

ART. X.—*Cumberland*. By T. H. B. GRAHAM, M.A., F.S.A.

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CUMBERLAND, as it exists to-day, is one of the most recent of English counties. The story of its gradual growth is somewhat difficult to follow, and it may be useful to arrange a few salient facts, to serve as stepping-stones across very troubled waters.

Medieval chroniclers apply the Latin name *Cumbri* to Cymric tribes inhabiting the countries which abutted upon the western seaboard of Britain. Ethelwerd, who compiled a chronicle in the tenth century, is the first to use the term, when describing events which happened in 875-6. A valuable definition of *Cumbria* occurs in 1291 and implies that, in William the Conqueror's reign, it stretched from Glasgow on the Clyde to the estuary of the Duddon (*Cal. Doc. Scot.*, vol. ii, p. 115). Cymric inhabitants long continued to apply the ancient name, Strathclyde, to the same region. Thus, while English historians relate that, in 945, King Edmund laid waste "all Cumberland" or "all the land of the Cumbri," Welsh annalists write "Strathclyde" (*Vict. Hist. Cumb.*, ii, 227); but Canon Wilson was of opinion that, from the advent of the English and onward, Strathclyde, properly so called, did not extend further south than the Roman Wall (*ibid.*, 226).

Writers of history sometimes commit the error of supposing that the terms "Cumbria" and "Strathclyde" apply to a definite and stable territory, dominated by a single pure race of mankind, whereas they denote a shifting area, peopled originally by tribes of various nationality, all animated by a common hatred of the English.

The Roman city of Lugubalia, or Luel as it had come to be called, was captured at an early date by the English of Northumbria, for, in 685, their king, Ecfrið, gave to St. Cuthbert that city with a circuit of 15 miles, as an addition to his diocese of Lindisfarne, or Holy Island. St. Cuthbert established at Luel a monastery (Simeon, Rolls edition, vol. i, p. 56), a nunnery and a school (*ibid.*, vol. i, p. 32). The city was defended by walls (Bede, *St. Cuthbert*, edit. Stevenson, *cap.* 27). Luel still belonged to the see of Lindisfarne in 854 (Simeon, vol. ii, p. 101).

On the approach of Halfdene, the Dane, in 875, Eadred, surnamed Lulisc (because he was educated in the monastery founded by St. Cuthbert at Luel) helped to remove the body of that saint from Lindisfarne (Simeon, vol. i, p. 56). Eadred is styled abbot of Luercestre (that is to say Luel) in 883, when St. Cuthbert appeared to him in a vision (Simeon, vol. i, p. 203 and vol. ii, p. 114). Such evidence is too slender to support Canon Wilson's theory (*V. H. C.*, ii, p. 225) that the monastery of Carlisle survived Halfdene's destruction of Luel, which probably occurred during one of his frequent raids, in 875-6, upon the *Cumbri* (Ethelwerd's Chronicle, *Mon. Hist. Brit.*, p. 515).

From that moment, the ascendancy of the Northumbrian English in Cumbria began to dwindle. They continued to inhabit the region, but they lacked cohesion, and were consequently devoid of political influence. English ascendancy was restored by their kinsmen of the south. (these *Transactions*, n.s. xx, p. 57).

In 901, Edward, the Elder, received submission of all the kings of the Scots, Cumbri and Strathclyde Welsh (Florence, *English Historical Society*, vol. i, p. 117). And again, in 921, the king of the Scots, the king of the Danes, with the English and Danes who dwelt in Northumbria, and the king of the Strathclyde Welsh, chose Edward the Elder as their father and made a treaty with him (*ibid.*, p. 129). The home of the Scots and their allies, the Picts, lay beyond the firths of Clyde and Forth.

In 926, Owain\* was king of the confederated Cumbri. It has been suggested (these *Transactions*, N.S. xx, p. 60) that he fixed his capital at Penrith, because, in that year Huwal king of the West Welsh, Constantine king of Scots, Uwen king of the Guentian people and Ealdred of Bamborough, met Athelstan king of the West Saxons at the river Eamont, near Penrith, and there submitted to him in peace (*Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, Rolls edition, vol. ii, p. 85). In another account, Uwen is called "Eugenius king of the Cumbri," and the place of meeting "Dacor" (William of Malmesbury, Rolls edon., vol. i, p. 147).

Athelstan imposed an annual tribute of cattle upon some of the tribes of North Wales (William of Malmesbury, vol. i, p. 148). It is not unlikely that he imposed a similar tribute upon Cumbria south of the Solway, and that such was the origin of the geld of cows, so often referred to in later times.

In 937, Anlaf with 615 ships joined Owin king of the Cumbri and his allies (Simeon, i, 76). But they were utterly routed by Athelstan at the battle of Brunanburh, vividly described in old English verse (*A. S. Chron.*, ii, 86). The great battle was fought, according to Simeon, at Wendune (vol. ii, p. 93), according to Gaimar, at Brunswerce (*M. H. B.*, p. 808). Owain was succeeded by Duvenald (Donald) as king of the confederated Cumbri (these *Transactions*, N.S. xx, p. 60).

In 941, the Northumbrians were false to their plighted troth and chose Anlaf of Ireland to be their king (*A. S. Chron.*, ii, 89).

In 944, Anlaf and Regnald, kings of the Danes, broke the peace by ravaging part of Northumbria, so King Edmund drove them out, and was the first West Saxon king to hold Northumbria *in his own dominion* (Henry of Huntingdon, Rolls edon., p. 162). In the following

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\* The various forms of that name have been explained (These *Transactions*, N.S., xx., p. 58).

year, 945, he plundered "all Cumberland," because he could not fully tame the treacherous and lawless race of that province, so he committed it to Malcolm, king of Scots, with the agreement that he should give him assistance by land and sea (*ibid.*, p. 162) assistance, it may be, against Norse immigrants from the coast of Ireland (see Collingwood, *Lake District History*, p. 54).

The *Annales Cambriae* (Rolls edon., p. 18) and the *Chronicle of the Princes* (Rolls edon., p. 21) describe the plundered province as "Strathclyde" and the plunderers as "Saxons."

Another version of the story is contained in a Scottish chronicle compiled about 1280. Edmund, brother of Athelstan, gave to Donald MacDunstan "king of Scotland," who reigned two years, all "Combirland," to which the Scots lay claim, as far as the Rerecross of Stainmore, but, since then, the donation had frequently been conquered and given up, in making peace (*Chronicles of the Picts and Scots*, edit. Skene, p. 204). One gathers that Donald was Malcolm's *regulus* of Cumbria.

Edgar, in 973, was rowed upon the Dee by eight *sub-reguli*, including Kenneth, king of Scots, Malcolm king of the Cumbrians and Maccus king of many islands, who had sworn fealty to him and promised help by land and sea (Simeon, ii, 130).

Ethelred, the Unready, in 1000, ordered Malcolm, *regulus* of Cumbria to pay tribute (*tributa*) as other provinces did; but Malcolm replied that his men owed no contribution (*vectigal*) but to be ready for war at the English king's command (Fordun, *Scotochronicon*, edit. Hearne, vol. ii, p. 347), so Ethelred went into "Cumberland," where there was a very great settlement (*maxima mansio*) of Danes, conquered them, and lay waste nearly the whole region (Henry of Huntingdon, Rolls edition, p. 170). Fordun supposed that Ethelred's demand was made in respect of danegeld, but it is possible that it

related to geld of cows, due as tribute to the king of England. Freeman suspects that the so called Danes, whom Malcolm had allowed to settle in Cumberland, were Norsemen (*Norman Conquest*, i, 634). That was certainly the case (Collingwood, *Lake District History*, p. 54).

In 1031, Malcolm II, king of Scots, submitted to Cnut and became his man (*A. S. Chron.*, ii, 128). Mr. Ragg supposes (these *Transactions*, N.S., v, p. 77) that Cnut created a new frontier between the realms, by assigning to Scotland all that portion of Northumbria which lay beyond the Tweed (namely Lothian) and all that portion of Cumbria which lay beyond the Solway, retaining in his own hand all territory south of those points. The theory deserves especial attention, for it is significant that, a few years later, Siward's earldom of Northumbria was limited by the *Tweed* (Simeon, i, p. 91).

One may conclude from the nature of things and from the language of Gospatric's charter, that Cumbria south of the Solway was then annexed by Cnut to the earldom of Northumbria (these *Transactions*, N.S., v, p. 79). One may further conclude that the landowners of Cumbria south of the Solway were then saddled with obligations, described later by Norman lawyers as *forinsec service*, namely (1) to march in the king's army, when he advanced from the Rerecross to the Solway, for the purpose of attacking or repelling the Scots—a definite act of military service (*Cal. Doc. Scot.*, iii, p. 135) and (2) to do *endemot* in the king's marchmote, held at the march or boundary of the kingdom (see Pollock and Maitland, *Hist. of English Law*, vol. i, p. 18, and these *Transactions*, N.S. xxv, pp. 89 and 94). But they were probably *excused* payment of the ancient tribute known as geld of cows, because their country had become part of England. It was tarred with the Northumbrian brush, and it is curious to note that Florence of Worcester states that William Rufus set out, in 1092, to "Northumbria," in order

to restore Carlisle (*Eng. Hist. Socy.*, vol. ii, p. 30) and Richard of Hexham regards Carlisle, when ceded to David in 1136, as situate in the "province of the Northumbrians" (*Chronicles of Stephen*, Rolls edon., vol. iii, p. 145).

In 1054, Siward earl of Northumbria defeated Macbeth, and, by order of Edward the Confessor, appointed Malcolm, son of the king of the Cumbrians, to be king of Scots (Simeon, ii, p. 171). He did not actually ascend the throne, as Malcolm III, until 1057.

At a much later period, Edward I was informed by the prior and convent of Carlisle, that, according to *their* records, Cumbria in 1069, that is to say, three years after the battle of Hastings, comprised what was in their time (1) the bishopric of Carlisle, *i.e.* the old land of Carlisle (2) the bishopric of Glasgow (3) the bishopric of Whithern and (4) all the land between the bishopric of Carlisle and the river Duddon, *i.e.* Coupland (*Cal. Doc. Scot.*, vol. ii, p. 115).

That statement is explained by the next record:—

In 1070, Gospatric, earl of Northumbria\*, invaded "Cumberland" with fierce depopulation, for, at that time, it was under the dominion of Malcolm III, not possessed of right but *conquered* with violence (Simeon, ii, p. 191). William the Conqueror invaded Scotland in 1072. Malcolm III, did homage and became his man (*homo suus devenit*). Returning thence, William deprived Gospatric of the earldom (Simeon, ii, 195). It is submitted that William gave to Malcolm Cumbria south of the Solway, to hold subject to English overlordship. It is generally agreed that Malcolm did hold that region for the next 20 years. But it is inconceivable that he held it by adverse possession, and not as the king of England's man. Gospatric, who had long been ruler of the land of

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\* Gospatric, lord of the land of Carlisle, purchased the earldom of Northumbria from William the Conqueror in 1067.

Carlisle, thus became Malcolm's under-tenant, and gave to his own sons Dolfin and Waldeve the fees of *Chaerleolium* and Allerdale north of the Derwent,\* which they possessed later on.

Allerdale south of the Derwent, otherwise called Coupland, though situate in Yorkshire, was undoubtedly part of the Cumbria of 1069 above defined. There is a presumption that it was under the sway of Gospatric during his brief tenure of the earldom of Northumbria because Tostig, who succeeded Siward as earl of Northumbria, held five manors there in the days of Edward the Confessor, namely Millom (Hougun), Whicham, Bootle, Kirksanton and Whitbeck (Hougenai). They are included in the Domesday survey of 1086, as parcel of the county of York (Bawdwen, *Domesday*, p. 42, and *Vict. Hist. Lancs.*, i, 289). Such inclusion is not inconsistent with the statement that the whole of Allerdale south of the Derwent, down to the river Duddon, was parcel of Cumbria in 1069, because "Domesday Book is not a register of title, it is a geld book" (Maitland, *Domesday Book*, p. 3). The compilers of the survey were concerned with fiscal matters and nothing else. Earl Tostig's connection with the manors shows that the district had once upon a time been subject to Northumbrian influence.

Records presently cited indicate that Dolfin's fee, *Chaerleolium*, was bounded by the tip of the Solway, the Rerecross of Stainmore and the river Derwent. His headquarters were upon the site of Luel, a strategic point of utmost importance. Dolfin seems to have committed an overt act which was an infringement of English suzerainty. He may have attempted to restore the fortifications of the old Roman city, because, in 1092, William Rufus went there, restored the city, reared a castle (perhaps a

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\* Cumbrians style this ancient hundred or ward, "Allerdale *below* Derwent," an expression very apt to mislead those unacquainted with the locality.

wooden fortress) and drove out Dolfin who had previously ruled there (*A. S. Chron.*, ii, 195). The place had remained "deserted" since its destruction by the Danes, two centuries previously (*Simeon*, ii, 220).

Dolfin's fee thus became demesne of the crown, and was entrusted by Henry I to Ranulf Meschin. The *Memorandum* regarding descendants of Waldeve, compiled about 1275, relates that the king gave Ranulf all the land from the Rerecross upon Stainmore to the Solway at the fixed march there between England and Scotland (*Cal. Doc. Scot.*, ii, p. 15). Waldeve appears to have retained his fee which extended from the Wampool to the Derwent, because he was feoffee of the same in Henry I's time (*Chronicon Cumbriae*, Wilson, *St. Bees*, p. 492).

The annexation of Carlisle by William Rufus was a death blow to Scottish influence in Cumbria south of the Solway. The district was forthwith divided into two fiscal areas for purposes of taxation. Dolfin's fee, *Chaer-leolium* comprising modern Cumberland to the river Derwent\* and modern Westmorland to the utmost bounds of the barony of Appleby† formed one of those fiscal areas. That is inferred from the fact that they re-appear as the *diocese of Carlisle*. Allerdale south of the Derwent and the barony of Kendal, both situate in Yorkshire,‡ formed the other fiscal area. That is inferred from the fact that they re-appear as parcel of the *diocese of York*, and so continue until Henry VIII's reign (*Freeman, Rufus*, vol. ii, p. 549).

It was probably after Ranulf Meschin's departure that Henry I made some changes in the mode of collecting taxes.

In the pipe roll of 1130, the accounts of the fiscal area

\* Dolfin's dominion *overlapped*, and therefore dominated that of Waldeve.

† Modern Westmorland consists of two parts, the barony of Appleby and the barony of Kendal.

‡ Wilson, *St Bees*, introduction.

first above mentioned are divided under the separate headings *Chaerleolium* and *Westmarieland* (edit. Hunter, p. 142).\* The latter was not a newly-coined geographical term, because "Westmoringaland" occurs in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle (vol. ii, 96).

Mention of the silver mine of Carlisle, situate at Alston Moor, first occurs in the pipe roll of 1130, under the heading *Chaerleolium*. Alston Moor was not parcel of the Cumbria of 1069 above defined, nor of the diocese of Carlisle, and yet the constant association in the pipe rolls of its silver mine with Carlisle led to its incorporation in the modern county of Cumberland (these *Transactions*, o.s. viii, p. 24).

Now a new character appears upon the stage. From 1107-24, David had been earl of Scottish Cumbria which then extended no further south than the Solway (Skene, *Celtic Scotland*, i, 455). Its comparatively limited extent is shown by two circumstances:—

At an inquisition, held about 1120, it was found that Earl David did not rule the whole of the ancient Cumbrian region, and that the church of Glasgow had certain enumerated lands, but none of them lay south of the Solway (*Register of Glasgow*, Bannatyne Club, no. 77, p. 7). Again, David's grant of land to Robert de Brus made soon after his accession to the Scottish throne in 1124, was bounded by the march of Ranulf Meschin, and made subject to the same customs as Ranulf had in Carduil and Cumberland (*Facsimiles, Nat. MSS.*, part i, no. 19).

David there treats Ranulf Meschin's fee as a distinct geographical unit, lying beyond his sway. Ever since the *coup d'état* of William Rufus, the land south of the Solway had been part of England.

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\*The new subdivision *Chaerleolium* was the germ of the modern county of Cumberland. The new subdivision *Westmarieland* (barony of Appleby) was the germ of the modern county of Westmorland.

Canon Wilson has observed:—" There is no certain evidence that the strip of country to the east of the Eden ever acknowledged the sway of the English king before it was made into the barony of Gilsland by Henry II " (*V. H. C.*, i, 310). But that country was in the diocese of Carlisle and had presumably been part of Gospatric's territory. Its ruler, Gilles son of Boed, *Cumbrensis judex*, was party to Earl David's said inquisition of 1120. He was not David's man, but his neighbour and friend. He was probably Ranulf Meschin's local deputy, for Ranulf lived at Appleby. Gilles served under a succession of sovereigns, Henry I, Stephen and David, and had long been dead when Henry II gave Gilsland to Hubert de Vallibus. Hence the vague description of the territory: " All the land which Gilles son of Boed held on the day when he was alive and dead, and of *whomsoever* he may have held it." Gilles' descendants remained in possession as under-tenants.

In 1136, Stephen allowed David to retain the castle of Carlisle, which he had occupied, and to rule over a region which extended to the Duddon estuary, because, by a charter addressed to his men of Coupland (that is Allerdale south of the Derwent) David made a grant of land at Annaside, on the sea coast (*Wilson, St. Bees*, p. 69). Stephen further gave " Carlisle and its pertinents " to Henry, son of David, who did homage for the same (*Chronicles of Stephen*, Rolls edon., vol. iii, p. 146). That gift consisted only of Ranulf Meschin's old fee or honour of Carlisle,\* because, in 1140, Ranulf's son made an unsuccessful claim to " Carlisle and Cumberland " by right of inheritance, as against Henry, son of David (*Simeon*, ii, 306). David held his court at Carlisle during the remainder of his life, but, in 1157, Malcolm IV, his youthful grandson and successor on the throne, was forced to

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\* *Honor* is a term of greater dignity than *baronia*, but both signify a *group of manors*.

surrender to Henry II *Cumbria* and *Westmeria*, because they had been acquired by David in the name of the Empress Matilda and her heirs (*Chron. of Stephen*, i, 105).

In 1176, Henry II, for *judicial* purposes, divided the North of England into six circuits, namely, Eboracessire, Richemundesire, Coupelanda, Westmerilanda, Northimberlanda and Cumberlanda (Benedict Abbas, *Rolls edon.*, vol. i, 108).

In 1177, Allerdale south of the Derwent, otherwise called Coupland,\* was severed from Yorkshire and united to the new subdivision *Chaerleolium*, in order to form the *fiscal area* of "Cumberland," so styled in the pipe roll of that year and nearly coinciding with the modern shire of that name.

About the same time, the barony of Kendal was also severed from Yorkshire and laid to the new subdivision Westmarieland (barony of Appleby) in order to form the *fiscal area* of "Westmorland," co-extensive with the modern shire (*V. H. C.*, i, 310).

The Scots never forgot their loss of Carlisle. Even in 1258, the bishop of Glasgow vainly boasted that his diocese extended to the Rerecross on Stainmore (*Chron. Lanercost*, Bannatyne Club, p. 65).

But the story is not quite finished. From generation to generation, the English continued to press their claim to a large tract lying beyond the tip of the Solway and known as the "debatable land" (these *Transactions*, n.s. xii, p. 33). At last in 1552, they agreed to accept a strip of territory in full satisfaction of that claim, and "Scots Dike" was constituted the northern boundary of the county of Cumberland (see old map, these *Transactions*, n.s. xiv, p. 132).

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\* It should be noted that Coupland is described as a "county" in 1192 and excepted from "Cumberland" in 1202 (*Pipe Rolls*).