

ART. III.—*The Barony of Liddel and its Occupants.* By
T. H. B. GRAHAM.

Communicated at Carlisle, April 14th, 1910.

THE barony of Liddel formed a "buffer state" between the kingdoms of England and Scotland. It comprised the "Debateable Land" and the forest of Liddel, otherwise Nichol Forest. Its three manors of Arthuret, Liddel, and Randilinton are all described in the grant of land made by James I. to George, earl of Cumberland, as lying "within the limits of the forest."

The Debateable Land was Solway Moss and the rest of the dismal tract which intervened between the rivers Esk and Sark, and extended from the head of the Solway Firth to Canobie in Scotland—a veritable "No man's land," presenting no physical feature that could serve as a boundary between the two realms.

Nichol Forest, included in the angle formed by the river Liddel and its tributary the Kershope, consisted of open moor interspersed with patches of primeval woodland.

The tenants of the barony, who occupied dwellings scattered along the river banks, ostensibly gained a livelihood by cultivating their lands and pasturing cattle on the waste, but it was notorious that those cattle were seldom bought in market overt.

The ordinary machinery of the manor failed to keep a grip upon these lawless inhabitants, but some semblance of order was maintained by the unceasing vigilance of the Lord Warden of the Marches and his deputies.

In the first place, it is necessary to ascertain the names of these inhabitants and their places of abode. Those particulars are contained in a letter written towards the

close of 1583 by Thomas Musgrave, deputy-captain of Bewcastle, to Lord Burghley, high treasurer of Queen Elizabeth. The writer possessed an intimate knowledge of the locality, but he had killed a Graham; the whole clan were at deadly feud with him, and he had been obliged to abandon his post.* The original letter will repay a careful perusal, because it is the key to the public records of the period. Here is the picture which he has painted of the barony and its immediate surroundings.

The Kershope stream, which flows through a deep trough, flanked by bare hills, clearly defined the northern limit of the barony and forest, and its banks were devoid of habitations, but the English side of the Liddel, from Kershope foot to Penton, was occupied by the Forsters. The chief of the clan was Forster of Stanegarthiside, who is stated (these *Transactions*, N.S., vi., p. 206) to have held the office of hereditary forester of the barony. The arms and pedigree of this family are recorded in the Visitation of 1665 (Foster's *Cumberland and Westmorland Pedigrees*, p. 51). The remains of another domicile of the same family at Stonehaugh Crook have been described in these *Transactions*, N.S., ix., p. 216.

There were Forsters of Kershopefoot, Kershope Leys, the Roan and Rotterford, all dwelling "just against the Armstrongs and dear neighbours" to them.

The barony and forest abutted eastward upon Bewcastle, an extensive manor which contained a castle and garrison commanded by a "captain," and which, like the barony of Liddel, had for a long period been in the hands of the Crown. Immediately adjoining the Forsters' ground was a district traversed by the Baileywater and known as "the Bailey." It was held by the Routledges, who had formed so few alliances with Scottish families that they had become "every man's prey." John Routledge of

* Bain's *Border Papers*, vol. i., p. 120. His father, Sir Simon Musgrave, was acting as captain of Bewcastle, but it was "defenceless owing to the feud" (*Ibid.*, vol. i., p. 168).

Cructborne (Crookedburn) had been "slain by the Scottish riders." There were also Routledges of Neteacleugh, of the Nook, the Stubb, Todhills and Baileyhead, where the "Routledge burn" still preserves the name of this Cumberland clan.

From the lofty heights, crowned by Christenbury Crag, two mountain streams, the Black Leven and the White Leven (or Line, as they are now called), descend and unite before joining the Liddel. Their valleys were inhabited by the clan of Nixon, and the tract of moor which lies between them and forms a township of Bewcastle parish is known as "Nixons" to this day.

The chief of the clan, according to "Glenriddle's" notes on an old border ballad,* had once held the office of "captain of Bewcastle." There was Clem Nixon of "the Hole of Leven," Hector Nixon of the Shate, John Nixon of the Park, Will Nixon *alias* "Beksword," and Cuddie Nixon *alias* "Blankirtluges."

Eastward again of the Nixons, and "hard by the house of Bewcastle," dwelt the Nobles—Hobbie Noble of border fame, Anton Noble (whose name perhaps survives in "Antonstown"), Archie Noble of the Ashycroft, Will Noble of the Crew, "murdered by old Whithaugh," Adam Noble of the Stockastead, and John Noble of the Saughs, "all within the demesne of Bewcastle."

The two rivers Leven unite at a spot called the Black Dubs, and here was another colony of Routledges—John Routledge of the Black Dubs, Gourthe, *i.e.* George Routledge of Sleetbeck, Will Routledge of Comcrauke, John Routledge of Troughhead, and Willie Routledge of the "Luckens of Leven."

The main stream of the Line flows on to Solport, once the abode of the border clan of Taylor. Here lived John Taylor of the Shank, Cuddie Taylor *alias* "Potts-Cuddie," and a host of others; while "within" (*i.e.*, south

* "The Fray of Suport" (*Border Minstrelsy*, vol. ii., p. 128).

of Solport), lay Hethersgill, "all Hetheringtons almost to Carlile, being my lady Knevet's* grounde and William Musgrave's, & hath there Skalby Castell, a stronge howse yet scantly anie dweller in it."

The border ballad above referred to represents an uncouth woman calling to "snoring Jock of Solport Mill" and her other neighbours, with a scream like a view holloa, to rise and follow the fray:—

Rise, ye carle coopers, frae making of kirns & tubs
 In the Nichol Forest woods.
 Ah! lads, we'll fang them a' in a net,
 For I hae a' the fords of Liddel set.
 There stands John Forster wi' five men at his back,
 Wi' bufft coat and cap of steil.
 Fy lads! Shout a' a' a' a' a'!!
 My gear's a' taen!

The banks of the Line from Solport to its junction with the Esk were held by the Grahams of the Leven, "great riders and ill-doers to both the realms." There was Dick Graham *alias* "Black Dick" and Dick Graham of the Woods, John Graham of Westlinton and Richard Graham of Randilinton, Andrew Graham of the Mill, Will Graham of Stony Stonerigg, and George Graham *alias* "Parsell's Gorth," who was afterwards murdered (see *infra*). There is still a locality called "Parcelstown."

Another great clan of Grahams—the Grahams of the Esk—occupied the banks of that river from the Mote Scar, where the Liddel joins it, down to the sea. They had within the memory of persons then living deprived the Storys of those lands, and this is how it came about. "Old Lord Dacre" in 1527 determined to make a Warden's raid into Scotland, but some English borderers gave the Scots notice, and he fell into a trap. Lord Dacre suspected "old Richie Graham" and would have executed him, but the latter escaped from prison and delivered up

* For an explanation of this, see Nicolson and Burn, vol. ii., p. 459.

a Story as the culprit. The other Storys, fearing Lord Dacre's fury, fled into Northumberland, and the Grahams promptly divided their lands amongst themselves. George Story, known as "the laird," still resided at the junction of the Leven and Esk, and there were members of the broken clan living at Peelahill and other localities in Bewcastle.

Out west, on the edge of the Debateable Land, dwelt a third clan of Grahams—the Grahams of the Sark, English on this side of the stream, Scotch on the other; while along the banks of the Liddel, fronting the English barony and away up Liddesdale, stood the towers of the Armstrongs, the most desperate and unscrupulous of all the border clans.

Their chief was Simon Armstrong, laird of Mangerton, near Newcastleton. He married a Forster, and had amongst other issue the Laird's Jock, who is the companion of Hobbie Noble in the contemporary ballad "Jock o' the Side," and the Laird's John. Dick of Dryup, "a head thief," and Jock of the Calf-hill (Calfield) also belonged to that branch.

Then there was Lance Armstrong, the old laird of Whithaugh, and Sim, the young laird of the same "bloody and thievish clan;" "old Hector" of the Harelaw, near Penton Linns (who in 1569 treacherously betrayed the earl of Northumberland, when he took refuge with him, to the Regent Murray), and young Hector his son; also John of "Hollas," possibly a grandson of the famous "Johnnie Armstrong of Gilnockie," who resided at the tower of Hollows near Canobie, and was executed in 1530; and last but not least, "Kinmont Willie," who lived on English land given by Henry VIII. to his father Sandie Armstrong. His son was known as "Kinmont Jock."

All these families of Armstrong were closely related to one another (*Statistical Account of Dumfries*, p. 489), and the sites of their towers are shown on the Ordnance map.

I will arrange some random remarks of Thomas Mus-

grave, which elucidate the pedigree of the Grahams of Esk attached to this paper. The numerals refer to that pedigree.

(1) Old Rich of Netherby's descendants amounted in 1583 to more than a hundred men besides women. His second son William, *alias* "Riches Will," married as his first wife an Armstrong, daughter of the laird of Mangerton.

(2) Arthur of Canobiè is not mentioned.

(3) Fergus of Mote's sons, William and Arthur, were convicted of murder, but were "loused." William was "slain" shortly afterwards, and Arthur lived on his father's land at the Mote until he was killed by Thomas Musgrave in self defence. Another son, Francis, married a daughter of Edward Irwin of Bonshaw, and lived at Canobie, "sworn denizant to the king" of Scotland. It was probably a daughter of this Fergus who married Irwin, laird of Gretna.

(4) John of Meadop, who married a sister of Edward Irwin of Kirkpatrick, was known as "the braid." His sons were Richard, called "Meadop;" William of Meadop, who married an Irwin, sister of the laird of Gretna, and is described elsewhere (Bain's *Border Papers*, vol. ii., p. 160) as "the brute of this whole country;" Jock, called "Braid's Jock," who married a daughter of Edward Irwin of Bonshaw; Simon, Fergus, Francis, and another son Jock, who appears to have been known later as "Jock of the Lake." Their sister married John Armstrong, *alias* "Laird's John," of Mangerton, and had two sons "riders in England."

(5) Thomas of Kirkandrews, afterwards known as "Little Tom," had a son Davie of Bankhead; George, *alias* "Thomas Gorth," who married Will of Kinmont's sister; "and," writes Musgrave, "Thomas Carleton, who seeketh all this dispute against me, married his (Thomas Gorth's) daughter, so his wife's friends will come on the day to him and her and spoil on the night as they go home."

(6) George of the Fauld (called by a slip of the pen William) had a son Rob of the Fauld, who married the laird of Hownam's daughter; another William who married a daughter of Hector Armstrong of Harelaw; and George of the Fauld. The following passage explains an obscure point in the pedigree:—"Creste Armstrong, good-man of Langholm Castle, married Robbie Graham's sister called Robbe of the Feild (*sic*), and Creste Armstrong of Borngles (Barngliesh, apparently their son) married Gorth Graham's daughter called Thomas Gorth of Esk" (p. 122).

(7) William of Carliell's son Arthur was "Scottish," and lived at the Red Kirk.* Fergus was known as "Forge of Nunnery," and dwelt on the ground King Henry gave his father. Other sons were "Will of Rosetrees" and "George of Carliell." A daughter married George Armstrong of Bygams, one of the Mangerton family.

(8) Hutchin's son Andrew married a daughter of Dave Johnston of Annandale; Robert married a daughter of Edward Irwin of Bonshaw; Richard Graham, *alias* "Gares Rich," was "water keeper for England" in 1592 (*Ibid.*, vol. i., p. 395). "Huchon's children" seem to have lived on the Debateable Land (*Ibid.*, vol. i., p. 99).

Thomas Musgrave states (p. 125) that the Grahams of Pear-tree were "of Esk," but I cannot identify them in the pedigree. Pear-tree is shown on the excellent small-type map of the county contained in the first volume of Hutchinson's *History of Cumberland*. Hutchin Graham of the Pear-tree, mentioned below, may have resided here, but I have reason to think that Jock of the Pear-tree lived at another place of the same name at Randilinton. The Lake, Meadop, Fauld, Rosetrees, and Plomp are marked on the plan at p. 548 of the second volume. All were close to Solway Moss, which may have served as a place of retreat.

* The Red Kirk stood near the mouth of the Kirtle, but the church and churchyard have been swept away by encroachments of the sea (*Statistical Account of Dumfries*, p. 261).

The Debateable Land had already in 1552 been partitioned between England and Scotland. The immediate cause of this step was the refusal of the Scottish warden to grant redress to the said Sandie Armstrong, *alias* "Ill Will's Sandie." He and some of the Grahams threatened to "become Scotchmen" if they were not taken under the wing of England (Nicolson and Burn, i., pp. lxxiv. and lxxv.). Commissioners appointed for the purpose brilliantly accomplished their difficult task by drawing the line of demarcation between those of the inhabitants who declared themselves to be English and those who deemed themselves subjects of the Scottish Queen Mary. The awarded boundary ran from a square stone set at the bend of the Esk, "where Dimmisdaille syke comes in," to a similar stone on the bank of the Sark, set at a red cliff in Kirkkrigg, where that river also makes a turn. The boundary stones were to bear the arms of England on their western and the arms of Scotland on their eastern faces.*

This boundary is referred to in 1583 as "the mere dyke that goeth from a place called Morton rigge, where Will of Kinnmont dwelleth, to a ryver called Sarke," and thus the domicile in the Debateable Land of the famous Willie Armstrong is indicated.

"Scots Dyke" is the modern name of the dividing line. Its course westward of the high road to Canobie is marked by a long narrow plantation.

The "orders for watches," † made by Lord Wharton at Carlisle in October, 1552, one month after the partition of the Debateable Land, contain minute directions for the protection of the barony at night. Along the Esk, from Leven foot to Liddel foot, fronting the Debateable Land, eight watches of two men each were ordered to be set, and from Liddel foot up stream to Haythwaite burn foot

* Northern and southern seem a more appropriate description.

† Nicolson's *Leges Marchiarum*, pp. 147, 150.

(Penton) three more watches of two men each; and "Richard Graham and his associates having the king's highness's grants in these places,"* were nightly to appoint the position of all these watches, and also two men to "search" them.

From Haythwaite burn foot to Kershope foot there were to be five watches of four men each, and they were to be searched every night by John Musgrave, the king's highness's servant. The latter is, no doubt, identical with the famous "Jack" Musgrave, captain and tenant of Bewcastle (*Calendar of State Papers, Dom. Add.*, Edward VI., p. 381).

Along the northern frontier, from Kershope foot to Kershope head, there were to be three watches of four men each—one at "Craighill foot" and the other two below it, and searchers for every watch were to be appointed nightly by the said John Musgrave. On the east the encircling ring of outposts was made to enclose both the barony of Liddel and the intervening Crown manor of Bewcastle, for where the wild Bewcastle fells marched with the barony of Gilsland there were to be (still following the waterways), from Kirkbeck head to Kirkbeck foot, four watches of two men each, and the dwellers on either side of the Kirkbeck stream were to supply the watchers, and also two searchers, one of whom was to be appointed by the land-serjeant of Gilsland (an officer under the Lord Warden) and the other by the said John Musgrave. From Kirkbeck foot, down the Leven to Harper Hill, four watches of two men each were to be set, half of them from either side of Leven water, and two searchers were to be appointed every night by the said land-serjeant and John Musgrave.

* The Grahams of Netherby and Mote held their "fair livings" by the service of having their horses ready and keeping these night watches (Bain's *Border Papers*, vol. i., pp. 101, 168). The former residence is described in 1557 as "Netherby Citadel" (*Calendar of State Papers, Dom. Add. Mary*), and the latter stronghold has been recently visited by our Society.

From Harper Hill to Raeburn foot there were to be two watches of two men each, with searchers appointed by the said land-serjeant and John Musgrave.

The manor of Solport (comprising the constaberies of Solport, Trough, and Bellbank) belonged to William Musgrave and Lady Knevet in moieties, and was here included within the *cordon* of watches, because it was parcel of the barony of Liddel.

The lower reaches of the river Leven were evidently considered vulnerable points of attack, because the circle of posts was here completed by setting six watches of four men each from Raeburn foot to Leven foot. It was further ordered that Kirkclinton, Hethersgill, Soulby (? Scaleby), Austenby, and dwellers across the Leven should help in these last mentioned watches, and the searchers were to be appointed by a body composed of Richard Philipson (ruler of Scaleby), Edward Story (warden serjeant), George Hetherington (king's bailiff), and "proud Dick Grame."

But all the king's horses and all the king's men could not compel the denizens of Nichol Forest to keep the peace, for ever since 1548, when the young Queen of Scots set sail for France, the Border had been the scene of constant bloodshed and pillage by rival factions. Richard Bell's manuscript* contains a list of hundreds of persons against whom bills of complaint were exhibited to the Bishop of Carlisle, for serious offences committed "presently after the Queen's Majesty's departure" (Nicolson and Burn, i., lxxxii.). Amongst them were:—Jock of Kinmont (an Armstrong); Richie Graham of the Bailey; Will's Jock (a Graham); Richard Graham of Akeshaw Hill; Hector of Harelaw (an Armstrong); Will Graham of Rosetrees; John Musgrave of Catterlen, who was probably brother of Thomas Musgrave, captain of Bewcastle (see Foster's *Cumberland and Westmorland Pedigrees*, p. 91); Richie Graham, son of the Goodman of Breconhill;

* He was warden clerk of the West Marches in Queen Elizabeth's reign, and his folio MS. used to be preserved at Hawksdale.

Richie Graham the younger of Netherby; Jock of the Lake's Christie (a Graham); John of the Side, *alias* Glead John (an Armstrong), perhaps the hero of the old border song "Jock o' the Side."

Two clerics figure in the list—namely, John Nelson, curate of Bewcastle, and Will Patrick, priest of Bewcastle; and there is a rabble with such names as Wat Graham, *alias* "Flaugh-tail," Will Graham, *alias* "Nimble Willie," and Will Graham, *alias* "Mickle Willie."

In Nicolson and Burn's history (i., p. xxx., *et seqq.*) are four documents transcribed from Richard Bell's manuscript, and giving details of the claims lodged in the Warden's Court by the English against the Scotch and *vice versa*. They are signed by the same Commissioners, and are therefore contemporary, and belong to the later part of Queen Elizabeth's reign. The following examples tend to prove that the inhabitants of the Border, high and low, rich and poor, were all tarred with the same brush.

ENGLAND *VERSUS* SCOTLAND.

-
- Jan., 1582.—Thomas Routledge of Todholes against Kinmont Jock and Jock of Calf-hill (Armstrongs) for 40 kine and oxen, 20 sheep and gait (goats), a horse and insight (household goods), value £300 sterling (*Ibid.*, p. xxxiii.).
- June, 1582.—Matthew Taylor, and the poor widow of Martin Taylor, against the old and young lairds of Whithaugh (Armstrongs) for 140 kine and oxen, 100 sheep, 20 gait, and all their insight, valued at £200 sterling, and for the slaughter of the said Martin Taylor and others (*Ibid.*, p. xxx).
- Oct., 1582.—Thomas Musgrave, deputy-captain of Bewcastle, and the tenants against Walter Scott, laird of Buccleugh, for 200 kine and oxen and 300 gait and sheep (*Ibid.*, p. xxxi.).
- June, 1586.—Walter Graham, William Graham, and the tenants of Esk against Will Bell, *alias* "Redcloak," Wattie Bell, and the surnames of the Carliells for burning their mills and houses and for corn and insight, £400 (*Ibid.*, xxxiv.).
- June, 1586.—James Graham and Hutchin Graham of the Peartree against Will Bell, *alias* "Redcloak," and Tom Bell for 60 kine and oxen, 100 sheep, and the spoil of their houses, £100 (*Ibid.* xxxiv.).

F

- Dec., 1586.—The poor widow of Watt's Davie's Fergie against John of Hollows (an Armstrong) for the slaughter of her husband, 40 kine and oxen, 2 horses and insight, valued at £100 sterling (*Ibid.*, p. xxxiv.).
- Sept., 1587.—Andrew Routledge of the Nook against the "Laird's Jock" and "Dick of Dryup" (Armstrongs) for 50 kine and oxen, and for burning his house, corn, and insight, value £100 (*Ibid.*, p. xxxi.).
- Martinmas, 1587.—The poor widow and inhabitants of the town of Temmon against the lairds of Mangerton and Whithaugh (Armstrongs) for murder and carrying off prisoners for ransom (*Ibid.*, p. xxxi.).

SCOTLAND VERSUS ENGLAND.

- The laird of Mangerton (Armstrong) against Cuddie Taylor and John Taylor for 200 kine and oxen and insight, value £20. Also against Mr. Humphrey Musgrave, Captain Pikeman, and his soldiers for taking him prisoner, and for oxen, kine, horses, sheep, gait, and insight, value £1500 sterling (*Ibid.*, p. xxxii.).
- Walter Scott of Branxholme against Will Graham of Rosetrees and Hutchin's Richie of the Bailey (Graham) for 80 kine and oxen, 40 nolt, 160 sheep, and a horse. And against Will Graham of the Fauld for 2000 sheep, 200 kine and oxen, 24 horses and insight (*Ibid.*, pp. xxxv. and xxxvi.).

The MS. sums up six years' account (1581-87) on the West Marches by reckoning that whereas England claims £9700 damages from Scotland, Scotland declares herself the loser in this raiding match to the amount of £41,600.

But the people of Liddel barony were not content with mere raids, for, incredible though it may seem, they actually seized and permanently occupied land in Scotland. In 1592 Lord Maxwell, the Scottish lord warden, lodged a formal complaint against the Grahams of Netherby, Bankhead, the Fauld, and others in respect of their "violent and masterful occupation" for 30 years past of the whole parish of Kirkandrews and stewardry of Annandale, and their profits amounting to £2000 sterling a year, which the abbot of Jedburgh had granted to Lord Maxwell's predecessors in title; against the Grahams of Plomp,

Netherby, Millhill, the Fauld, Meadop, and Brackenhill for similar occupation by themselves and their tenants during 25 years of the barony of Springkell, Logan, and Watoune of the annual value of £2500 Scots money, and against the Grahams of Netherby, Mote and Brackenhill for their similar occupation during 25 years of Harelaw and Canobie, and their annual profits amounting to 5000 Scots merk (Bain's *Border Papers*, vol. i., p. 421).

They frequently quarrelled amongst themselves, and a single instance will serve to show their brutality* to one another. In 1584 a coroner's jury at Carlisle returned a verdict that Simon Graham of Meadop, John Graham of the Lake (brother of Richard, *alias* "Meadop"), and Richard Graham, *alias* "Longtown," of Breconhill, all yeomen, and a large party of others described as husbandmen and labourers, assaulted George Graham, *alias* "Percival's Geordie," at Leven Bridge; that "Longtown," with a lance, value 20d., struck George Graham between the shoulders, and he fell to the ground. When he rose "Sim of Meadop," with a sword, worth 7s. 4d., struck him on the calf of the left leg, giving him a mortal wound 8½ thumbs long, four broad, and three deep, and a similar wound on the calf of the right leg, of which he died, and that Thomas Carleton of Askerton, gentleman, harboured 15 of the murderers (Bain's *Border Papers*, vol. i., p. 139). It was a miserable family dispute about land. "Longtown" (described as Richard Graham of Brakenhill, gentleman) and others were found guilty of murder at the Assizes (*Ibid.*, p. 152). The sons of Thomas Graham, *alias* "Little Tom," of Bankhead upon Esk, were also implicated (*Ibid.*, p. 463), but, strange to say, nobody was executed for this atrocious crime. Sim Meadop was shot with a "dag" by another Graham some years afterwards (*Ibid.*, vol. ii., p. 142). The excuse was

* In 1552 the Duke of Northumberland had written to the Grahams, charging them with "too much cruelty" (*Calendar of State Papers, Dom. Add.* Edward VI., p. 411).

“family feud” and that the deceased was himself a murderer and outlaw, and as such not entitled to the queen’s protection.

There was a secret understanding between the English and Scotch borderers that external influence was to be resisted, and the following anecdote shows the complicated situations with which a Lord Warden had sometimes to deal. In August, 1596, some English subjects had put their cattle to grass with Robert Graham of the Lake of Esk, and he depastured them in Scotland, along with his own cattle and those of “his friends.” They were all carried off by the Elwoods.* Lord Scrope was very indignant, and told Rob of the Lake that he would imprison him until he had given satisfaction to the poor owners. Rob apprehended an Elwood, whom he alleged to be liable for payment of the bill, and a “tryste” between the English and Scotch was arranged to settle the matter. But on the night before the appointed meeting Rob was sleeping at the house of David Graham of Bankhead when down swooped Sir Walter Scott, laird of Buccleugh, at the head of 400 mounted men, Scotts and Elwoods, with a trumpeter and two guidons, and invested Davie’s house. It was a strong one, and well supplied with powder and shot, but the occupants made no show of defence. They did not even rouse the neighbouring Grahams, who could have turned out 300 men, but only mustered 16. So Buccleugh lighted a fire at the door of the tower, smoked out the inmates, and carried off Rob of the Lake, to be exchanged for the Elwood who was in custody at Carlisle. When Lord Scrope got word of this he sent a force to relieve Rob, but finding that he had allowed himself to be taken prisoner, he made a raid into Buccleugh’s country, and drove off 280 cattle, 400 sheep, and some horses, “firing their houses,” he writes, “as they do ours almost nightly” (Scrope to Cecil, *Ibid.*, vol. ii., 168). Davie

* The Elwoods or Elliots inhabited the banks of the Liddel above Kershope foot (*Ibid.*, vol. i., p. 120).

Graham, to keep himself in countenance, made a claim against Buccleugh for coming to his "stonehouse" * of Bankhead upon Esk, forcibly bursting and burning the door and the iron gate, taking Robin of the Lake and some Grahams of Meadop prisoners, and stealing household stuff worth £400 (*Ibid.*, vol. ii., p. 198).

Lord Scrope was a very conscientious Lord Warden, always sincere, but he was disgusted with the insolent behaviour of the Grahams and Buccleugh towards himself. He felt that his authority was not sufficiently supported by the Government, and frequently threatened to resign office. On April 14th, 1596, he wrote to Henry Leigh:—

Touching the Grahams. In Lord Dacre's time, when he meant justice on some of them, they pricked at him returning from a day of truce, hooved after him over Eden bridge, and took eight of his company prisoners between it and Carlisle. In the late Lord Scrope's time, they attacked him in the field, chased the steward of Burgh, † unhorsed the bailiff and took his horse, hurting many of his company. No officer here can purpose anything ever so secretly against an evil doer of England or Scotland, but the Grahams hear of it and prevent it. They were privy with Buccleugh in the surprise of this castle (Carlisle), and at Buccleugh's horse-race long before, many of them were asked for their consent thereto, and let him ride through them without shout or hindrance. Few gentlemen can keep their goods safe unless matched (*i.e.*, married) with them, or have them as tenants, or pay blackmail (*Ibid.*, vol. ii., p. 123).

And on July 13th, 1597, he wrote to Cecil:—

At the late assizes, holden here, 11th and 12th instant, two notorious thieves, Jock of the Peartree and Will of the Lake of Esk, were sent to the Queen's gaol here, yet the gaoler kept them in his house, and on Tuesday the 12th, about 4 a.m., his friends came and took away the prisoners, having horses ready, while others with guns and dags lay in wait outside the city gate, to shoot any who should pursue, and followed to protect their retreat. Those who aided the rescue were John of the Lake, George his son, Rich Graham of Aikshaw-

* The place-name "Stonehouse," which occurs at Hayton and elsewhere, may refer to the former existence of some such place of defence.

† The steward's duties were to occupy Rockcliffe Castle, to watch the Eden at ebb tide, and to keep out "Kinmont's retinue" at night (*Ibid.*, vol. i., pp. 101 and 392).

hill, Will Graham son to Hutchin's Richie, David his brother, Wat brother of Jock of Peartree, George Graham *alias* "George Carle" (*Ibid.*, vol. ii., p. 358).

A very complete pedigree of the Grahams of Esk has reposed for centuries among mildewed leaves in the wilderness of State records, but is now, like the "Sleeping Beauty," restored to the light of day. I have thought it worth while to present it *in extenso*, because it is of more than mere family interest, and is in fact a page of county history. It is copiously annotated by Lord Burghley and his secretary, and states that the family were descended from William Graham, *alias* "Long Will," banished from Scotland about the year 1516. The statement does not imply that he came from any great distance. There were already many Grahams living on the Border—"stark moss-trooping Scots," like William of Deloraine, and banishment was complete if the outlaw merely stepped over the frontier line. But the pedigree hints that members of the family in question were in some manner connected with the Highland clan, because the Scottish earls of Menteith and Montrose professed to regard them as some of their lost sheep.

It further shows that the Grahams were (as might be anticipated) intimately connected by ties of blood and interest with the other Border families. If left alone these clans would have created an *imperium in imperio*, but they were never allowed to do so. For, from the time of Henry VIII. downwards, the wire-pullers on either side of the Border contrived, by gifts of land and money and promises of support, to play off one family against the other, and thus prevent any lasting combination.

The document,* containing the genealogy and Lord Burghley's quaint comments, is endorsed "A Catalog of the Greames" :—

* Bain's *Border Papers*, vol. ii., appendix.

PEDIGREE OF THE GRAMES OF ESK.

1596, May. A breefe relation of the begininge and discent of the Grames nowe inhabitinge the Debateable grounde, neare the River of Eske in England, accordinge to my presente understandinge; where the Stories in former tyme were cheef inhabitants, and nowe expelled by the nombre of the said Grames increased.

William Game, *alias* Longe Will, bannished out of Scotland about 80 yeires since, came into England and brought with him eight sonnes, whome he planted neare the said River of Eske as followeth.

By this William doe the earles of Mounteth and Montrösse in Scotland claime interest of the service of all the Grames, as descended out of their howses, as the Lord Game, which of late lay amongst them for the same purpose, did manifest.

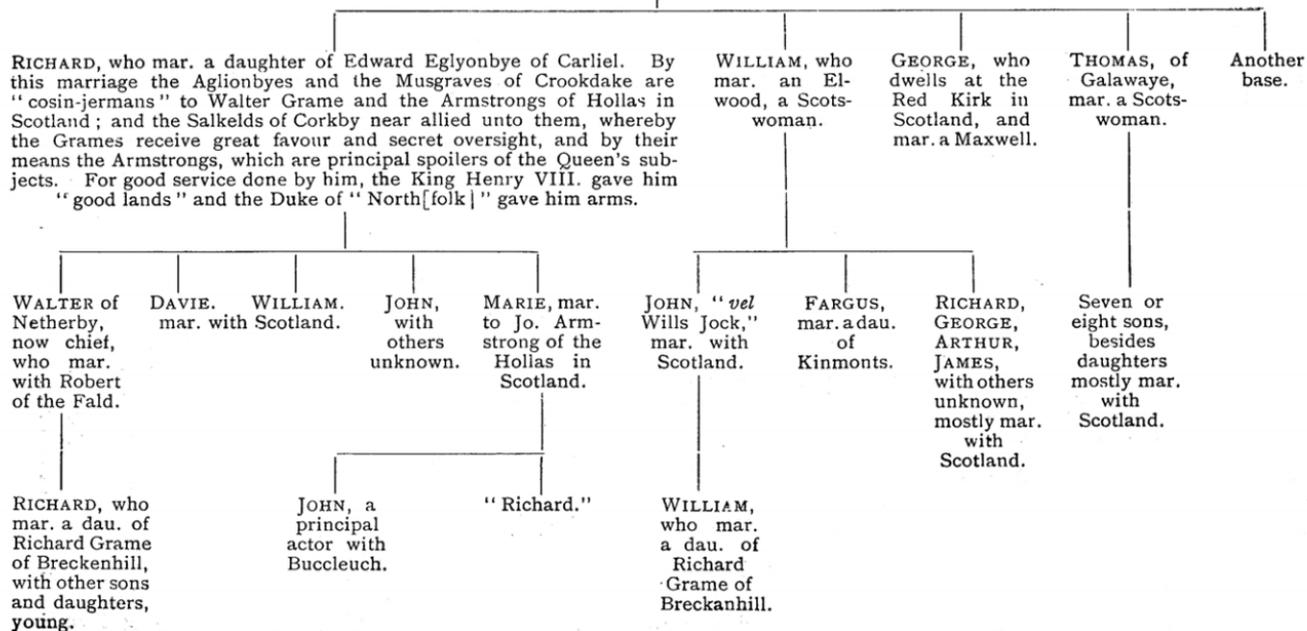
Note—That these marriages were made by the policy and wit of Mr. Richard Lowther and Tho. Carlton, to unite friendship between the houses of Netherbye and Mote, who had been long at civil dissension and much bloodshed, the agreement of whom hath disturbed the peace of her Majesty's better subjects, and according to their purpose, disquieted the government of the Lord Scrope.

It is to be collected out of this that John Armstronge of the Hollas, sisters sonn to Walter Game, Christopher Armstronge of Barngliese, sisters sonn to Robert Game of the Fald, John Armstronge *alias* Jock of Kinmount, sisters sonn to Andrew Game *alias* Hutchins Andrew, John Armstronge of the Cafell, sisters sonn to Richard Game of Breckanhill, William Bell *alias* Redd Cloake, sisters sonn to William Game of the Rose Tree, Alexander Armstronge, sisters sonn to William Game *alias* Riches Will, Sym Armstronge, lard of Whithaugh, father-in-law to William Game of the Fald, were all principal actors with Buckclughe at the losinge of Kinmont; besydes William Urwin *alias* Kange and his bretheren, which were brothers to Hutchins Andrew by the mother's side. Therefore it is convenient that the Grames above said be sent for, being all privie to Buckclughe proceedinges, together with Young Hutchin Game and Alexander Game, whoe are thought both to be in person at the assault of her Majestes Castle.

There are also another sort of Grames, which inhabit upon the rivers of Levyn and Sarke, which are not of this race, but by course of tyme have maryed together, and are become of one partie to the number of foure or five hundred, almost all evel disposed, besydes Stories, Taylers, Fosters and Hetheringtons, and Bells, which are matched with them and like disposed.

[Grames of Esk, 1596.]

(i) RICHARD OF NETHERBY.



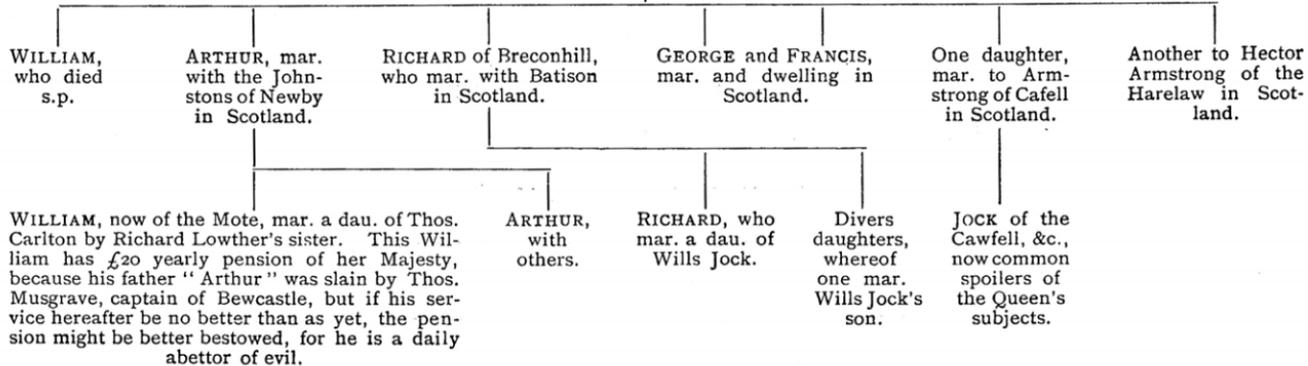
(2) ARTHUR OF CANONBY IN SCOTLAND.

"No here male."
One daughter mar. to Christofer Armstrong
of Langham in Scotland.

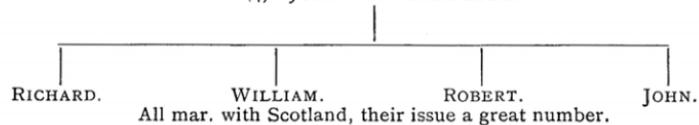
JOHN ARMSTRONG, now of Langham.

JOHN,
who mar. with Kinmont, a principal actor with Buccleuch.

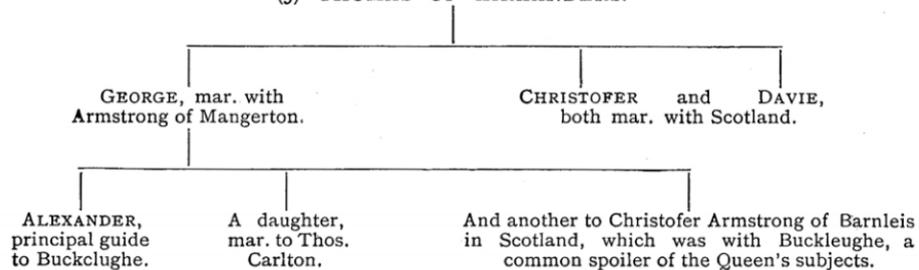
(3) FERGUS OF THE MOTE.



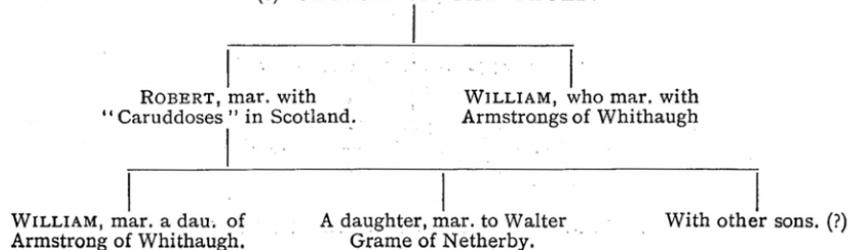
(4) JOHN OF MEDOPPE.



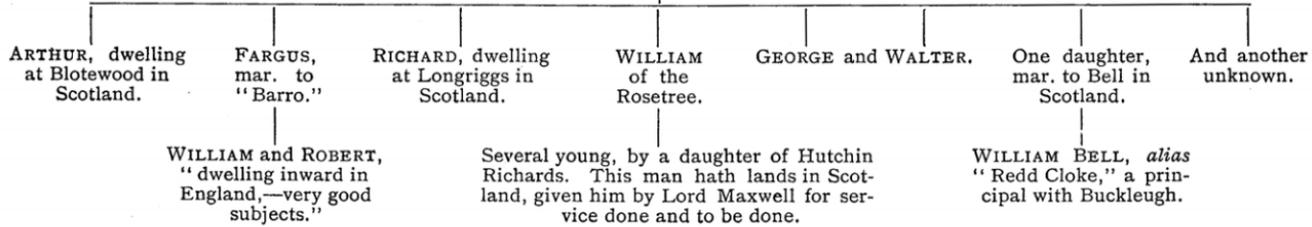
(5) THOMAS OF KIRKANDERS.



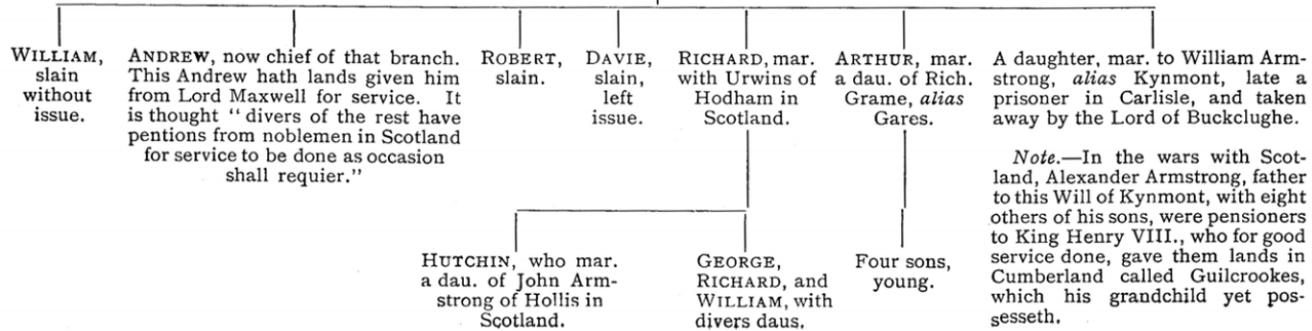
(6) GEORGE OF THE FAULD.



(7) WILLIAM OF CARLIELL.



(8) HUTCHEN, Base.



What, it may be asked, is the meaning of this official pedigree? The Grahams of Esk had been openly hostile to the old Lord Scrope while he was warden of the Western March, and when he died in June, 1592, they regarded his son, who succeeded him in that office, with no greater favour. Mr. Richard Lowther, who had discharged its duties in the interim, resented being passed over, for the queen objected to the appointment of a local magnate. So he and his relation Thomas Carleton* supported the Grahams in their opposition to the young Lord Scrope (Bain's *Border Papers*, Introduction, vol. ii.). Buccleugh's rescue of Kinmont Willie from Carlisle Castle on the night of April 13th, 1596, preyed deeply on Lord Scrope's mind. He was convinced that the Grahams were implicated in the plot, and caused the pedigree to be compiled. He sent six of their principal head men to the Privy Council, urging that they should be dealt with summarily, but the queen and Lord Burghley, fearing to raise a storm on the Border, sent the culprits home again with orders that they should be bound over for their good behaviour (*Ibid.*, p. xiii.).

The "six Grahams" returned from London on September 24th, 1596, "in great flaunt and hunting by the way," and dismounted for dinner at Carlisle, where they spoke very disdainfully of Scrope (*Ibid.*, vol. ii., p. 192), and three months elapsed before they were induced to make their submission "on their knees" to the Lord Warden in the presence of Mr. Richard Lowther and another magistrate (*Ibid.*, vol. ii., p. 238).

In 1600 the heads of the Graham clan seem to have had a presentiment that their days were numbered, for they drafted a petition† which they desired Lord Scrope

* Thomas Carleton of Carleton was the Lord Warden's deputy constable, and also land serjeant of Gilsland in 1592 (*Ibid.*, vol. i., 395). In August, 1598, he was succeeded in the land serjeantry by John Musgrave, brother of Thomas (*State Papers, Dom. Add. Elizabeth*, vol. xxxiii.), and the old feud between the Grahams and Musgraves was revived.

† Richard Bell's MS. (Nicolson and Burn, i., p. cvi.).

to lay before Her Majesty's Privy Council. It contained most impudent allegations against the magistrates of the county, whom they represented as thirsting for the blood of the Grahams and ready to cut their throats if they dared, and as entering into a dangerous plot to tamper with their good friend Mr. Lowther, his lordship's deputy, in order to accomplish the utter destruction of their clan. But as proof of their dutiful obedience they thereby offered to become bound for their good behaviour in future, to follow hue and cry, and to assist the Lord Warden in seeking revenge for offences committed by the Scotch!

The injured and hypocritical tone here adopted by the Grahams ill accords with the record of their misdemeanors which had been drawn up four days previously (these *Transactions*, N.S., vol. viii., p. 66), and recalls the fable of the wolf and the lamb, but the Cumberland magistrates professed to see in this document the hand of Lancelot Carleton, whose family was connected by marriage with the Grahams, and whose conduct had lately been open to suspicion.*

Again, on October 8th, 1602, the Grahams handed to Lord Scrope a list† of those who were answerable for their followers therein named, and the entire company crowd upon the stage as is usual in the closing scene of a drama:—Walter Graham the Goodman of Netherby, John Graham of Anghouse-well (? Anguswell in Kirk-linton), Fergus Graham of Sowport, Davie Graham of the Millens, John Graham of the Peartree and his brother Wattie, William Graham the Goodman of the Moat, Richie Graham of Breckonhill, Young Hutchin with his "clan and gang," William Graham of the Fauld, William Graham of Rosetrees, Davie Graham of Bankhead, Jock

* Lancelot Carleton told the Privy Council that Thomas Musgrave's office of Bēwcastle was open for the Scotch to ride through, and agreed to prove the statement in a "trial by battle" at Canobie Holme on April 8th, 1602. A very interesting account of this incident is given by Nicolson and Burn, vol. i., p. 595, note.

† Richard Bell's MS. (Nicolson and Burn, i., p. cx.).

of the Lake, David Graham *alias* "Dick's Davie," William Graham the Goodman of Meadop. The list contains 439 names in all, including tenants and servants, and proves the truth of the statement made in 1592 (Bain's *Border Papers*, vol. i., p. 394) that the Grahams of Esk and Leven could on emergency raise 500 men—a valuable mounted force ever ready for Border service, but one which was too apt to get out of hand.

When James I. came to the throne, he showed the utmost zeal and determination in uprooting the landed families of Liddel, against whom he naturally bore a grudge. He retained the chief lordship of the barony in his own hands, but in February, 1603, granted to George Clifford, earl of Cumberland, the territory which had from time out of mind been the home of the Border clans—namely, the forest of Nichol and the manors of Arthuret, Liddel, and Randilinton, within the limits of the forest, all which said premises, though situate in Cumberland, formed part of the Duchy of Lancaster, and of the honour of Dunstanburgh, in the county of Northumberland; and at a later date (March, 1610) he granted to Francis Clifford, earl of Cumberland, the residue of the same territory—namely, the Debateable Land abutting on Scots Dyke towards the north and the advowson of the church of Kirkandrews, which church, it must be borne in mind, was not in existence (Nicolson and Burn, vol. ii., p. 465).

Meanwhile in December, 1603, the king issued a proclamation against the Grahams, which recited that they had humbly besought him (*sic*) that they might be removed to some other part where they hoped to become new men, and foreshadowed their approaching "transplantation" elsewhere to the intent that their lands might be inhabited by others (Nicolson and Burn, i., p. cxvii.).

The necessity for Border service was the sole reason for the license which had so long been accorded to them, and now, since such necessity had disappeared, they recognised that all hope of favour from any quarter had gone too. It

was a tame ending to their wild career, for most of them were, in the years 1606 and 1607, summarily shipped off to Ireland from Workington at the expense of the county (Richard Bell's MS., Nicolson and Burn, i., p. cxviii.).

The Armstrongs, celebrated in song and story, shared the same fate as the Grahams. They very imprudently signalled the accession of James I. by making a great raid into Cumberland, extending their ravages as far south as Penrith.

"Their raid," writes Sir Walter Scott (*Border Minstrelsy*, vol. i., p. 401), "the last of any note, was avenged in an exemplary manner. Most of their strongholds upon the Liddel were razed to the foundations, and several of their principal leaders executed at Carlisle, after which we find little mention of the Armstrongs in history. The lands possessed by them in former days have chiefly come into the hands of the Buccleugh family and of the Elliots, so that, with one or two exceptions, we may say that in the country which this warlike clan once occupied, there is hardly left a landowner of that name."

And now there appeared upon the scene a new character, who was destined to revive the fortunes of the banished family. He was not one of the heads of the clan, but the second son of Fergus Graham of Plomp,* a locality near the river Sark in the Debateable Land. He entered the service of George Villiers, duke of Buckingham, and soon rose to high favour in the court of James I. When it is remembered that the duke was the king's favourite and the practical ruler of England during that and the succeeding reign, Richard Graham's sudden accession to power is not a matter for surprise. He bought back from the Duke of Cumberland the whole of the territory formerly comprised in the barony of Liddel, for it had doubtless proved to be *damnosa hæreditas* in the hands of a stranger. Charles I. in 1628 confirmed this purchase (Nicolson and Burn, vol. ii., p. 465), and in the following year gave to the same Richard Graham (then described as Sir Richard

* Plomp means a clump of trees.

Graham, knight and baronet*) the castle of Bewcastle to hold of the king *in capite* (*Ibid.*, vol. ii., p. 476), and in 1631 granted him power to refound a church "where the church of Kirkandrews formerly stood," and created a new parish for the same (*Ibid.*, vol. ii., p. 474). Sir Richard Graham performed distinguished service in the royal cause. He does not appear to have returned for any length of time to his native heath, for he died in 1653 at Wath in Yorkshire, where he lived in retirement during the stormy period of the Commonwealth (*Ibid.*, vol. ii., p. 467).

The Grahams of Plomp were not, according to Lord Burghley's catalogue and their own family tree, issue of the patriarch "Long Will," whose descendants swayed the destinies of the barony of Liddel for three generations, and they were not, strictly speaking, "Grahams of Esk" or members of the old Netherby clan. They no doubt belonged to what Lord Burghley describes as "another sort of Grahams inhabiting the rivers Leven and Sark." In the pedigree submitted, on behalf of the infant heir of Netherby, to Sir William Dugdale at his visitation of Cumberland in 1665, descent is claimed from a certain John Graham, *alias* "Jock with the bright sword," therein identified with John Graham of Kilbride, son of the first earl of Menteith. But Sir William Dugdale has drawn a line across the pedigree as though to indicate that there was no proof furnished of the connection between Fergus Graham of Plomp and the house of Menteith.

The last word written on this vexed subject by an eminent authority finally explodes the theory of the alleged descent :—

Tradition identifies this John of Kilbride with John or Sir John Graham of the bright sword, who is claimed as the ancestor of the Grahams of Netherby and Esk. That personage doubtless did

* He was created a baronet 29th March, 1629, by the style of Sir Richard Graham "of Esk."

ESKDALE WARD.

Carlisle. 29. Martij. 1665.

GRAHAM OF NETHERBY.

Arms.—Quarterly as Graham of Nunnery, the border az., with a crescent for difference.

Crest.—Two wings addorsed or.

These armes with the descent of Sir Richard Graham, Knt., Gentleman of the Horse to K. James were thus declared and attested by the Right Hon. William, Earl of Monteith, and by Thomas Dryisdail, Hay Herald.

MALICE, first earle of Monteith in Scotland, of the family of Grahme. | ANNE, dau. to . . . Vere, earle of Oxford.

(2) JOHN GRAHME, commonly called John with the bright sword, temp. H. IV. Rex Angl.

RICHARD GRAHME, from whom all y^e Grahmes of the borders, both of the English and Scots side are lineally descended and chiefly the Houses of Netherby and Plomp.

FERGUS GRAHM=SIBILL, dau. of Wm. Bell of Plomp in com. | of Godsbrigg in Scotland. Cumbriz.

RICHARD GRAHME, Gentleman of the Horse to his Mati^e K. James, afterwards created Bart, dyed in A^o 1661 (*sic*) or thereabouts. | CATHERINE, dau. and co-heir of Thomas Musgrave of Cumbr. catch in com. Cumbr.

(1) SIR GEORGE GRAHME=MARY, dau. of James Lord of Netherby, Bart, dyed in February A^o Dni 1657. | Johnston, earle of Hartfell in Scotland.

SIR RICHARD GRAHME, Bt., æt. 16 an 29 Martij a^o 1665.

Certified by Ch. Vsher on the behalfe of Sir Richard Grahme, Bt.

The above is copied from *The Pedigrees of Cumberland and Westmorland*, edited by Joseph Foster, p. 54. The arms of Graham of Nunnery were:—Quarterly 1 and 4, or on a chief sable three escallops of the field. 2 and 3, or a fesse chequy arg. and az. in chief a chevronell gules all within a bordure engrailed. Fergus Graham of Nunnery, Cumberland, was a younger brother of Graham of Rosetrees (*Ibid.*, p. 55).

G

exist, as the local traditions regarding him are consistent, but the writer has been wholly unable to discover anything to identify the two men. John Graham "of Kilbride" is never styled Sir John, nor given in record the rank of "*Miles*," while, as indicated, there is a strong presumption that he left no lawful issue (*The Scots Peerage*, edited by Sir James Balfour Paul, Lord Lyon King of Arms, 1909, vol. vi., p. 146).

The armorial bearings of the family do not make the matter any clearer. All the Cumberland Grahams considered themselves entitled to use the three golden scallop shells borne by the Scottish clan, but the heralds allowed Graham of Nunnery, who was admittedly a Graham of Esk, to quarter the arms of Stuart with his own, and they also allowed the descendant of Fergus Graham of Plomp, who was apparently not a Graham of Esk, to do the same with a difference of bordure. The reason is not obvious, and I cannot go behind the finding of the heralds. But I conclude that all the Grahams of Esk, Leven, and Sark were descended from a common ancestor. That ancestor may, as tradition asserted, have been "Jock with the bright sword," but he certainly was not a son of the first Earl of Menteith.

The little that is recorded of the Grahams of Plomp shows that they were of the same disposition as the others. In 1592 the Scottish warden charged Sim, Fergie, and Leny of Plomp with the wrongful occupation of the barony of Springkell in conjunction with the other Grahams, and he further charged "Fergie the Plumpe" and others with having taken, in the same year at the town of Annan, 40 horses and 16 prisoners (whom he had ransomed together with their horses and armour), and with having stolen their purses of gold and silver, slain Thomas Brown, and mutilated John Brown (Bain's *Border Papers*, vol. i., p. 422).

In recounting these facts concerning the Graham family I may perhaps appear to be assuming the role of *advocatus diaboli*, but I am not blind to their virtues. They were a powerful factor in local politics, and adopted the dangerous

maxim that might is right; but in the circumstances, they were no worse than other lairds of the borderland.

Arthuret Church, which has more than once risen like the phœnix from its own ashes, was the only ecclesiastical building in Liddel during the period covered by this paper, and its parish was co-extensive with the barony. But it included the extinct parish of Easton, which is mentioned in the archives of the Bishop of Carlisle. In 1308 King Edward II., as guardian of the infant heir of Sir John Wake (lord of the barony), presented Simon de Beverly to the vacant rectory of Easton, and institution was given thereupon with a reservation of the pension to the parish church of Arthuret, "if any such there be." Again, in 1335, Thomas Wake, lord of Liddel, presented his chaplain to the vacant rectory of Easton, and in 1384 the Bishop of Carlisle collated John de Morton to the same rectory. But shortly after that date the church of Easton must have been destroyed and not rebuilt, for nothing more is heard of it.

Arthuret parish further included the extinct parish of Kirkandrews on Esk, which embraced part of the Debateable Land. The modern parish of Kirkandrews and chapelry of Nichol Forest have been carved out of the ancient parish of Arthuret. A jury of the West Marches returned a verdict in 1597 that the parish churches of Arthuret, Bewcastle, and Stapleton had been decayed for 60 years or more, and they did not even know who were the patrons or who ought to rebuild them; that the church of Kirkclinton had also been decayed for 20 years, and that William Musgrave and his son Edward, afterwards Sir Edward Musgrave, were patrons of the same.*

In the foregoing paper I have dealt very generally with this interesting subject. The details are scattered throughout the voluminous series of Border records, which I have so frequently quoted, and will be found to fit themselves within the outline here given.

* Bain's *Border Papers*, vol. ii., p. 311.