perhaps the vicar was ill, though being called ‘rascally’ as early as 1704 hints at a mental disturbance; the possibility that he was alcoholic comes to mind. Bishop Nicolson wrote ‘His Vicarage-house is extremely ruinous; and he chiefly resides at a little Ale-house, kept (by the Side of the Road to Brampton) either by his Wife or Daughter. Admonitions will not reclaim him. Some other method must be taken.’

Today the earliest surviving register (Cumbrian Archive PR 96/1) is untidy and evidently incomplete from the outset,
the first page predominantly recording the events in the Hodgson family. Thereafter the handwriting deteriorates to become an appalling scrawl in the 1720s just at the time when Jane Wilson, TB's mother, and her older sibs were baptized; it then changes to different more legible hands from about 1728-29. Bishops' transcripts (hereafter BTs) of the register survive from 1663 (Cumbrian Archives) but these too are clearly incomplete.

On 14 Dec 1730 TB’s grandfather, Thomas Wilson, became the Parish Clerk of Ainstable (PR) and I strongly suspect that from 1729 the handwriting was his, his care of the register apparently beginning before his official appointment.

Neither Jane Wilson’s baptism nor those of three of her five sibs were recorded at all in the scrawled chronological sequence of the register. Then, on 5 Dec 1737 the burial of the vicar, George Hodgson, is recorded in a neat hand at the top of a new page in the burial register. Below this the marriage of Thomas Wilson and what are stated to be baptisms, but I shall argue are probably the birth dates, of all his children are recorded together, almost certainly by Thomas Wilson in person (Figure 1). The baptisms were probably simply omitted by the vicar’s carelessness, but one even wonders whether there had been some antagonism between Thomas and the vicar and his appointment was imposed from outside the parish to improve the management of parish affairs. The subsequent condition of the register suggests that the move was successful at least in that respect. Such a delicate situation might account for TB’s uncertainty when he wrote his Memoir as to whether his grandfather had been the incumbent or the parish clerk.

In the account of the family that follows only selected members are discussed; the names and dates for the rest are shown on the pedigree.

**PROVISIONAL PEDIGREE**

Dates are of baptisms where not otherwise specified, but the dates given for the children of Thomas and Hannah Wilson may be birth dates (see page 6).

**Jane Bewick née Wilson (1727-1785), Thomas Bewick’s mother**

Jane, the second of three daughters of Thomas Wilson, was born or baptized at Ainstable on 19 November 1727.
(PR). She married John Bewick on 11 July 1751 at Ovingham, and was buried there on 23 Feb 1785 (PR).

Her mother died on 1 May 1738, when Jane was ten years old, and her father ten years later.

When he [Thomas Wilson] died his Eldest Son, Christopher, became possessed of his Freehold property ... The rest of his family were left little besides a good Education, and were spread abroad in the World to do the best they could for themselves, — ... my Mother, Jane, and her youngest Sister Hannah, were taken by a distant relation — a Mrs Gregson of Appleby, & remained with her until she could get them places to live at [Memoir, p.2].

TB was surely inaccurate about the timing here — Jane must have left home with her little sister to stay with Mrs Gregson well before her father’s death in 1748; by then she would have been twenty. More probably the two little girls left home soon after the death of their mother.

About this time [as of Thomas Wilson’s death] the Rev’d Chris Gregson had been appointed to the Curacy of Ovingham, and wanted a Housekeeper, and my Mother, ‘tho young, was thought able to undertake that Office and accordingly engaged to perform it.

How long my Mother lived in Mr Gregson’s place before her marriage I know not, but from him, I afterwards learned that she was a valuable servant to him, both [as a housekeeper] and also for the occasional assistance she afforded him in hearing his Pupils their Latin Tasks. — From this place, in the year 1752, she married my Father & went to live with him at Cherry-burn House, ... where all their Family ... were born [ibid].

Jane was evidently one of the children taught some Latin by her father.

The Revd Christopher Gregson was inducted as vicar of Ovingham in June 1747. Jane would then have been aged 19 and Hannah 11. By October that year Jane’s father was ill and wrote his will; he died the following May. Whether this influenced the timing of her move to Ovingham is not known. If the will was followed exactly she would have received a modest legacy of £10 in November 1748, soon after her 21st birthday. Probably Jane came soon after the vicar’s arrival there, recommended by Mrs Gregson of Appleby, who as we shall see was both Jane’s relative and his own.

TB wrote affectionately of his mother’s ‘religious turn’, her ‘well intentioned lectures’ and her often fruitless appeals to him to stop fighting with other boys. He was clearly devoted to both parents, walking from Newcastle to visit them almost every week till the end of their lives (Memoir, pp. 14, 37 & 81).

A delightful letter written by Jane to TB while he was in London in 1777 (National Trust collection, Cherryburn) reveals her motherly concern for her son, who had been ill, her trust in his business ability, but her willingness to chide him sharply for his failure to write — ‘I think I never Seed your Father so discomposed at any one thing, as he was at your long silence’. It also shows her own canny financial sense, and her familiarity both with the colliery business at Mickley and with TB’s business plans for when he returned to Newcastle — all written in an informal style with her inventive spelling. A passage is quoted in relation to Sarah Dicker below. Sadly it seems to be the only one of her letters to survive.

Jane and John Bewick treated their servant Mary Maughan ‘like one of our own family’. Later, when Mary married and her son Robert Johnson showed a talent for drawing, it was they who were foremost in pressing TB to take him ‘under [his] fostering care’. This he did, taking Robert into his cottage at the age of about 13 (at just about the time of Jane’s death) and apprenticing him as soon as he reached 14 (Memoir, p.196, and see Part 1). The request was typical of Jane’s care for her neighbours, a virtue that soon afterwards led to her death. One freezing night early in 1785, while visiting ‘her patient’, an ill young woman in the hamlet of Eltringham below Cherryburn, Jane broke through the ice and had to wade through a bog. She developed what must have been pneumonia (Memoir, pp. 85-6). TB hastened to her with medicines from Dr Bayles. In the T&W Bewick Collection (1269/261) is Bayles’s prescription for a mixture of snake root, sweet spirit of nitre and volatile spirit of sal ammoniac, a teaspoon to be taken twice a day in a little mint water. It was dated 18 January 1785 and was evidently intended for Jane Bewick, but to no avail. She died on 20 February, aged 58. TB wrote a little epitaph in his Memoir (pp. 85-86):

She was possessed of great innate powers of mind, which had been cultivated by her own endeavours as well as by a good education, for these & for her benevolent humane disposition & good sense she was greatly respected & indeed revered by the whole neighbourhood.

Her bereaved husband John ‘never held up his head’ after her death and nine months later, on November 15th, he too died.

Hannah Dicker née Wilson (1735-1766), TB’s aunt

Hannah, the youngest daughter of Thomas Wilson, was born at Ainstable on 17 August 1735 (PR). She was three when her mother died in 1738 and it was probably soon afterwards that she went with Jane to live with Mrs Gregson in Appleby.

TB remembered as a toddler being ‘mostly intrusted to the care of my Aunt Hannah ... and my Grandmother Agnes Bewick’. Agnes died in February 1756, so Hannah presumably arrived at Cherryburn to help her sister by about that time, when she was 20, or earlier.

Years later her great niece, Jane Bewick (who was born in 1787, long after Hannah’s death), wrote

My Grandmother’s sister Hannah after staying some time at Cherry burn, went to London & there married a surgeon I believe — in the East India Companies [sic] service. She was a very beautiful woman, & like the rest of the family a very handsome tall figure — Her Husband Abraham Dicker [who] lived at Chelsea died & she also died soon after leaving an Infant Daughter — my grandmother with that abnegation of self for which she was remarkable — left her own Infant (I think Jane — y) & bro’ the Child home by sea in the month of December — [Jane Bewick’s notes on her father’s correspondents, Laing Art Gallery].

Abraham Dicker, the son of George Dicker of Burghclere, Hampshire, was apprenticed on 16 August 1736 to Edward Withers, apothecary of nearby Newbury, Berkshire, for a premium of £40 (Wallis et al., 1988). He probably practised
as a surgeon-apothecary, and possibly as the company’s ship’s surgeon. I have been unable so far to find in Chelsea or elsewhere his marriage to Hannah Wilson, which must have been in about 1758-64. Abraham was buried on 6 October 1765 at St Luke’s, Chelsea (PR via ancestry.co.uk), five months after his daughter had been baptized at the same church.

The Hannah Dicker buried on 27 August 1766 at St Lawrence, Reading, Berkshire (NBI) was almost certainly TB’s aunt; the date and place, presumably near the home of her husband’s family, are strongly suggestive. No doubt when Jane Bewick hastened to rescue Hannah’s baby daughter, she had in mind all too vividly her little sister Hannah’s response to their own mother’s death, twenty-eight years earlier.

Sarah Bewick née Dicker (1765–post 1799), TB’s cousin

Sarah the daughter of Abraham and Hannah Dicker was baptized at Saint Luke’s, Chelsea, on 4 May 1765 (IGI from PR). She would have been about 15 months old when Hannah died in Reading and four months older when her aunt Jane brought her home by sea in December to join her own family at Cherryburn.

Jane Bewick’s notes on TB’s correspondents quoted above continue

India House allowed her uncle by marriage, John Bewick, of Cherryburn 20£ a year for her maintenance — John Bewick got a certificate filled up which he and Rev’d C’ Gregson signed for the money — dated [blank] which Sarah Wilson, one of S Dicker’s daughters put into the hands of [blank] Walters Attorney with [sic] who it appeared endeavoured to obtain a large sum of money said to be in Chancery & due to the Children of S Dicker — however I never got back the Documents so signed, back again — (I took a copy of it) — nor have the Heirs got any money — said to be left by Abraham Dicker Esqr — which was not looked after after his death —

In fact I have found no evidence that Abraham left a will; instead the India Office seems to have provided his orphan with a pension. It seems most unlikely that Jane was right to think that money was ‘in Chancery’ for his future grandchildren.

Jane Bewick senior, TB’s mother, wrote the previously mentioned worried letter to him on 15 March 1777, while he was in London, signing it ‘[Your] loving Father & Mother John & Jane Bewick’. After two months of silence, while he had been ill with a fever, TB had evidently written at last, reporting on negotiations with the India Office. Jane replied (with her spelling retained):

...I knowing by wofell Experience the nature of the India House, In putting one of from Day to day, but I think you have mannage’d to great perfection at the Last, ... they will as soon Pay for One Month, as one Year, and I think you must Interceed, to have it Continued for Four Years to come, (as it was a promise made me) before I brought Her away, at the end of Seven years to have it renue’d for Seven more, and we will be content suppose it be ever so Little, suppose 18s per week, or rather then nothing 1s per week, and draw it once a Year, but I shall leave that entirely to your management, as you think Propper, you know our Circumstance as well as I do ... [ms 204, National Trust collection, Cherryburn].

Clearly this all referred to Sarah Dicker; apparently the India Office had paid her small pension for ten years, then stopped, and TB had succeeded in getting them to pay two years’ arrears. It seems to have been the final payment, still two years short of the promised fourteen.

Two years later Ralph Beilby visited India House on TB’s behalf and wrote to him from London on 5th May 1779. He reported that money for ‘the Child’ (ie Sarah) had last been paid ‘on that acc’ (ie by India House) in 1777, that no application had been received since then (it turned out that a Mr Storey had delayed an application); but that, since she had been on the books for twelve years and might have been aged a year or so ‘when it first commenced’, she might be thought to be old enough to ‘procure a living for herself’.

This polite refusal of further financial support by her father’s former employers presaged a life of persistent neediness for Sarah. It is not clear how long she remained at Cherryburn but on 13 April 1786, as soon as she reached 21, she was ‘of this parish’ at St Mary’s, Gateshead, when she married Fenwick Bewick (no known relation, see Part 2). Thomas Bewick, presumably ‘our’ TB, was the only family witness (PR).

Jane Bewick’s notes continued after her account of the India House involvement

Sarah Bewick’s Letters above alluded to, asking assistance for her destitute family are truly pitiable. Flour was at that time [?] six [not clearly legible] shillings a stone. — & my Father never refused her money when she asked for it — which was perpetually — to the very great annoyance of my poor mother; she had three sons & three daughters, her eldest son John Bewick was brought up as a steward of Mr Silvertop of Ministeracres, and was highly respected. The youngest, a scamp like his father was on board a man of war; & was at the taking of Batavia, where he was killed & where he got a good deal of prize money — which his mother got, & which she w’ve have freely spent, if my Father had not prevailed on her to secure it — her son Canon Bewick — a learned & good man, educated by Mr Silvertop — for a priest (residing at Tynemouth) — & his Brother Wm John Bewick an eminent Land Surveyor — who travels all over the Continent, has an only son who inherits a large fortune from his Mother — thus has this family become again wealthy & respectable.

—Jane is inaccurate here. Seven children were baptised by Fenwick and Sarah Bewick (listed in Part 2, note 20). The four sons were, John William (1786-1855) the gamekeeper and ‘steward’ of Ministeracres, Fenwick (baptized 1790) probably the seaman (he would have been 21 at the taking of Batavia in 1811, the youngest brother Thomas not quite 16), Abraham (1792) and Thomas (1795). John William Bewick had five children, one son Thomas John (1821-96) was the noted mining engineer and another, John William (1824-86), was the Roman Catholic priest who became the Bishop of Hexham and Newcastle.

A torn fragment of one of the letters sent to TB by ‘your cusen Sarah Bewick’, asking for money or cast-off clothes in a cold winter (NEWHM:1997.H45.4), was mentioned in Part 2. I have not found where or when she died.
Christopher Wilson (1724-1791), TB’s uncle

Christopher Wilson, son of Thomas and Hannah, was born on 3 December 1724 at Ainstable and was married there on 2 January 1747/8 to Margaret Nicolson (PR). Like Jane’s, his baptism or birth was recorded only in 1737 by their father.

His wife was doubtless one of the large clan of Nicolson’s in the area, at Great Salkeld, Lazonby, Crogin, Melmerby as well as Ainstable. (William Nicolson (1655-1727), bishop of Carlisle and later of Derry, antiquary and pioneer botanist of Cumberland was one of this clan.) I have not been able to identify her among several of her name baptized in the area in the 1720s (IGI). The children of Christopher and Margaret, both baptized at Ainstable, were Mary (6 Oct 1749) and Thomas (4 Oct 1751). ‘Margaret wife of Christopher Wilson’ was buried at Ainstable on 5 April 1790 aged 60 (PR).

When [Thomas Wilson] died his Eldest Son, Christopher, became possessed of his Freehold property, consisting of a house &c. and a few Fields adjoining it — [Memoir, p.2].

No Wilson is among the freeholders of Ainstable in 1768 (Cumbrian Archives QRJ 2/35 — the earliest such list) perhaps because only those landowners with more than a certain level of annual income from their property were listed. Indeed none of the family names, Wilson, Thompson, Smith, Brown or Bowman appears in the earliest freeholders lists for Ainstable or Kirkoswald.

The house as we shall see in relation to Christopher’s father, Thomas Wilson, was Church Garth Stile between the crossroads at Ainstable and the church (at NY531466) with fields extending up over the hillsides to the east and west. Christopher’s name appears repeatedly in the annual Land Tax returns for Ainstable in Leath Ward — for example in the earliest available year, 1767, paying 1s 9d. Four other Wilsons in the parish paid amounts between 1s 2d and 8s 9d that year and two probable relatives on his grandmother’s side, John and George Brown, paid 5s 3d and 2s 4d respectively (Cumbria Archives QRP/1/3). Church Garth Stile was demolished in the 20th century and the residents of the row of 1970s houses that line the road where it stood have no memory of it. Only a small stone outbuilding remains in a back garden. But the fields remain, their boundaries little different from those shown on 19th century maps (1822 estate map Cumbrian Archives QRE 1/28, Figure 2; O.S. 25” 2nd ed. 1900).

[In June 1776] I requested my mother to put me up some Shirts &c & I told her I was going to see my uncle (her Brother) in Cumberland — this was soon done amidst her expression of fears for my safety, and shewing the natural feelings of a good mother — after sewing three Guineas in my Breeches waistband — I set off that afternoon ... [after two days at Haltwhistle] did not reach my uncles house at Ainstable, till late in the Evening — I remained at Ainstable about a week in which time I rambled about the neighbourhood — visited my friends at Kirkoswald & elsewhere & spent what time I could spare in fishing for trout in the Croglin ... [Memoir, p.60].

A few fragmentary pencil sketches that TB made in Scotland in 1776 survive and it is difficult to imagine that he did not make others in Cumberland earlier in the same journey, perhaps leaving some of them with his family, but I know of
none that has been identified.

He visited again at the end of his 1780 walking tour: ‘and from thence to my Uncle’s at Ainstable — on leaving him & his Family, I walked home that day to Cherrybourn ...’ (Memoir, p.101).

‘Christopher Wilson of Church Style, widower’, was buried at Ainstable 31 Aug 1791, aged 67 (PR).

**Thomas Wilson (1751-?1834), TB’s cousin**

Thomas the son of Christopher Wilson was baptized at Ainstable on 4 Oct 1751. TB makes no mention of the older sister Mary on either of his visits to the family and indeed does not name his cousin Thomas.

[In 1776] ... after I had seen Armathwaite & Penrith, I began to think of moving farther abroad — and my cousin having occasion to go to Carlisle I went with him there — where we parted — ... At Langholm, the landlord, who was a Cumberland man & knew my relatives there, was very kind to me, and among many other matters concerning them — he told me, my cousin who accompanied me to Carlisle had won nine Belts in his wrestling matches, in that county ... [Memoir, pp.60-61].

Six months later, on 16 Dec 1776, Thomas married Mary Bailey of Ainstable, spinster, at Ainstable. ‘They had 17 children baptized at Ainstable in 1777 to 1801, including two pairs of twins (PR). The eldest was John baptized 1 March 1777.

Thomas Wilson was the owner of Church Garth Stile at the valuation of the properties in Ainstable in 1819 (Cumbrian Archives PR 96/36) and his name appears on ten fields on the detailed field map on the Enclosure Plan of 1822 (Cumbrian Archives QRE 1/28; Figure 2). The total area of the ten fields was 16 acres one rood and nine perches, valued at £33-2s-6d. The dwelling house and other buildings were valued at £2-5s. On the printed valuation document an undated rate from the other entries in the register, is the baptism (or birth) of Joseph son of Abraham Thompson, on 26 December 1736, a strong hint that he may have been a relative; this Thompson family lived at Banke, about a quarter of a mile north of Church Garth Stile, but no certain connection with the Thompsons of Kirkoswald has been traced.

Whether Thomas senior owned the same ten fields totalling just over 16 acres as his grandson Thomas (described above) is unrecorded but it seems likely. The low valuation of the house at Church Garth Stile in 1819 suggests that the family was not particularly prosperous.

Thomas Wilson’s handwriting in the parish register is neat and educated, and he is forward-looking in recording dates earlier than 25th March each year in the form ‘1730/31’ rather than the almost universal silent use of ‘old style’ dates at this period. Clearly he had had a good education. The scandalous behaviour of the vicar, George Hodgson, might naturally lead to the appointment of an educated (and diplomatic) man as Parish Clerk, and it seems likely that Wilson’s responsibilities in this post would have been unusually burdensome. If his education stood out as exceptional in the village he had presumably attended a grammar school, perhaps in Penrith or even Carlisle, but I have found no evidence of this. His name does not appear in the published Register of Carlisle Grammar School (Routledge, 1924) or in the limited list of pupils dated 1708 in the manuscript Register Book of the Free School of Penrith (Cumbrian Archives DEC/2/2). But was it a coincidence that the headmaster at Penrith was a Henry Wilson, A.B. Oxon., who resigned in September 1710 on his appointment as under-usher to the Free School at Newcastle upon Tyne where he died in December that year (ibid; Mackenzie, 1827)? Or could he have been a relative and informal tutor to Thomas?

TB in his Memoir was certain that Thomas was the village schoolmaster and was able to teach Latin. I have found no early school records for Ainstable to confirm this but it is interesting that schoolmasters in the district often supplemented their income by farming as ‘yeoman schoolmasters’ (Harper, 1983), a term that seems to characterise Thomas Wilson. During his lifetime, ‘by an indenture dated March 26 1743 a parcel of land in this parish containing four acres, was...’
conveyed to trustees in consideration of £50 for the use of a free-school at Ainstable’ (Jefferson, 1840). Thomas Wilson may have had a hand in this and have been its first master, though he must have been teaching his own children among others well before this time. Half a century later Hutchinson (1794) says the parish contained 98 families, and an annual endowment of £2.10s out of lands for a school. (In the neighbouring village of Croglin the school had £3 and at Kirkoswald a school ‘of good repute’ had £8 or £8.10 p.a. — from a capital endowment of £120 — ibid)

Thomas’s appointment as parish clerk was recorded in his own hand, squeezed in afterwards between two burial records of the same month (Figure 3) — ‘Thomas Wilson began to be a Parish Clerk 14 Dec 1730’ (PR). The appalling handwriting of the register in 1720s began to be noticeably neater as early as 1728 while a William Wilson was a churchwarden at Ainstable (from 1725/6 till 1734). It then improved further in 1729 — did William Wilson as churchwarden keep the register before Thomas Wilson took it over as parish clerk? Perhaps William and Thomas were relatives though I have found no evidence for this.7

Thomas Wilson was ‘weak of body’ when he signed his will on 24 October 1747, witnessed by Benjamin Lazonby snr, Jonathan Youn snr and Isaac Thompson (the last with his mark); it was proved at Carlisle on 28 June 1748 (Carlisle Archives; Will microfilm 1748 p 464-5). Isaac was probably Abraham’s brother and possibly a relative of Thomas’s wife (see note 5). Thomas bequeathed £10 to each of his children, the eldest, Mary Wilson, to receive hers a year after his decease, and Thomas, Jane, John and Hannah when they reached the age of 21.

‘All the rest of my goods and chattels moveable and immovable I give and bequeath to my Heir at law Christopher Wilson whom I constitute and appoint sole executor ...

The will shows that all the children Thomas recorded in the register in 1737 survived at least until October 1747. Of Mary, Thomas and John we learn no more. Mary had probably kept house for her father since the death of her mother in 1738 and may have continued to do so for her brother in the nine months between their father’s death and Christopher’s marriage.

Thomas Wilson was buried at Ainstable on 24 May 1748 (PR).

Figure 3.

Christopher Wilson (c1670-1746), TB’s great-grandfather

Thomas Wilson’s parents were Christopher Wilson and Jane Brown who married at Ainstable on 1 August 1695 (PR). Their children are shown on the pedigree (from PR and BT).

Christopher was probably born in the same parish, and his baptism recorded only in a lost register.8 There is no reason to think that his son Thomas purchased Church Garth Stile, and inheritance from his father and before him from earlier generations seems more likely. However, no Wilson is listed in the Hearth Tax lists for Ainstable of about 1664 (Sykes, 1883).

‘Christopher Wilson of Bank’ was buried at Ainstable on 20 April 1746 (PR). He may well have been the right man: he would have been in his mid seventies or older and could by then have left the farm at Church Garth Stile to his son and moved to Bank a quarter of a mile to the north, perhaps to stay with his relatives the Thompsons (see note 5).

Jane Wilson, née Brown (1673/4-1713), TB’s great-grandmother

A Jane daughter of John Brown was baptized at Ainstable 27 January 1673/4 (BT).9 This was probably TB’s great-grandmother but one cannot be sure;10 her parish was not stated when she and Christopher Wilson were married.

Nor can we learn anything definite about her father. Two John Browns of Ainstable appear in the probate records in 1683 (Cumbria Archives); one of them signed his will on 24 July 1683 and was buried at Ainstable on 30 July; his will names his wife Jane, two sons Richard (the heir) and John (bequeathed £2), and three granddaughters, Jane, Elizabeth and Mary Brown (to each of whom he left a one ewe). He may well have been the grandfather of ‘our’ Jane Brown, and his son John her father. But of the father we find nothing more. The relevant births and marriages must predate the surviving register.

For the second John Brown in the 1683 probate records an inventory of property was dated 24 March 1682/3, so he clearly predeceased the first John and cannot have been his son.11

Eighteen years after their marriage, and about a month after the baptism of their sixth child, Christopher (1713-1723), ‘Jane wife of Christopher Wilson’ was buried at Ainstable on 6 September 1713 (PR).

Hannah Wilson, née Thompson (1704-1738), TB’s grandmother

... my Grandmother, whose maiden name was Hannah Thompson ... [Memoir, p.2].

Hannah, daughter of Rowland Thompson, was baptized at Kirkoswald on 4 September 1704 (PR). Her sibs, all sisters, baptized at Kirkoswald in 1706-1715, were Mary, Anne, Bridgett and Margaret, shown on the pedigree (p.2).

Hannah married Thomas Wilson 29 November 1721 at Kirkoswald (PR). Their six children survived infancy but...
were all still under the age of 16 when Hannah died aged 33. She was buried at Ainstable on 1 May 1738 (PR).

**Margaret Johnston, née Thompson (1706-1795), TB’s great aunt**

Both of his maternal grandparents died before TB was born, but he met at least one of his great aunts, Margaret Johnston, in 1780. On his walking tour from York (1780 Diary) TB wrote:

[Thursday 20th July.] Ainstable at 7 [pm.] sauntered about and call’d upon Aunts ‘Tea with Aunt Marg’ Johnston at Mr. Wilsons till 12 oclock at Night. In his list of expenses for the journey he recorded:

Ainstable [July] 21 Given to G Aunt Margaret [amount blank]

The aunts TB mentioned may have included Margaret Wilson, the wife of his mother’s brother Christopher and perhaps Mary, Christopher’s sister. But Aunt Margaret Johnston was not of that generation and was probably TB’s great aunt, as ‘G Aunt’ on 21 July suggests. She must surely have been Margaret née Thompson, his grandmother’s youngest sister, baptized at Kirkoswald on 21 March 1714/5, the daughter of Rowland Thompson. She would have been 65 in 1780 and nearly 27 when in 1744 a Margaret Thompson married Thomas Johnston by licence on 3 March 1743/4 at St Cuthbert’s Church, Carlisle (PR); the entry is preceded by the word ‘Kirkoswald’. Margaret Johnston was buried at Kirkoswald on 24 October 1795.

Another great aunt, Anne Thompson (baptized 17 Dec 1708), sister of Margaret and Hannah, may have been the ‘Anne Tompson’ who married John Hayton at Ainstable on 7 May 1733; and the other sister, Bridgett, was probably the sixteen-year old who married George Brown at Ainstable on 11 April 1729 (PR). Perhaps George was kin to Bridgett’s Ainstable brother-in-law, Thomas Wilson.

**Mary Bowman née Thompson (1706-?), TB’s great aunt.**

Mary, the second daughter of Rowland and Mary Thompson, was baptized at Kirkoswald on 20 October 1706 (PR).14

We have no certain evidence of her later history, but it is extremely likely that she was the Mary Thompson who married a Richard Bowman at Kirkoswald on 14 April 1725 (PR).

There are two reasons to focus on this Thompson/Bowman marriage. In 1780 TB met in Kirkoswald a ‘cozin Bowman’ and in his Memoir he tended to reserve this term for close cousins. And long afterwards TB’s daughter Jane in her notes on her father’s correspondents wrote that she and her sister Isabella had visited Mrs John Bowman (née Sopitt) at Hackney in 1818, adding that the Bowmans were from Cumberland and ‘Mr John Bowman was distantly related to my Grandmother’ (ie to Jane Wilson).15

Mary’s husband was Richard, son of Thomas Bowman, baptized at Kirkoswald on 29 Oct 1706;14 and Richard’s father was certainly the Thomas Bowman who married Ann Bird at Kirkoswald on 27 Feb 1689/90 and who had seven or eight children baptized there in 1691-1708 (all from PR).

- John 22 April 1691
- Thomas 18 June 1692
- Mary 10 November 1694
- Thomas 4 October 1697
- Richard 29 October 1700
- Humphrey 3 February 1703/4
- William 30 November 1706 — buried 7 April 1707
- Ann 20 December 1708

The will of ‘Thomas Bowman of Kirkoswald’ was signed on 3 January 1724/5 and not proved till 12 July 1729. It names all the surviving children named above, leaving his lands and tenements at Viall Moor (two miles east of the village) to Thomas, Richard and Humphrey, 1s. to John who was perhaps already provided for;15 and small legacies to his daughters Mary Fidler and Ann Bowman. His wife Ann was sole executrix, and one of the witnesses was John Bird, probably her brother. An associated inventory prepared on 30 January 1724/5 by John Bird, Rowland Thompson and William Tinkler valued his property at £12-01-00 including household goods, three cattle, a horse and a cart. Three months later, Rowland Thompson became Thomas’s son Richard’s father-in-law; then he too died, later the same year. Indeed Richard’s wedding had probably been postponed by his father’s death — the first child of the marriage, baptized Thomas, was born only seven months later.

Thomas Bowman, probably the same, was from time to time entrusted with the safekeeping of part of the Kirkoswald school stock (for example £2 in 1722), and held a number of parish offices: Assessor 1688, 1690, Collector 1690, Constable 1690, 1696, 1697 and 1702, and Surveyor 1698 (Cumbrian Archive; Kirkoswald Churchwardens’ Account Book, PR 9/5).

The children of Richard and Mary Bowman were three sons baptized at Kirkoswald (and five daughters including Mary baptised 20 June 1735):15

- Thomas 19 Nov 1725
- Richard 30 Dec 1729
- John 21 Aug 1741

The ‘cozin’ that TB visited on Thursday 20th July 1780 seems to have been one of these three boys.17 Of him TB wrote:

20th Penrith Beacon a fine View towards Huls Water parted with T Collier on the Moor near the Beacon &c arrived at Kirkoswald at cozin Bowmans at 11 Ainstable at 7. [1780 Diary.]

His list of expenses for the same day pins down the cousin as John and, as if to offer confirmation, gives a lead to another relative:

20 Kirkoswald at J Bowmans

Given to Mr Wharton little girl 2[d.]

A Lancelot Wharton had married Mary Bowman at Kirkoswald on 23 July 1769 (PR), in context she was surely Mary the daughter of Richard and Mary.16

By 1780 Lancelot and Mary had only a son John, bap-
tized 8 Aug 1776, the first of their four children (IGI and Kirkoswald PR). Although John was baptized long after their marriage I have not identified an earlier daughter of theirs to fit TB’s description. However Lancelot, baptized at Croglin on 7 November 1745, was the son of George Wharton. George had another son, John who with his wife Jane Fidler had six children baptized at Croglin in 1772-1790 (IGI). Two of these were girls, Mary (14 July 1772) and Jane (22 August 1777, who died in August 1792), nieces by marriage of Mary Wharton née Bowman, daughter of TB’s great aunt Mary, Very probably one of them was ‘Wharton[’s] little girl’. Presumably they were living or visiting in Kirkoswald when TB passed through, Jane would have been aged two in 1780 but Mary had recently turned eight and was probably the recipient of the 2nd.

Bowmans abounded in eastern Cumberland and Westmorland at this time and particularly in Kirkoswald, so the connections I propose are heavily dependent on the presumption that ‘cozin Bowman’ was indeed a close cousin of TB (by my hypothesis a first cousin once removed) and not more distantly related. But the Bowman/Wharton link does give it support. The next step is to seek a link of this family to the John Bowman whose widow the Bewick sisters visited in 1818.

The Bowman family of Middlesex.

Jane Bewick’s note on her father’s correspondent John Bowman (Laing Art Gallery) tell us that his wife’s maiden name was Soppitt and that she had a brother James. John Bowman of the parish of Whitechapel bachelor married Elizabeth Soppitt of the parish of St Michael Queenhithe on 16 February 1805. Two of these were girls, Mary (14 July 1772) and Jane (22 August 1777, who died in August 1792), nieces by marriage of Mary Wharton née Bowman, daughter of TB’s great aunt Mary. Very probably one of them was ‘Wharton[’s] little girl’. Presumably they were living or visiting in Kirkoswald when TB passed through, Jane would have been aged two in 1780 but Mary had recently turned eight and was probably the recipient of the 2nd.

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The correspondence is principally concerned with the long delay in realizing the money due to Bowman, apparently as a result of a challenge to Sarah’s will by Laidler ‘heirs’. The will was signed 4 June 1808 and proved at Durham 25 July 1808. The first in the sequence of letters to TB from John D. Bowman in London was dated 7 July 1808; it expressed surprise at a last-minute alteration to the will (T&W A; DT.BEW/1/49). The last letter from him was dated 11 Dec 1809 (ibid / 53). A letter from Fred Bowman to TB on 22 October 1810 thanked him for ‘your attention to my late brother’s affairs’ (ibid /48b). The will of John Dibble Bowman of Mansell Street, Goodmans Fields, Middlesex, sugar refiner, was signed on 19 May 1810 and proved at London 26 September 1810 (from PRO PROB 11/1515, 1810 — kindly supplied by Mr Stephen Cousins). It listed bequests amounting to £10,000.

In the early stages of this correspondence Jane Bewick wrote on 1 Sept 1808 to her father, who was away in Lancaster, in response to the arrival of gifts of sugar mentioned in John Bowman’s letter to TB dated 11 August:

The box arrived from London on Monday evening from Mr Bowman containing two Loaves of Sugar as mentioned in his letter, a great lot of Prints, some very pretty Drawings of Shells directed for me, Rob” seal, some specimens of wood and a smaller box for Mr Carr of Northumberland Street ... I do not know where his civility & kindness will end, it almost gives me uneasiness to be so loaded with obligations. [Huntington MSS by favour of Iain Bain].

A final letter in the series, from Elizabeth Bowman at Hackney on 19 March 1818, acknowledged the receipt of a payment of £981 11s. 6d. and thanked TB for ‘the very liberal & disinterested manner in which you have conducted the whole of this protracted affair’ (T&W A; DT.BEW/1/46).

John Dibble Bowman son of Joseph and Mary Bowman was baptized on 21 Feb 1773 at St Mary, Whitechapel (IGI). His parents Joseph Bowman, bachelor, and Mary Dibble had been married at St Matthews, Bethnal Green, on 12 April 1772.

Three more sons of Joseph and Mary Bowman were baptized at Whitechapel, Frederick (11 Dec 1774), Charles (March 1777) and Joseph Matthew (April 1783).

I have found no record of Joseph Bowman’s death, or other firm clue to his age. Any attempt to locate his birth must therefore be speculative. It is intriguing however that two of very few possible candidate Joseph Bowmans recorded in England on the IGI were baptized at Kirkoswald:

Joseph son of Thomas Bowman on 3 May 1736 and Joseph son of John Bowman on 16 Dec 1743.

Thomas and John Bowman were the brothers of Richard who married TB’s great aunt Mary Thompson. The date of baptism of Thomas’s son Joseph would make his age 26 on 16 Dec 1762 when Joseph Bowman and Mary Dibble were married, making him marginally the more likely candidate than Joseph son of John who would have been marrying shortly after his 19th birthday.

In summary, therefore, the hypothesis is that TB’s mother’s aunt Mary Thompson married Richard Bowman and that the grandson of one of Richard’s brothers, probably Thomas, was the John Dibble Bowman who corresponded with, and visited, TB in 1808-1810.
Rowland Thompson (1725-1725), TB’s great grandfather.

No baptism for Rowland Thompson has yet been identified. Probably the relevant record is missing; there is a major gap in the Kirkoswald register between 1658 and 1685 and many earlier records are illegible. The earliest Thompson I deciphered was a William buried in April 1621. Bishop’s Transcripts survive for only nine of the missing years; they reveal a Steven, a John and a Ferguson Thompson who had infants baptised in the 1670s and 1680s, all potential fathers for Rowland (Kendal Archives DRC 6(93)). No Thompson is in the Hearth Tax lists of about 1664 for the Kirkoswald townships (Sykes, 1983). There are others at Ainstable (see for example note 5), but Rowland is not among them.

Rowland Thompson married Mary Smith 24 November 1703 at Kirkoswald (PR).

The Musgrave Estate book of rentals 1713-1729 (Cumb Archives D/MUS 4/2 Box 80) records on the first page an undated list (probably about 1717 from the dates of adjacent lists) of ‘Numbers of Boons belonging to Kirkoswald for reaping of corn’. A boon in this sense appears to be an echo of the feudal system whereby a tenant owed service to the lord of the manor, in this case a day’s reaping per annum. Among about twenty names, each owning usually a single boon but in a few cases two or three, are Joseph Bowman and Rowland Thompson (each owning one boon). Rowland is not recorded as owing rent.

‘Rowland Thompson, householder’ was buried at Kirkoswald on 23 November 1725 (PR). He left no will.

Mary Thompson née Smith (1677-1758), TB’s great grandmother

Mary the daughter of Bartholomew Smith was baptized at Kirkoswald 1 Oct 1677 (PR).

She was almost certainly the bride of Rowland Thompson, married 24 November 1703 at Kirkoswald (PR). Another Mary, daughter of Richard Smith, baptized at Kirkoswald in May 1664 (PR) is a possible alternative, but less likely as she would have been 39 at the date of the marriage and 51 at her youngest daughter Margaret’s birth.27

She may have been the Mary Thompson, widow, buried at Kirkoswald on 19 April 1758 (PR) when she would have been aged 80 and would have survived her husband by 32 years. No likely alternative has been found on the NBI or PR.25

Bartholomew Smith (died post-1694, ?1729), TB’s great great grandfather.

No local baptism record for Bartholomew Smith has been identified in the Kirkoswald or Ainstable registers. Smiths were numerous in both parishes, though none is listed in the Hearth Tax lists for these townships of about 1664 (photocopy in Cumbrian Archive). If he was born locally his records are probably simply missing, like those of his son-in-law, Rowland Thompson.

The children of Bartholomew Smith, presumably baptized at Kirkoswald (presumably, because the consecutive parish records for these years are missing — PR 9/1) were:

10 July 1672  Hamah
10 Apr 1676  Joseph26
11 Oct 1677  Mary

These three entries are written together in the same hand at the beginning of the second Kirkoswald register (PR 9/2). They may well have been written by Bartholomew Smith himself as a parish officer there in the 1680s and ’90s. Some other family group entries, written in uniform hands differing between families, appear on the first two pages of the volume before the consecutive records resume in 1685.

No record of his marriage has been found, but his wife was named when ‘Bartholomew Smith of Parkhead quarter and his wife Jane’ were ‘presented’ by the Kirkoswald church wardens ‘for refusing communion with the Church of England’ in the years 1687 and 1690.27 They did not appear in the presentations in other years, and this perhaps tentative non-conformity contrasts with Bartholomew’s active involvement in parish duties. The Church Wardens’ account book (1641-1780) for Kirkoswald (Cumb Arch PR 9/5) records the annual appointments of parish officers. Among them Bartholomew Smith appears in 1682, 1688 and 1694 as Assessor, in 1683 and 1693 as Husband, in 1684 as Constable, and in 1689 as Overseer.

The equivocal non-conformist link is strengthened by the appearance in the next generation of another Bartholomew Smith at Kirkoswald, the son of Joseph and Elizabeth Smith, baptized both at the parish church on 4 April 1701 (a Friday) and again at the nearby independent meeting house, Huddles-cough on 13 April (Palm Sunday); and this Bartholomew in turn had a son Joseph, baptized at Parkhead on 28 December 1725.28 His daughter ‘Elizabeth daughter of Bartholomew Smith’ was buried at Kirkoswald on 13 Sept 1733 (PR). But this man, like his namesake, acted in 1725/6 and 1726/7 as ‘Mr Bartholomew Smith’ Assessor, and in 1727 not only as Assessor but as Church Warden (Kirkoswald Church Wardens’ accounts). No definite family link between the two Bartholomews has been discovered.

The presentations for non-conformity in 1686-1690 also list ‘John Smith and his wife Ellinor’ several times, and Thomas Smith and Jane his wife once. It seems that the Smith family moved gradually towards nonconformity, while keeping a foot firmly in the Church of England camp.

Bartholomew senior disappears from the Kirkoswald records after 1694. Before then we get glimpses of him in the probate documents of others (Cumbrian Archives). The probate inventory of John Brown of Ainstable on 24 March 1682/3 (probate 19 Jan 1683/4) lists Brown’s debts owed to six lenders including £1.8s. to Bartholomew Smith and on 13 August 1687 Bartholomew was one of the four assessors of her property after the death of Mary Bowman of Kirkoswald.

No evidence for Bartholomew’s death is to be found in the local parish registers, the NBI, or in the probate records. He is unlikely to have been the ‘Bartholomew Smith of Hollass’ who was buried ten miles to the north, at Brampton, on 27 October 1697 (PR), since Hollass was a homestead just outside Brampton.

But, more intriguingly, was he perhaps the Bartholomew
Smith, who, at the end of his life was farming sixteen miles south, at Burrells in the parish of St Lawrence, Appleby, a mile outside the town? He appears as a Churchwarden in the Churchwardens’ accounts at St Lawrence on several occasions from 1697 to 1713 (Kendal Archives WPR 28/4/1). No earlier trace of him has been found in the admittedly defective registers of Appleby or adjacent parishes. Two perhaps related items of expenditure appear in the accounts in 1697: 3s.4d. for ‘Mrs Smith buried in the church’ (probably the ‘Mrs Dulcibella Smith of Appleby’ buried on 4 February 1695/6 (St Lawrence PR) of whom I find no other record, in particular no marriage); and one shilling for ‘A waggon got by Bartholomy Smith to bring in James Thompson grandchild’. Bartholomew Smith of Kirkoswald did of course have Thompson grandchildren (though I have not found a James), but we cannot be sure that the grandchild was not James Thompson’s rather than Bartholomew’s. This might all be coincidental if it were not that Bartholomew’s bold signature of the will is contrary to Bartholomew’s. This might all be coincidental if it were not that Bartholomew’s bold signature in the Appleby account book closely resembles his handwriting when he recorded his children’s baptisms in the Kirkoswald parish register several years earlier.

Bartholomew Smith was buried at Appleby St Lawrence in the last week of March 1729. He made no will but the letter of administration for the estate of Bartholomew Smith ‘late of Burrells, yeoman’, dated 26 August 1729, appoints his widow Agnes Smith and Edmund Wilson and Hugh Raisbeck, yeomen of Burrells, as administrators (Cumbria Archives: Probate 1729). Agnes signed the document ‘Ann Smith’; and was probably the ‘Ann Smith, widow’ buried at St Lawrence on 5 September 1731 (PR). She was not necessarily Bartholomew’s first wife or the mother of his children, though no burial of his presumed first wife, Jane, has been found, nor any marriage to Agnes/Ann. An inventory of Bartholomew’s property (valued at £17.14s) made on 11 April 1729 includes two cows, farming gear, hay etc but no real estate.

Here then is a direct ancestor of TB who seems possibly to have moved from Kirkoswald to Appleby and remarried, in the mid 1690s. We shall explore below whether he was related to a direct ancestor of the Revd Christopher Gregson — Elizabeth Bainbrigge née Smith, married at Appleby in 1671.

Some relatives with undefined connections:

The Darby relative

[I] often spent the evenings in the George, in Brook Street [London], kept by a person of the name of Darby — whose wife, a very good looking woman, from Cumberland, claimed a distant relationship to me — ... [Memoir, p.72].

Without more information this cannot be investigated.

Solomon Hodgson

Bascodyke, a farm half a mile south of Ainstable, was the home of many generations of the Hodgson family, described by James Hodgson (1925). He records (his page 257) that one of the descendants of a Peter Hodgson who died on 31 July 1800, was ‘Solomon Hodgson of Newcastle, printer, whose mother Sarah (widow of Solomon [senior]) died in May 1806 (Carlisle Journal 10 May 1806). Whether TB was ever aware that his own ancestors and those of Solomon Hodgson (1760-1800), his friend and the fellow publisher of his Quadrupeds and Land Birds, were close neighbours and quite probably related by various early Ainstable Wilson/Hodgson marriages, seems not to be recorded. A later Peter Hodgson by his will dated 19 August 1758 left a bequest for a stipend for an Oxford graduate to be appointed to teach the poor children of Ainstable ‘writing, reading, Latin, Greek and ... the principles of the Protestant religion’. We may speculate that this was done in gratitude for his own education in the village, that had enabled him to matriculate at Queen’s College, Oxford. Perhaps he had even been taught by TB’s grandfather, Thomas Wilson.

The Gregson connection

TB was clear that ‘... my Mother, Jane, and her youngest Sister Hannah, were taken by a distant relation — a Mrs Gregson of Appleby ...’ [Memoir, p.2].

He does not say explicitly that Mrs Gregson of Appleby was also related to the Revd Christopher Gregson of Ovingham but the matter is put almost beyond doubt by the will of a John Gregson of Appleby, gentleman, signed on 4 August 1780 and proved in June 1784, in which he left his freehold properties to his daughter Elizabeth Robinson, widow, but in case of her prior death to ‘my nephew Christopher Gregson, son of my brother Christopher of Ovingham in the county of Northumberland’ (Cumbrian Archives, Carlisle, Probate Records). The brother was the Revd Christopher Gregson and the nephew his eldest child, TB’s friend and contemporary Christopher, baptized at Ovingham on 20 April 1753. The search for their connection to the Wilsons may start with the vicar.

The Revd Christopher Gregson

This is not the place to relate the importance to TB of his vicar, schoolmaster and mentor, so affectionately described in the Memoir. Here we are concerned with his family.

‘Rev Christopher Gregson 43 years minister of this parish ob. Dec 26 1790 aet 71’ (Ovingham gravestone). His age at death implies that he was born about 1719. Almost certainly therefore, he was the Christopher son of Christopher Gregson baptized at St Michael’s, Appleby, on 3 April 1720 (BT).

Several other children of Christopher Gregson in the same parish, were: Richard buried 3 April 1702; Richard baptized 20 July 1706; Eliz (5 Sept 1707 or ‘08); Margaret (16 Sept 1711); Joseph ‘supposed son to Christopher Gregson’ baptized 14 Dec 1712; Sarah (26 July 1713); and Bainbridge (27 May 1716); (some baptisms in 1709 are illegible and the baptism list for 1717 is missing). Another Christopher Gregson was living in St Michael’s parish (at Southfield) at the time and it is probable that one or more of these children
were his (or ‘supposed to be his’); no distinction between the fathers is made in the BT.\textsuperscript{34} By his will of 1754 Christopher’s wife Elizabeth and children John, Richard, Elizabeth, Ann, Bainbridge, Christopher and Sarah (Cheesbrough), but no Joseph or Margaret, received bequests.\textsuperscript{35}

Christopher Gregson’s eldest son John was christened on 14 Nov 1700, not at St Michael’s but at St Lawrence, Appleby (PR). The church of St Lawrence is in the centre of Appleby town and St Michael’s is in Bondgate, then virtually a separate village half a mile away across the River Eden. It appears that the family moved from the one to the other between 1700 and 1702.\textsuperscript{36}

It is likely that the young Christopher Gregson attended Appleby’s ‘Free Grammar School of Queen Elizabeth’ under its successful headmaster, Richard Yates (in post 1729-81), but no record of the pupils of this period survives (Kendal Archives WDS 46). Interestingly, the earliest known master of the school (from c.1580 till 1613) following the royal refoundation after the dissolution of the medieval chantry school, was Reginald Bainbridge,\textsuperscript{37} very probably a relation of Christopher’s maternal grandfather, Richard Bainbridge.

Gregson was ordained deacon by George (Fleming), Bishop of Carlisle, at Bow Castle on Sunday 19 September 1742, and priest by the same bishop on 20 May 1744. Ordinands who were university graduates had their degrees recorded, but Gregson was one of many for whom no information was recorded about their education.\textsuperscript{38} On the day after he became deacon Gregson was appointed curate of the chapelry of Bolton in Morland, Westmorland, recommended by the Revd Mr Rickerby, vicar of Morland. Rickerby died in December 1742 and by the time of his ordination as priest in 1744 Gregson had become the curate of ‘Romaldkirk in the Diocese of Chester’ (all from the Bishops’ Register, Cumbria Archives DEC 1/7). He was appointed Vicar of Ovingham in June 1747.\textsuperscript{39}

Gregson’s curacy at Romaldkirk explains how it came about that:

Christopher Gregson married Margaret Langstaff [sic] 10 June 1752 Romaldkirk, Yorks [LDS submission to the IGI only — not checked in the PR].

Margaret had been baptized at Romaldkirk on 25 May 1727, the daughter of Phillip Longstaff and his wife Sarah (IGI); the date is consistent with her age of 36 at the time of her death at Ovingham on 1 October 1763 (gravestone inscription) and burial there two days later (Ovingham PR). Furthermore the Gregsons’ last child was baptized Joseph Longstaff Gregson and two of their other children were Sarah and Philip — the names of Margaret’s parents.

The Ovingham Gregson family suffered many tragedies. Four of their eight children, Margaret, Sarah, Joseph and John died under the age of three and Betty their oldest girl, TB’s friend and near contemporary, died at the age of 22 in 1776. Of the survivors, Christopher and Philip were lifelong friends of TB, Christopher an apothecary and Philip an employee of the Customs House in London [Memoir, p 106], and the youngest son, Joseph Longstaff Gregson, lived on at Ovingham and figures in one of Jane Bewick’s letters to her father:

We had Joseph Gregson at the shop on Tuesday enquiring if you had written yet. My brother asked him to come to the Forth, but being in a hurry he declined the invitation. He said my Mother & Sister were both well. [Jane Bewick from the Forth to TB at Lancaster 1 Sept 1808. Huntington MSS by favour of Iain Bain].

TB gives an account of the death of the Revd Christopher Gregson in the Memoir. After 43 years as the vicar of Ovingham, he was buried there on the 30th December 1790 (PR). Not all of the archival ‘evidence’ is reliable. In her notes on her father’s correspondents Jane Bewick wrote of the Revd Gregson:

... after the death of his wife, who was a Cumberland woman, my grandmother who was distantly related to her — was sent for to keep Mr. Gregson’s house [Laing Art Gallery; TWCMS:2010.2801].

This is wrong on three crucial points. It was the Revd Christopher Gregson himself, not his wife who was distantly related to the Wilson family: Margaret Gregson was from Romaldkirk in Teesdale, not from Cumberland, and is unlikely to have been related to the family in Ainstable. She died in 1763; TB’s parents married in 1752, so clearly Jane Wilson arrived in Ovingham well over a decade before Margaret Gregson’s death.

The Gregsons of Appleby

In July 1780 TB walked with the Revd Gregson’s son Philip from Newcastle to York, where they parted before TB walked across the Pennines to Appleby.

[Wednesday 19 July 1780.] Set out from Brough at seven[,] call’d upon Mrs Gregson — Mr. Gregson — dined with Mrs Gregson[,] call’d upon — [blank] at seven at [illegible word] set out to Penrith at 4 arrived at ½ Past seven staid all night with Mr T. Collier[,] [1780 Diary.]

In his separate list of expenses (perhaps he felt the need for a haircut or a shave before meeting and dining with his relatives the gentry of Appleby):

19th Barbers Appleby 6d

Dined at Mr Gregson

His conversation there with Mr and Mrs Gregson would have been full of the latest news of the Gregson family of Ovingham and it may perhaps have been this that prompted John Gregson, only a couple of weeks after TB’s visit, to mention Philip’s older brother Christopher in his will.

Having established John Gregson of Appleby as the Revd Christopher Gregson’s brother, and a ‘Mrs Gregson of Appleby’ as Jane Wilson’s ‘distant relation’ we reach a sticking point. Whether the Gregsons whom TB visited in 1780, and the Gregsons who cared for Jane and Hannah in the 1730s-40s were the same couple, or were either of them indeed the Revd Christopher Gregson’s brother John and his wife we cannot hope to prove unless the evidence should turn up in some as yet undiscovered letter or memorandum. There were other Gregsons in the town. All we can hope to prove from public records is that their dates and ages make their identity plausible.
We must therefore be sure of a Mr and Mrs Gregson of Appleby who were married at the latest by the mid-1740s, and preferably before 1738 when Hannah Wilson died, and were then of an age to take on the care of Jane and young Hannah, while being still alive in 1780. In addition they should be related to the Revd Christopher Gregson. Christopher’s brother John and his wife do fulfill all these criteria. And the coincidence in the timing of TB’s visit and the writing of John Gregson’s will makes John likely to be TB’s host.

John’s christening on 14 Nov 1700 at St Lawrence, Appleby, the son of Christopher Gregson (PR), is consistent with the memorial inscriptions in St Michael’s churchyard at Appleby (Bellasis, 1888) recording

Christopher Gregson of Kirber in parish of Appleby who died 17 January 1755 aged 80 and Elizabeth his wife who died 6 October 1765 aged 90 [so she would have been aged about 45 in 1720 when the Revd Christopher was born].

Their son John Gregson went, one of the common council of Appleby and late of Kirber in this parish, who died 3 Oct 1783 aged 83.

Also John son of J Gregson and Margaret his wife who died Aug 2nd 1742 aged 22 weeks.

These inscriptions complement the information on the relationships given in John Gregson’s will quoted above, and crucially give the name of John Gregson’s wife as Margaret.

Christopher Gregson senior was baptised on 24 May 1675 at the parish of Ormside near Appleby, the son of John Gregson (PR). He married Elizabeth Bainbridge on 13 November 1690 at Ormside (BT only). Her surname is consistent with the given name of their son Bainbridge Gregson. Elizabeth, the daughter of Richard Bainbridge, was baptized at Appleby St Michael on 13 June 1676 (Bishop’s Transcript, Kendal Record Office WDRG/6/3/1). Richard had married Elizabeth Smith at St Michael’s on 15 June 1671 (ibid). But here we stick. Smiths were numerous in Appleby; Ormside and Asby and in the absence of a baptismal record for Elizabeth or for her potential relative Bartholomew Smith of Kirkoswald and Appleby, no family link is discoverable. And in any case it was to Mrs Gregson, that TB said his mother was related.

Christopher Gregson, yeoman, signed his will on 12 December 1754; it was proved on 12 November 1755. His freehold property was all left to John who with the widow were joint executors and residual legatees. Amounts of £10 each were left to most of the children including Christopher, but Bainbridge (£110), Sarah (£15) and Elizabeth Outhwaite (£25) received more (Cumbria Archives, probate 1755).

Kirber, now Kirkber, is just over a mile east of the town of Appleby. But in 1747, when Jane and Hannah Wilson were living with the Gregsons, and before John Gregson inherited the Kirber property, his house was ‘opposite the churchyard in Bongate’ on the King’s highway (at NY689198) (Cumbria Archives, Kendal, WQ/SR/196/15).

Christopher Gregson senior and his wife Elizabeth had both died well before TB visited Appleby in July 1780, but John was alive, at the age of 79, and his wife Margaret also (she was named executor of his will signed in August that year). What then of Margaret Gregson, the likeliest candidate for the ‘distant relation’ of TB’s mother? I have not found a marriage of a John Gregson to a Margaret in Appleby between about 1718 and 1742, though unluckily the registers are incomplete for this period. But their marriage was probably at the neighbouring parish of Asby, on 22 June 1738 (Appleby St Michael BT and Asby PR), when ‘John Gregson junior’ of Appleby Bongate married Margaret Law. (He was probably ‘junior’ to an uncle ‘John Gregson gent.’ who was buried at St Michael’s on 7 November 1747.) The Law family had lived in Asby and St Michael’s for generations (PRs) but again with no detected kinship to TB’s ancestors. No baptism for Margaret Law has been found around Asby or around Ainstable. Margaret, however, may have been a widow who in this, her second marriage, reverted to her maiden name by marrying a cousin: a Margaret Gregson had married John Law at Appleby St Michael on 12 July 1726; and a John Law was buried at Asby on 28 April 1736. Her baptism has not been found, unless she was Margratt daughter of John Gregson baptised 29 April 1701 or Margratt daughter of Nicklas Gregson baptized 19 February 1698/9, both at Ormside, both of whom would have been cousins to John Gregson (1700-1783). But whether Margaret was born a Gregson or a Law, no link between her side of the family and any of TB’s ancestors has yet come to light.

Three hypothetical family links

1. As we have seen, it is possible that Bartholomew Smith, TB’s great grandfather, was related in the Appleby area to the Elizabeth Smith who was the Revd Gregson’s great grandmother. But I have not been able to confirm such a connection.

2. Bainbridge Gregson of Bongate (the brother of Christopher and John) married Elizabeth Bowman in Asby, Westmorland, on 23 March 1750/51 (PR). Her surname raises the possibility of a family connection, but they married too late to form the link already existing in the 1740s, or for Elizabeth to have been Jane Wilson’s guardian ‘Mrs Gregson of Appleby’. And it must be said that there are hints that Bainbridge Gregson was the least successful of his generation; his father left ten times more money to him than to his sibs and his brother John in his will left him ‘all my wearing apparel’ suggesting some special neediness, and making him a rather unlikely source of the contacts between the families.

3. At Ormside, where as we have seen Margaret Gregson/Law may have been baptised, an Agnes Gregson married a Thomas Wilson (both of that parish) on 4 July 1689 (BT). But both surnames are too common in the area to permit the forging of a link to the Wilsons of Ainstable. The ‘distant relationship’ of Jane Wilson to ‘Mrs Gregson of Appleby’ remains undefined.
Conclusion

It has been possible to identify many of TB’s maternal ancestors and to define the probable link with the Bowman family of East London. The relation of the Revd Christopher Gregson to the Gregsons of Appleby is clear but how the latter were related to TB is still not settled. Almost all the family seem to have had a farming background in the adjacent parishes of Ainstable and Kirkoswald. One cousin was a notable wrestler. Vestry records show that several ancestors held positions of responsibility in their parishes, and TB’s grandfather, the yeoman-schoolmaster of Ainstable, stands out as an educated man with exceptionally heavy responsibilities as parish clerk. No record seems to survive giving any hint of special craftsmanship or artistic ability in TB’s forebears on his mother’s (or indeed his father’s) side. He inherited his apprenticeship fee from his paternal grandmother, a strong work ethic from his father and grandfather and a tradition of the importance of education from his mother’s family. But his father’s inspiring interest in natural history (Memoir, p.82) provides us with the only clue to a family influence on Bewick’s very particular and exceptional talents.

It seems disappointing that this three-part study of TB’s ancestors has done little more than to name them and document their connections. I hope that as time goes on this new awareness of mere names and places will make it possible to make further serendipitous discoveries about the people involved that may illuminate the engraver’s background more brightly.

References

1780 Diary Newcastle City Library, Bewick Collection 446.

Archival sources

Cumbria Archive Service, Carlisle and Kendal.
Parish registers (PR), bishops’ transcripts (BT) and estate records, wills etc.
IGI International Genealogical Index, accessed at www.familysearch.org. Only entries derived from parish records are cited except in one case where an unsubstantiated submission to the IGI by a member of the Church of the Latter Day Saints (LDS) is indicated.
Laing Art Gallery, Newcastle upon Tyne.
Jane Bewick’s notes on her father’s correspondents 1861 (TWCMS: 2010.2801).
National Trust, Cherryburn.
MS letter from John and Jane Bewick to TB, 15 March 1777.
Natural History Society of Northumbria, Hancock Museum, Newcastle.
eration of Family History Societies.

Newcastle City Library,
1780 Diary. Bewick Collection 446. The Ladies’ Complete Pocket-book; or, Memorandum Repository for the year 1778. Newcastle upon Tyne: Printed by T. Saint for M. Vesey and J. Whitfield. The copy was given to TB on 11 July 1780 by M. Vesey at the Star in Stonegate, Darlington, with an inscription within introducing him to people he might encounter on his walking tour from Darlington. TB used the blank pages for a brief pencilled journal of his tour with his expenses and the places and people visited.

Tyne & Wear Archives, Newcastle upon Tyne. Bewick/Bowman correspondence (TWA: DT.BEW 1/47-54).

Acknowledgements

I am grateful to Iain Bain for copies of Bewick’s correspondence, to Stephen Cousins for information about his Bowman relatives, to the National Trust for permission to publish their watercolour, to the Natural History Society of Northumbria for Thomas Bewick’s watercolour drawing of the Cuckoo, to Cumbrian Archives for Figures 1, 2 & 3, and to many archivists for their unfailing help.

Notes

1 Sarah Dicker was orphaned in August 1766. TB’s sister Jane was baptized 12 Nov 1769 and the previous child Sarah Ann on 23 March 1766 so the latter was probably the child temporarily abandoned in December 1766.

2 Letter in the collection of Iain Bain, to whom I am grateful for a transcript.


4 Their witnesses were Richard Bailey and Abraham Dixon. Mary Bailey, rather remarkably, was one of two infants of that name baptized at Ainstable in July 1754, and both had brothers called Richard (PR).

Mary daughter of John Bailey of Newhouses bapt. on 4 July and Mary daughter of John Bailey of Town Gate, 24 July.

Richard s.o. John Bailey of Newhouses, 9 March 1752/3 and Richard s.o. John Bailey of Town Gate, 15 January 1755/6. The latter Richard would have been aged 19 at the date of the wedding — would he have been of age to be a witness? None of them died before 1776, so it is not possible to distinguish which family was Thomas Wilson’s wife’s.

5 Abraham son of Michael Thompson was baptised at Ainstable 8 June 1707 (PR). The Kirkoswald register records the marriage of Abraham Thompson of Ainstable to Tabitha Threlkeld on 16 March 1731/2. Shaver (1966) records that Abraham Thompson (died 1763) of Highfield (half a mile S of Huckcroft in the parish of Ainstable) married Tabitha Threlkeld (1705-1779) ‘in 1733’. Joseph, one of their sons, sold Highfield in or before 1782 and moved to Lincolnshire where he was an excise officer at Spalding. Much information is given about Tabitha’s ancestry. Michael Thompson had married Ann Smith at Ainstable on 5 June 1690 (PR) and was buried there on 29 Feb 1708/9 (PR). Before Abraham they had four sons baptized at Ainstable: John (19 November 1691, PR) — when Michael was ‘of Banke’; John (9 Nov 1694 PR), Lenard (30 March 1699 PR), and Isaac (25 Sept 1702) (PR/BT). John Thompson of Bank (probably Michael’s son) married Tamar Smith 8 Sept 1715 (PR). So could either Michael Thompson be related to Rowland Thompson (of Kirkoswald) or Ann Smith to Mary Smith his wife? An earlier Isaac Thompson married an Isabell Brown at Ainstable on 28 April 1701 (PR), another possible connection. No proof of any of these possible links to the Wilsons has been found, but clearly they were near neighbours.

6 Two Thomas Wilsons were admitted to Carlisle, one in 1705 the son of Thomas Wilson, butcher, and another in 1710, son of Matthew Wilson of Northumberland, gent. At Penrith, no other list of pupils appears after 1708 until 1788.

7 A William son of William Wilson was baptized at Ainstable on 23 November 1694 (PR).

8 Other possible baptisms for Christopher Wilson in Cumberland include 15 Dec 1655 at Crosthwaite, son of Thomas; 28 Sept 1656 at Newton Reigny s.o. John; and a few others at less likely places (IGI).

9 IGI wrongly gives 27 June 1673.

10 A Jane Brown who could have been John’s daughter, though no parents are mentioned, was buried at Ainstable on 20 Feb 1685/6 (BT) and another Jane Brown was baptized at Kirkoswald on 4 Nov 1678 — daughter of Thomas Brown (PR).

11 The Letter of Administration was not proved till 19 January 1685/6, an exceptional delay; it named his widow Margaret but no other family members. Curiously the inventory named Bartholomew Smith as a creditor, but long before the Brown and Smith families were linked by the marriage of Thomas Wilson and Hannah Thompson in 1721. A third John Brown, possibly Jane’s father, was buried at Ainstable on 30 Oct 1702 and a fourth at Kirkoswald on 14 Nov 1678 (PRs).

12 However another Mary Thompson, daughter of John, was baptized at Kirkoswald 12 Dec 1707. Her sibs, children of John, were Lucie (baptized 14 Dec 1704) and Ellianor (19 Nov 1706).

13 The only other Thompson/Bowman marriage I have found was much earlier, at Kirkoswald, on 22 July 1647 when Henricus Bowman married Anne Thompson (IGI) but no offspring of this marriage seem to be recorded, and any resulting Bowman cousin would have been very distant by 1780.

14 There are alternatives some distance away at Great Orton & Askham (IGI).

15 Or he may have been cut off with the proverbial shilling; perhaps resulting in a dispute that delayed probate for more than four years.

16 Anne (16 Dec 1728), Margaret (16 Dec 1732), Mary (20 June 1735), Sarah (30 Sept 1738) and Bridget (27 April 1744) (PR).

17 One Thomas Bowman paid 6d Land Tax at Kirkoswald on 20 July 1767 while another, Thomas Bowman at Staffield in the same parish, paid 7s 3d. One John Bowman paid 2s 4d, another, at Staffield, paid 3s. One of the assessors at Staffield that year was Thomas...
32 Margaret dau. to Christopher Gregson of Southfield was buried 31 March 1722 and another Margaret baptized 3 June 1722. Christopher Gregson of Southfield was buried 9 Aug 1722 (PR).

33 Cumbria Archives, Carlisle, probate records. Mysteriously the will mentions two daughters named Elizabeth (Gregson and Outhwaite); perhaps one of them had been born out of wedlock or to an earlier marriage.

34 By 1729 the fee farm rent due to Viscount Lonsdale at Martinmas (Christian Gregson’s house) was 3s.4d., a modest figure, others being 2s.-7s. (Rental for Borough of Appleby, Kendal RO WD/Hoth/Box 25/7).

35 Heels, 1885; Hinchcliffe, 1974. Reginald Bainbrigge’s valuable library, bequeathed to the school, is now housed in Newcastle University Library.

36 Christopher Gregson does not appear in Veni’s Alumni Cantabrigiensis or Foster’s Athenae Oxoniensis.

37 On either 25 June (www.theceroglobinbase.ox.ac.uk, prior source DUL MSC, AUC/1/4) or 7 June 1747 (Dodds, 1926, p.69).

38 Curiously the marriage is not in the Ormside PR at this date or nearby, though clearly recorded in the BT (Kendal Archive WDRC/6/59/2).

39 No burial of Margaret Gregson has yet been found in her home parish of St Michael Appleby, or at St Lawrence up to 1800.

40 John Gregson married Elizabeth Sanderson at Ormside on 12 February 1699/1700 (BT). Nicklas’s marriage may have been to Anas Shepard of Crickenthorpe at Long Marton on 22 June 1688 (PR index).

41 Elizabeth was baptized at Asby, the daughter of Thomas Bowman, on 22 January 1720/21; and had probable siblings, Thomas, William, Joseph, Mary and Agnes, in 1723 to 1737 (PR). Their father Thomas was married at Asby to Agnes Ousby on 13 February 1719/20, but was not baptized locally, so might have come to the parish from elsewhere. One possibility is that he was the Thomas Bowman baptized in Kirkoswald on 4 October 1697 and thus the brother in law of TB’s great aunt Mary Thompson. —

Watercolour by Robert Johnson (coll. British Museum)

All the vignettes in this issue have been taken from Bewick’s special edition - without the letterpress - of Figures of British Land Birds (1800). (see Tattersfield, vol. 2, item TB 1.15)

Cherryburn Times is normally published twice a year. Contributions are invited particularly (but not only) from members of the Bewick Society. The preferred digital format is ‘Rich Text Format’ (.rtf) or Microsoft Word (.doc) and images in jpeg or tiff: colour print resolution 300 d.p.i. (8 cm wide or larger), b/w or greyscale print resolution 600 d.p.i. (8 cm wide or larger).

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Produced by D. W. S. Gray and Tim Gradon.
Printed at Northumbria University.