

ART. VII. — *The Graham Clans and Lands on the eve of the Jacobean Pacification.*
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BY the close of the sixteenth century the Grahams, assisted by royal policy, had become the dominant surname on the Cumberland Borders. They were the principal landowners in Nichol Forest and the Debateable Lands, the two, at least nominally, Duchy of Lancaster properties adjoining the frontier. Leading Grahams occupied strong peel towers at Netherby, the Moat, Kirkandrews, Millees, Bankhead, the Fauld, Redhill and Brackenhill. Others owned the smaller but defensible bastles or stonehouses at Millhill, the Plump, Stuble, Closegap and Rosetrees and there may have been several more.¹ Moreover, they had rapidly expanded in numbers. By 1602 there were nearly twice as many Grahams as in 1561 and their subordinate clansmen had more than doubled.² They were thus able, by their own estimation, to raise a fine, light cavalry force of 300 men.³ The problems the Grahams and their followers posed for the Privy Council and even more for the West March wardens are now a familiar story.⁴ Much less is known about the society and economy of these Cumbrian border clans and the purpose of this article is to consider these aspects of border life.⁵

I

The Grahams were typical of kinship groupings based on "surnames" in the simple form which existed in some areas of the Borders. "This People stands altogether upon Clanes and surnames" explained the 3rd earl of Cumberland in 1604.⁶ Surnames, Dr Rae has written, were "organised social units held together by family ties". Kinship was the effective social bond. Amongst the Grahams, however, there are also signs of the clanless "broken" men who were "primarily brigand gangs, the members of which could be connected by blood-ties but were more often bound merely by geographical propinquity and a common desire for a career of violence".⁷ Cumberland border society was, indeed, far less homogeneous and close-knit than is often thought, as the following discussion will show. Nor did kinship preclude other, sometimes stronger allegiances any more than did family ties amongst the Cumbrian gentry.

In theory at least, the Grahams were not completely independent surname groups since they acknowledged that they held their lands of the Crown by border tenure, as one observer commented, "fre to themselves and thers, for th'onlie defence and service of their contrie".⁸ In strict legality their position was less secure because, as Richard Lowther Esq. of Lowther pointed out in 1593 when he was acting warden: the leases they had once been granted had long expired, they were under no special officer, unlike Bewcastle, and no courts had been kept on their lands for many years.⁹ Nevertheless, the Grahams had *de facto* possession and could confidently assert to the warden Thomas, Lord Scrope that they depended "on no subject, but only her Majesty and your lordship".¹⁰ Free of the usual ties of landholding and under no government apart from the intermittent supervision of the warden, they were regarded by marcher officers, in Bishop Toby Matthew's words, as "great surnames of half-broken men"¹¹ or, more disparagingly, as "tribes of thieves".¹²

Amongst the 120 to 130 Graham families there were between 15 and 20 surname leaders. Of these, the most important were the Eskside Grahams, the descendants of the founding father of their clan, Long Will Graham, at Netherby, the Moat, Batenbush, Bankhead, Meadop, Rosetrees, Guards, the Fauld, the Lake and Brackenhill. The peel towers and stonehouses of the surname leaders sheltered their extended families and servants. David of Bankhead's family, for example, consisted of seven males and four females and he had eight servants, five of them male. Servants, whether relatives or retainers, were numerous in the Grahams' households. Netherby was the residence of the senior branch of the Grahams and Walter of Netherby, spokesman for 15 of his relatives in 1602, enjoyed primacy of status amongst the clan leaders.¹³ The ties of kinship amongst the Grahams are revealed in the will of William of Millees, an uncle of Walter of Netherby, who died in 1600. He enjoined his children to serve the Queen, the house of Netherby and his eldest son John, whom he designated "head unto all my posteritie".¹⁴ Walter of Netherby's closest rival was his near neighbour William of the Moat, but the most feared of all the surname leaders in 1603 was Hutchin of Guards, the grandson of Long Will's eighth and illegitimate son, "a man of the greatest mind" who commanded the largest following, though the footloose element was strong amongst his "clan and gang".¹⁵

How wealthy these leading Grahams were is conjectural to the extent that there is no precise valuation of all their lands and it is not easy to equate the depressed border values with those outside the frontier zone. In a list drawn up in 1606, 34 of the 91 Grahams named are said to have had goods worth £20 and over. These included, as one would expect, Netherby, Moat, Bankhead, Lake, Brackenhill, Rosetrees and Guards. They were appreciably better-off than most of the other Graham families. Thirteen Grahams were listed as possessing goods worth between £10 and £20, the Meadop and Carliell families amongst them. Twelve more were worth under £10, including the notorious Jock and Geordie of the Peartree, and the remaining 32 were stated to be cottagers and poorer Grahams. Since most of those omitted from the assessment were of the latter sort, we may conclude that 60 per cent of the Grahams were poor cottagers and in no better circumstances than the non-Graham dependants who had settled in Nichol Forest and the Debateable Lands.¹⁶

Wills and inventories also give some idea of the degrees of wealth the Grahams enjoyed. The farmstock of William of Millees, one of the better-off clansmen, was valued in November 1600 at £28. 4s., the insight and furniture of his peel at Millees at £4 and debts of £109. 7s. od. were owed him, a total of £141. 11s. od. Simon of Oakshawhill, a brother of Walter of Netherby, owned farmstock worth £18. 10s. 4d. in May 1584, his insight and apparel were valued at £3 and he was owed £10, a total of £31. 10s. 4d. Less well-off was William Graham whose farmstock in April 1574 was priced at £11. 6s. 8d., his bedding and apparel only 13s. 4d., in all £12 sterling. Thomas Graham of Crofthead who died in February 1606 may in most respects have typified the poorer sort of Grahams. His farmstock was worth £1. 17s. 4d., his nag 10s., hay and corn 10s. and his insight 14s.; in all £3. 11s. 4d. Thomas, however, was unrepresentative in that he was Customer of Carlisle, with a lease of the subsidies and customs there, the reversion of which at his death was valued at £56.¹⁷ Testamentary evidence supports the general impression gained from other sources that the better-off families owned at least two-thirds (and most likely a far higher proportion) of the goods possessed by the Graham clans as a whole, as well as most of the estates. Wide disparity in wealth, even if less pronounced than in the English shires,

was a characteristic of these independent border surnames. Moreover, when the non-Graham inhabitants are included, Cumbrian border society is seen to be far more heavily weighted towards the lower limits of the social pyramid than rural areas to the south, though there are affinities with the highland zones of England.¹⁸

The Grahams lived in roughly equal numbers on either side of the Esk, 70 clansmen in the Debateable Lands and 76 in the Forest, according to the Scrope list in 1602. They constituted about a third of the 2,000 people who dwelt on their lands. The other inhabitants, dependants of the principal Grahams, were to judge by their surnames a mixture of native English and Scottish immigrants from the time of Henry VIII. William Graham of Rosetrees, for instance, had 36 of these dependants in addition to 18 of his own surname. Rather more of these non-Graham families had settled in the Debateable Lands than in the Forest, 167 clansmen in the former compared with 129 in the latter.¹⁹ These labourers and under-tenants, like the poorer Grahams, would dwell in the isolated farmsteads or the clusters of clay and timber huts with thatched roofs so frequently destroyed by raiders and re-erected, it is said, in only three or four hours.²⁰

For these meaner folk, the leading Grahams and their extended families were a privileged class of landowners comparable at the depressed level prevailing on the western Borders to the gentry elsewhere in Cumberland.²¹ Of the 70 or so discernible properties in the Debateable Lands, only six were held by the indigenous English borderers, Stories, Unwins and Worthies, the most substantial occupied by Richard Worthie of Millees who owned 50 acres of land and had 68 dependants and tenants. Otherwise, the large properties were all in the hands of the principal Grahams.²² These men, who held most of the cultivated land, resided in the fortified stone buildings and were interlinked by blood-ties and marriage, acted as natural community leaders. By virtue of tradition, landownership, lineage and royal favour they were the dominating influence over the clansmen inhabiting Nichol Forest and the Debateable Lands. There is evidence of oppression of the poor cottagers by their Graham landlords.²³

What the senior Grahams considered their status to be is not clear. Netherby and Moat were armigerous. They were locally accorded the title of "goodman" along with Meadop, Brackenhill and Rosetrees. Richard of Brackenhill, who was a bailiff in the barony of Gilsland, also styled himself gentleman, whereas William of Millees, a relatively wealthy borderer, described himself as yeoman. A few others termed themselves yeoman, but the majority husbandman.²⁴ Evidence of literacy, education or religious belief is hard to discover. Walter Graham, William of the Moat, William of Rosetrees and John of the Lake could sign their names, but Richard of Brackenhill and Hutchin of Guards could not. Wills suggest that the Grahams were mostly illiterate, like their contemporaries in Bewcastle, and this is confirmed by later sources.²⁵

With only fragmentary diocesan records and no parish registers for the Borders in the Tudor era, the religious observance of the clansmen is difficult to estimate. The traditional picture of the low state of religion, given substance by the ruinous condition of the churches and the views of the Bishops of Carlisle, is unlikely to be modified much by other sources.²⁶ What little evidence does survive is mainly associated with Richard of Netherby (Long Will's eldest son), whose patronage of Arthuret Church would give it protection, his rector Michael Frysell and his near-contemporaries. An Exchequer deposition of 1575 throws some light on religious practices well before that date. Richard of Netherby Esq., then aged about ninety, testified that Alexander Armstrong called Sandy Armstrong of

Millees had been baptised at Arthuret Church. Alexander Story and John Graham had been his godfathers and Richard's mother, Helen, his godmother. Alexander's son, Herbert, had also been christened at Arthuret and his godfathers were Herbert Graham called Hebbye of the Hill and Thomas Story of Esk and his godmother Richard's wife Isabell. Richard's statement was supported by other clansmen as a matter of common knowledge.²⁷ The few extant Graham wills, mostly between 1569 and 1585, show Frysell, after him William Thompson, clerk, and finally Richard Hetherington, the curate first of Kirkclinton and then, at the close of the century, of Arthuret, performing the normal clerical function of helping the illiterate clansmen to draw up their wills and seeing to their burial, usually at Arthuret, sometimes at Gretna and in the case of George Graham, Percival's Geordie, in 1585 at St. Mary's parish church in Carlisle.²⁸ The almost complete absence of wills and other evidence after 1585 may well reflect a decline in religious observance by the later generation of Grahams as well as the more troubled state of north Cumberland towards the end of Elizabeth I's reign.

II

The Debateable Lands, a rough quadrilateral of ground five miles in length and three in breadth, were in 1603 far from being the "dismal tract" some writers have thought them to be. True, at the heart of them was the vast Solway Moss and its associated Mossband Moss which together accounted for a fifth of the total area of 7,403 statute acres and were useful only for fuel. Between the Moss and the Scotsdike lay an even larger tract of moor and mossy ground, the Beck Moor, estimated at 2,485 acres, common land of varying quality. At the Solway Firth end was a 400 acre stretch of marshland called Rowland Marsh, split by creeks into which flowed streams from the Moss and at times liable to inundation with the sea. This, too, was common pasture land, used by the Grahams as shielings from Pentecost to Michaelmas and offered as agistments to the tenants of the barony of Burgh and any others who were prepared to risk losing their cattle to the border foragers. However, the wide band of ground on the west bank of the Esk from Scotsdike to Rowland Marsh and the narrower parallel stretch on Sarkside were occupied by the Grahams, with their principal houses often no more than a quarter of a mile apart.

A considerable proportion of the land was enclosed, possibly from February 1547 when it was authorised by the Privy Council so as to strengthen the English hold on that long-contested area.²⁹ There were enclosures round Kirkandrews, Batenbush and Meadop in the north-eastern corner and large, regular closes on the broad terraces along Eskside, such as Sandbeds and Sandilands, names indicative of the nature of the ground. Between Rowland Marsh and Mossband a series of closes had been won from the Marsh itself, the most westerly taken out by the Scots of Gretna, the most easterly by the tenants of Burgh, the others by leading clansmen. The 30 acre Burgh Close dated from 1552 when Lord William Dacre, anxious for reliable Englishmen to occupy the Debateable Lands, persuaded his Burgh men to put their cattle on Rowland Marsh and enclose part of it for sowing oats to maintain their horses for border service. The Close was only intermittently arable, being laid down as ley, on one occasion for as long as ten years, until "fatt againe"; no doubt the other closes taken from the Marsh were similar. When open as pasture the Close was used by the Burgh tenants for grazing their cattle, but prior to 1603 Hutchin of Guards and his brother Ritchie had purchased 12 acres from them and George Richardson a further eight. Johnson and Goodwyn, the 1604 surveyors, calculated that the meadow,

ley and arable of the Debateable Lands amounted to 3,590 statute acres with 2,898 acres on Eskside, 132 on Sarkside and 560 in the closes between Esk and Sark. The Grahams estimated their holdings at 1,222 of the larger, customary acres.³⁰

With such a high proportion of cultivated land to common, the low-lying Debateable Lands were more intensively farmed than the fell country further east. They appear also to have been more densely settled with their population exceeding 1,000 whereas in the much larger Nichol Forest the numbers may not have reached 900. The main homesteads, then as now, were established on the protruding ridges, hillocks and knolls or on their sheltered banks, hence on firm foundations and defensible sites and raised above the wettest ground, but many of the dependants' dwellings must have been less happily situated. There are certainly signs of congestion, with several of the main homesteads – Closegap, the Know, Braie, Highfield and the Plump – abutting on Solway Moss. Blackbank Ridge between Mossband Moss and Rosetree bog was thickly occupied. The peels, bastles and other houses of the 34 main landowners named by Johnson and Goodwyn accommodated 173 members of their own families and a further 141 servants, a total of 314, on average nine per household. In their 147 dependent cottages lived a further 751 people, so that the stated population was 1,065, approximately one person per 2.8 statute acres of cultivated land. There was a particularly heavy concentration of population in the north-east where the pronounced ridges would encourage settlement. At Millees, 50 acres supported Richard Worthie and his 68 cottagers, at Kirkandrews 91 inhabitants shared 52 acres of cultivated land and at Bankhead 89 were living off 63 acres.³¹

The Grahams on the east bank of the Esk were likewise farming considerable areas. Round Netherby there were about 300 statute acres cultivated, probably more than that at the Moat and substantial arable and meadow at the Fauld, Peth, Longtown, Howend and Peartree. Thus Eskside was to some degree a northern extension of the mixed farming region of the Cumberland plain. Common and moorland on the higher ground towards Arthuret provided rough pasture land for the communities on Eskside, its bounds set by the marshland to the east of Longtown. In addition, the Netherby Grahams had rights of commoning on the moors at the north end of the Debateable Lands, the exercising of which frequently involved them in disputes with their relatives across the Esk. There were patches of heavy settlement, too, on the falling ground towards the Lyne, especially at Randalinton and Brackenhill. On the moorland and mossy grounds rising towards Bewcastle fells habitation and cultivation were more scattered, with the largest communities at Easton and Pedderhill.³²

In their essentially pastoral economy, the Grahams reared cattle, sheep and horses, a farming pattern suited to the grazing available on the commons, marshes and mosses. William Graham of Oakshaw, for example, possessed eight cows, two oxen, 20 sheep and two nags when he died in April 1574. Animal husbandry was necessarily supplemented by ley farming and meadow to provide winter fodder; tillage, extensive on Eskside, supplied corn, principally oats to judge by the inventories but with barley in quantity too. Simon of Oakshawhill's sown crops in May 1584 consisted of 33 bushels of oats and three of barley. After the harvest in September 1606 Richard of Bailey, one of the wealthier Grahams, possessed £30 worth of corn and John of Sandhills £16 worth. Of the poorer sort, Jock of the Peartree owned £4 in corn and Francis of Meadop 15s. worth. Again the will and inventory of William of Millees give the clearest evidence of the Grahams' farming and land-holding practices. William's farm stock in 1600 consisted of six oxen valued at £7, six

kine at £1 each, 40 ewes worth £6, 40 hog sheep worth £3, eight stirks valued at 8s. each and two hogs worth 15s. apiece, in all 102 animals valued at £28. 4s. od. Thomas Graham of Crofthead would be representative of the small-holder. He owned a cow, three stirks, three sheep, two geese, two hens and a cock valued at £1. 17s. 4d., besides his nag, his hay and corn.³³

Corn was ground at water mills on the Sark, on Liddelside, at Carwinley, Arthuret, Brackenhill and the Fauld Mill on the Hall Burn. The alehouse at Sandilands no doubt malted local grown barley. There was fishing in the Sark, Esk and Lyne, both the latter being noted salmon rivers.³⁴ Contemporaries observed the land of good quality held by the Grahams besides their mosses and fells. Thomas, Lord Wharton stated in 1548 that much of the Debateable Lands was as fertile as any in the north.³⁵ A writer commented in 1583 that the Eskside Grahams had "amongeste the great of them, verie much good grownde and faier livings, if they usede yt well".³⁶ The implication here is that the Grahams and their tenants did not make the best use of their fertile land and certainly border lawlessness and habits such as partible inheritance were not conducive to diligent and progressive farming.

The fragmentation and scattering of holdings resulting from the partible inheritance often practised by the Grahams in common with other border people are clearly seen in William of Millees' division of his properties amongst his sons and other relatives in 1600. To his eldest son John, he left his land on both sides of the Carwinley Burn from the Longcleuch, with Carwinley Mill, the kiln and the fishing; also a piece of land on the north side of the Whisk Burn near Lambhill, and Davidewe Rigg besides Arthuret Church. To his son George and his nephew David, he left Millees, to be held jointly and then to the longer liver of them. To another son Fergus, William bequeathed his land at the Stuble Holm with the Dykhead, the stonehouses there and the tenants and, on the west of the Debateable Lands, the part of Sarkside he owned. He left to his younger brother John another piece of land on the side of the Whisk Burn. David Graham alias Archbalds Davie received Hathersrie's stead in Easton and his brother a holding there too. To his son Thomas, William gave Jock Halidaie's stead at Easton and Jock Readpath's steading. Another son, Walter, was to be provided for by cash payments in English pounds by those who had received holdings – £10 from Fergus out of the lands of Sark and £10 more from George and David between them. William's sixth son, Arthur, was to be supported out of Carwinley Mill by the eldest son John. How valuable William's properties were is not known, but his second son George of Millees was rated in 1606 as having goods worth £20 and over.³⁷ The bequests made by William, one of the wealthier members of the main Graham branch, split up his widely-spread holdings amongst his closest surviving kin and are confirmation of the intermingling of Graham properties which both tended to cause disputes over bounds and ownership and militated against efficient farming practices. Support of their progeny and other family dependants obviously took precedence over settled husbandry when many Grahams disposed of their lands. The shifting sands of ownership and subdivision of holdings as property was redistributed each generation were major factors in the social and economic instability of the Cumbrian border clans.

The complex commercial relationships of the Grahams are evident in their wills and Bewcastle wills confirm that the pattern revealed was one common to the Cumberland Border. There is some use of legal instruments but mostly practical arrangements which were workable amongst borderers, who for the most part would not be familiar with

obligations enforceable by litigation. William of Millees is the most substantial creditor on record, with ten men in debt to him on both sides of the Border, ranging from Scottish lairds to tenants, owing him in all £109, the largest item being £50 for a horse sold in Scotland. Simon of Oakshawhill had lent his brother Walter £10, holding a bill from him for repayment and occupying the Close Holm at Batenbush as interest. George Graham of Yandfall in 1592 had mortgaged his land at Yandfall and Lakeside for £36 to the customer, Thomas of Crofthead, but himself held a brown heifer for the use money on 40s. he had lent John Gleadstones; an instance here of the connections between creditors and debtors reinforcing the social hierarchy on the border lands. Estate burdens of this size may well explain the Yandfall Grahams' recurrent reiving.

Provision for dependants was made in a variety of ways with partible inheritance favoured rather more than primogeniture in the few wills that are extant. William of Millees' meticulous dispositions have already been described. Simon of Oakshawhill left all his "farmald" to his widow with reversion to his brother and clan leader Walter; 12s., or three stirks to that value, to his daughter Janet and he requested Walter to be good to another dependant, Mathew Herwell. George of Yandfall left his land at Yandfall and Lakeside and five roods of land in the Crooke to his son George and his property at Closegap also to George specifically to pay 50s. to his other son William. Perceval Graham of Leven in 1574 followed the English fashion of bequeathing a third of his property to his widow and then divided the rest between his three sons, but left a separate three-acre piece of arable to his eldest son Hutchin.

Uniquely, a will has survived for a second member of Perceval's family, that of George Graham, Percival's Geordie, either a brother or his youngest son, who died in 1585. George left all his lands to his wife Alice for the use of herself and their children until they came of age. But he made specific provision in case his widow remarried and this is of unusual interest in view of the paucity of information on clan customs. The lands then were to be divided equally between the three children and Alice was to receive £20 of current English money out of the estate. Alice was to continue to be responsible for the upbringing of their daughter Janet, but not their sons. William Graham alias Dickes Wills and Hutchin of Holme foote were to be in charge of the tuition and teaching of the elder son, William, and George's brother-in-law, John alias Ellies Willies Johnye, that of the younger son, Hutchen. When William reached full age, he was to have all George's lands apart from a crook and half the croft, which were to go to Hutchen to set an onset on and, with them, "fowre day worke of hay" at the "goates foote". Like William of Millees, George expressed in his will support for royal government, but also a clear desire for peace on the Borders. He made the earl of Huntingdon, Lord President of the Council in the North, and Henry, Lord Scrope, warden of the West March, supervisors of his will and requested them to continue to be, as in the past, "goodd Lordes" to his wife and children so that they could quietly enjoy their livings.

With the exception of the mill, kiln and fishings belonging to William of Millees, the bequests are concerned only with the prime occupation, farming, and there is no evidence of Graham crafts. Indeed, apart from a few millers, waterkeepers and the customer, only one tailor, a blacksmith and a land measurer are known.³⁸ Provision for the Graham womenfolk in wills, as we have seen, and mention of their names and families in other records save at least some of them from complete obscurity, but how they busied themselves besides farming and raising children the sources do not show. The Borders were the

clansmen's world. One brief and unflattering portrait is of the wife of the outlaw Jock Ritchie Graham demanding rents with threats from the cottagers of the Readbank in February 1606.³⁹

The Grahams, we may conclude, were in a particularly ambivalent situation on the Cumbrian Border in 1603, in theory English subjects yet virtually independent; occupying Crown lands by the licence, as they termed it, of Queen Elizabeth though rather in default of supervision by her Duchy officers and hardly amenable to royal direction; their relationships governed by clan customs but also with some assimilation of English practices; intermingling with other Cumbrians and Scots for normal commercial intercourse as well as marriage, yet plundering and blackmailing them as the need arose. Nevertheless, as the Grahams expanded in numbers, holdings and influence, the growing interdependence between them, neighbouring Cumbrians and Scotsmen was undermining their *de facto* separation from the English state, though until almost the end of the century their increasingly anomalous position was protected, as the present writer has described,⁴⁰ by both local circumstances and the cautious policy of the English government towards the surnames of the western borderland.

III

Characteristic features of the society and economy of the Anglo-Scottish frontier region are evident in Nichol forest and the Debateable Lands – a hierarchical society dominated by surname leaders; the poverty and under-employment of pastoral farming; the lack of by-employments other than blackmail and reiving; the pressure of population, in part the result of partible inheritance; and the consequent endemic lawlessness.⁴¹ All the evidence points to a swelling population on the Graham lands in the later sixteenth century. Most of the leading Grahams had numerous progeny. Between six and eight was common, the Moat and Fauld had ten, David of Bankhead eleven and Thomas Storey eventually twenty.⁴² But Scottish migrants, moving south from barren uplands, were as significant as the Grahams' fertility in increasing the pressure of numbers on the available land. The non-Graham clansmen rose from about 120 in 1561 to nearly 300 in 1602 and many were of Scottish origin.⁴³ Loose borderers, roaming Scots in particular, were a common sight to the citizens of Carlisle and neighbouring communities.⁴⁴ In the 1590s the Privy Council, echoing the views of its border officers, began to show concern at the increase in the numbers of Grahams and their disorderly behaviour. They favoured making two or three of the wealthiest and most reliable heads of families responsible for them all and for ensuring that every clansman should live of his own. This solution had been tried and proved ephemeral in the 1560s and thirty years later was unworkable.⁴⁵

In conditions of near-anarchy on the borders, intensive cultivation was impossible and extensive cultivation, the alternative for ambitious clansmen, could only be at the expense of their fellows, with violence and feuding the consequences. The lawlessness made it easy for Grahams and others of the leading clans to find living room. As Thomas Musgrave explained to Lord Burghley, "the poore crye out and are glade to sell their levings to them that oppress them".⁴⁶ In the 1590s, several Grahams appealed to the Privy Council after being dispossessed by others of their clan.⁴⁷ Leading Grahams continued to spread, with

apparent legitimacy in Elizabeth I's later years, into Bewcastle and Gilsland.⁴⁸ But there are indications that the clansmen were increasingly reaching out further from the Lyne in their nefarious activities also.⁴⁹ Urban growth which might have absorbed some of the rising population, as happened in certain parts of England, had been retarded by warfare, lawlessness and the general poverty of the north-west region. Carlisle, a small city of 1,300 souls before the plague took its toll, with few stone buildings and its castle in a state of some decay, shared the depressed economic condition of the frontier zone.⁵⁰ Thus it was the farmsteads on the established estates in Cumberland, unfortunate traders and casual travellers too who involuntarily supplemented the inadequate pastoral farming of the clans of the western marches and the numerous and even more needy Scotsmen of Liddesdale and Eskdale.

The middle 1590s were the period of the "great famine" and the decay throughout the north-west during the four years of bad harvests between 1594 and 1597 is well-attested in the Border Papers. The heavy mortality resulting both from the famine and the outbreak of plague in Carlisle in 1598 has been the subject of a recent study and the details are well-known.⁵¹ Since pastoral areas tended to fare better than arable, the border lands probably escaped the worst of the misery and fatality. The ages and numbers of the Graham children, if accurately recorded, are confirmation of this supposition. In these years the normal parasitic habits of the borderers would act as a cushion against the incidence of harvest failure and food shortages. Furthermore, the great weakening of the contiguous areas of Cumberland such as Burgh and Gilsland would encourage the clansmen's wider economic exploitation of their unfortunate neighbours. In effect, the settled arable farmers near the Borders suffered a dual and interlinked visitation of misfortune during these years.

International politics had combined with the deficiencies of the natural environment to distort the social and economic pattern of north Cumberland for many decades prior to James I's accession. Any political solution of the border problems of lawlessness and weak administrative control would have to take account of the underlying circumstances of over-population, poverty, under-employment and backward husbandry. The 3rd earl of Cumberland, expressing in 1604 the views of the more perceptive border officers, emphasised that the clansmen were "from their Cradells bredd and brought up in Theft, spoyle and bloode, as they are by use and Custome . . . Neither have they anie other trade, nor any other meane (manie of them) to live by but stealinge, which they Accompte not shame, but rather a grace and Creditt unto them". "I fear", he concluded, "they are not on the sodden soe easily to be reformed".⁵²

No efforts to deal with the troubles on the Cumbrian Borders which ignored the greater source of disorders in Scottish Eskdale and Liddesdale, where the social and economic pressures were even more severe,⁵³ would achieve more than a partial and temporary success. The upland fells tended to unite the border clans in common existence and attitudes but separate the various groups of border officers and prevent effective co-operation between them. The measures taken to deal with these deep-rooted problems on the Grahams' lands and the success achieved by the Jacobean government after 1603 have been discussed by the present writer in a previous article.⁵⁴

Appendix A

Dacre List 1561

The source for this list of 107 Grahams and 141 other border clansmen is P.R.O. SP 59/9 ff. 197-203 (*CSP For*, 1561-62, no. 442), dated 23 August 1561. The original spelling of personal and place names has been retained and the surnames have been placed in alphabetical order. A note in a different hand at the head of one column states that not all the clansmen named were under-servants of the Grahams but it is not clear to whom this refers. It is possibly connected with the Grahams' disclaimer of responsibility for all but their own sons and servants in *CSP For*, 1561-62, nos. 995, 996.

"The names of the Greymes of Eske and Leven within the Countie of Cumberland gyven in by Richard Greyme of Netherbye to the Lorde Dacre, Warden of the West Marche of England".

The GREYMES

Richard of Netherbye	}	Brothers
John of the Close Holm		
Thomas of Kirkanders		
Fargus of the Mote		
Wille of Rosetrees		
Richard of Baitting Lees	}	Sons to Richard of Netherbye
William of the Mylles		
George		
Thomas called Gallowaie		
Richard of Medope	}	Sons to John of Close Holm
Robert		
George	}	Sons to Thom of Kirkanders
Watty		
Rob		
Arthur		
Christy		
Willye	}	Sons to Fargus of the Mote
Christie		
Robert of the Fauld	}	Brothers
Willye		
Pate of the Holm	}	Sons to Pate
George		
Gilberte	}	Sons to Wat
Willye		
Davy		
Henry	}	Brothers
George		
John		
Willie called Alice Willye	}	Sons to Willie
Hochen his brother		
John		
Willye		
George Hochen son of West Leventon		
Rob Leonards son		

Henry	}	Brothers
George		
Umfraye called Shag		
Ranye	}	Sons to Umfraye
Willye		
Jenkyn		
Makky	}	Brothers
Willy		
Willie of Sark		
Andro his brother		
Willy Dickes son		
Dicke his brother		
Anton of the Stubbe		
Thom his brother		
Fargy of the Stubbe		
Willie		
Christie	}	Brothers and Gayrs Sons
Jamy		
Richie		
George		
Willie	}	Brothers
Thom		
Robbe		
John of Gattell		
Dicke	}	his Sons
John		
Andro		
John	}	Hecks Sons
Davy		
Fargy of Gravock Haul		
George of the Peeretree		
Jamy	}	Brothers
Hochen		
Hobby of the Hill		
Willye his son		
Persivall	}	Brothers
Dicke		
Willie		
Willie of RandoLeventon		
Riche	}	Sons to Thom
Jamy		
Thom of the Moore		
Riche		Brothers
Willie of the Bailly		
Fargy	}	Sons to the said Wille
Wille		
Riche		
Jocke		

Sym of the Peth	}	Brothers
John		
Davy		
Mathew called Gruff		
Davy Dickes son		
Jocke		
Sym of Aykeshaw Hill		
Mathew	}	Brothers
Thom		
Clement		
John of the Baillif		
Thom Kittis son		
Hendre of the Lee		
Whynten	}	Brothers
Thom		
Wille Thoms son		
Matho called Reed sleeves		
John his brother		
John of Lynsdaile		
Rob	}	Brothers
Wille		
John		
Nicholl		
Dicke		
Jocke		

Other Clansmen

Wille ANDERSON
 Thom Anderson
 Willm ARMESTRANGE of Kynmonthe
 Hecky Armstrang
 Wille Armstrang
 John Armestrange
 Perse ATKINSON
 Jocke Atkinson
 Gibbe Atkinson
 Edye BATIE
 Edye Batie
 Thom Batie
 Willy BELL called Flaggon
 John Bell of Easton
 Habby Bell
 Wille Bell
 Thom BROUCHE
 Wille COLLE
 Lewis CORDYN
 Jamy DOUGLESON

Pate FERGESON

John FORSITHE servant to George Greyme Payte son

Robyn FOSTER

Wille Foster

Dicke Foster

}

Brothers

John Foster

Rowe Foster

Habby Foster

}

Brothers

John Foster

Hecky Foster

Gerry Foster

Thom Foster

}

Brothers

Wille Foster of the Rowe

Jamy Foster of Thonytwaite

Barty Foster

Cuddy Foster

Watty Foster

George Foster

Hecky Foster

John Foster

Nicholl FOURD

Gib Fourd

Thom FRA

Jame GIBSON

Rowe Gibson

Wille GILMESON

Davy GLEDSTONES

Matho GLENDONYNG

Richie HALIDAYE

Thom Hallydaie

Thom Halydaie his son

Jocke Halydaie

Patton Halyday

James HAST

Watty HENDERSON

Watty Henderson

Thom HETHERINGTON

Hochen Hetherington

George Hetherington

Wille Hetherington son to George

Rob Hetherington called the Twyn

John Hetherington his son

John HOOPE

Wille Hoop

Rany HUDE

Matho IRWYN

Davy LAINE

John LITTLE

Joke Little

Cudbert Little

Persie MOFFETT
 Thom Moffett
 Jame PHILLOPPE
 Cuddie Philloppe
 Rowe Phillope
 Heugh POTT
 Rob PRUDDON
 Umfrey REDEPETHE
 Willy Redpethe
 Watt REEDE
 John RICHERDSON
 Jame Richerdson
 Willy Richerdson
 Davy Richerdson
 Huchy Richerdson
 John Richerdson
 Thom Richerdson
 Cuddy Richerdson
 Watte Richerdson
 Heugh Richerdson
 John Richerdson
 John ROGERSON
 Quyntyn SARKE
 Wille SHEPPERT
 Willy SLEWMAN
 Agnes SMYTH wif to John Harison
 Jocke STAILE
 George STORY }
 Thom Storye } Brothers

 John Storye }
 Rob Storye } Sons of Thom Story
 Jenkyn Story }

 Watty Story }
 Thom Story } Sons to Thom of the Howe Ende

 Mychaell Story }
 Habby Storye } Brothers
 Dicke Story }

 Jamy Story
 Davy Story
 Wille Story
 Launcy Story son to Thom Story of Haythwayt
 Edward STURGION
 Syme TAILLOR }
 John Taillor } Brothers

 Gefferaye Taillor
 John TAIT
 Rany Tait
 Thom Tayt
 Wille Tayt

Jenkyn TODDE
 Cuddie TURNER
 John Turner
 Willy TYNDEN
 John URWEN called Wallis
 John WALIS
 John WALKER
 George WATSON
 Rinyon Watson
 Watty WEBSTER
 Thom WILKYN
 Habby Wilkyn
 John Wilkyn
 Arthur Wilkyn
 John Wilkyn
 Jame Wilkyn
 John WILSON
 Jocke Wilson
 Hecky Wilson his son
 Thom Wilson
 Watte WISBY
 Wille WITBOROWE

} Brothers

“The Greymys pardon to be geven at ther request and at that tyme the hedd & chief of them to be called and charged with ther doings towarde the breatche of peace, and to be pardoned with condition to do as good & ernest service agaynst the scotts the warre beinge broken, as they didd them hurte in tyme of peace for ther owne interest & private comoditie”.

Appendix B

Scrope List 1602

The source for this list of 146 Grahams and 296 other clansmen is Richard Bell's manuscript *History of the Borders*, ff. 211-215 in the Library of the Dean and Chapter at Carlisle. The only important change made in the list here is to place the names of the non-Graham clansmen in alphabetical order. The several duplications of names have been left because, except in one obvious case, there is no certainty that they are mistakes or, alternatively, double claiming of tenants by the surname leaders.

The Graham population cannot be precisely stated. The Scrope list below names 146 Graham men in 1602. Other lists of 150 men fit to be sent to Flushing and Brill in 1605 and of 91 families fit to be transported in 1606 (Muncaster MSS ff. 7, 125-6) do not include all the known Grahams. An analysis of these and other lists in the Muncaster MSS suggests that there were between 250 and 270 adult male Grahams in the years 1600 to 1606, including those adolescents who came of age then and the Grahams who lived in as servants of the surname leaders. The number of Graham families at this time was probably 120 to 130 with an upper limit of 150. The Graham population thus may well have exceeded 700 and the surname leaders stated that their wives and children were nearly a thousand in number (*H.M.C. Muncaster*, 233). Identification of individual Grahams is complicated by the variety of description – patrilineal and by place of abode as well as soubriquets – and by the popularity of certain pre-names. The most used were William with 45, John 31, George 28, Richard 28, Thomas 20, Walter 18 and Robert 16.

Of the 146 Grahams in the Scrope list, 97 appear to belong to the main "Long Will" branches and 49 to other Graham families. They were almost equally divided either side of the Esk with 45 of the main branches and 25 of the others in the Debateable Lands, 52 of the former and 24 of the latter in Nichol Forest. The adult male population, Grahams and other surnames, in the Debateable Lands according to the Scrope list was 237 and in Nichol Forest 205 (excluding the Forsters on Liddel-side). The 1604 survey broadly confirms these figures by indicating an adult male population of 258 in the Debateable Lands. The Forsters, included in the Dacre list in Appendix A, were not required to submit their names to Scrope but they are recorded in the 1604 survey.

These totals may be compared with the 1641 Protestation Returns of males over the age of eighteen (C.R.O. transcripts). Of the 317 listed on the former Graham properties, 196 were in Arthuret parish, 38 in Nichol Forest chapelry and 83 in Kirkandrews upon Esk parish. Twelve gentry are named, six of them Grahams including Sir Richard of Netherby. The Returns list 123 men in Bewcastle parish.

"A note and abstract of the several names of the clans of all the Grames, severally given in to the right honourable Thomas Lord Scrope of Bolton, lord warden of the West Marches of England towards Scotland, preferred by them the eighth day of October 1602; whom the[y] severally bound to be answerable for to the said Lord Scrope".

These following belong to the Goodman of Netherby.

Walter Grame himself	
Richie	} his sons
Arthur	
William	} his brothers
Richie	
Dick	
Thomas	
Arthur	
Andrew	
John	} his uncles
John	
Francis	
John of Sleylands	

Their Tenants:

Alexander Grame	John Gibson
Richard Grame	John Gybson
John Armstrong	Herbert Johnston
Richie Armstrong	Andrew Litle
Willie Bailie	Thomas Taite
John Baylie	Mathew Watson
Christopher Calvert	

John Grame of Peartree	[repeated later]
Wattie his brother	
Richie Grame of the Crosthead.	

These following are they which John Grame of Anghousewell wilbe answerable for:

John Grame himself	
Richie	} his sons
Walter	
Geordie	} his brothers
William	
Arthur	
Thomas	

Tenants belonging to them:

George Grame	Thomas Cooke
Henry Grame of Scaleby	James Corrie
John Grame	Andrew Dixon
Leonard Grame of Baylie	Archie Dunne
Peter Grame	John Edger
Reynie Grame	John Glendonning
Wattie Grame	Cuddie Glesbie
Will Grame	Thomas Hill
William Grame	Archie Johnston
John Armstrong	Thom Litle
Simond Batie	James Shitlington
Thomas Batie	Edmond Sowreby
William Blakelock miller	Richard Storie
William Browne	Jenken Urwen
Marke Cooke	Mathew Urwen

These following are the names that I Fargus Grame of Sowport wilbe answerable for:

Fargus Grame myself	}	his sons
William		
Jamie		

My Tenants and Dependens are these:

Christie Grame of the Ley	James Litle
John Grame of the Ley	Dave Moffett
James Browne	James Phillip
Thomas Browne	John Wilson
Robert Carrudders	Herbert Wittie
James Davison	Richard Urwen
John Hope	

These are the names that I Davie Grame of the Milleas doe undertake for:

Davie Grame myself

Tenants

John Grame	John Blawett
Willm Grame	John Turner
Davie Batie	John Tynning
John Batie	Mathew Urwen
John Batie [sic]	

John Graham of the Peretree for myself and my brother Wattie [see above]

These are they following that appertayne to the Goodman of the Moate vizt. for which he and Brekinhill do undertake for:

William Grame of Moate	George Grame
Richie Grame of Breckinhill	Richie Grame of Baylie
George Grame of Langtowne	William
Richie Grame ynger of Breckinhill	Francis
Arthur Grame of Moate	John Grame of the Moate
William Grame of Langtown	Thomas Storie of Howend

Fargue Game of Langtown	John Storie of Staigmire
Richie Game of Langtown	Florie Storie
John Game of Sandhills	Hugh Batie
George Game of Sandhills	Richie Bell
Fargue Game	Stephen Blakeburne
Robert Game	William Lambe

William of Moate's Tenants

George Game	Adam Litle
John Game	Robie Litle
John Armstrong of the Riddings	John Mablare
James Atkinson	Stephen Mablare
John Bell	Adam Penman
William Bell	Simon Penman
James Blakelock	Andrew Taylor
Jenken Byrnie	Thom Tayler
Davie Lambe	George Whitehand
Fargue Lambe sonne to Davie	

Attendants of Goodman of Brekinhill:

Andrew Batie	William Linton
William Batie	John Litle
Simon Ewarte	Jeffrey Mattison
James Foster	Thomas Mattison
John Halliday	Robert Taylor
William Hamleton	Thomas Tinding
James Horseley	John Wilson
William Johnston	Thomas Game
George Game	William Storie
George Storie	Robert Taylor
Rinyon Storie	John Wright
James Game	Cuthbert Gillesbie
John Game	John Glendoning smith
Humfrey Game of the Ley	Jamie Gybson
Patrick Game	David Lowden
Roland Armstrong	Robert Macklennen
John Bell	Hugh Moffet
Fargus Browe	John Rogerson
Thomas Browne	John Thomson
William Browne	Christie Wilkin
Archballd Clerke	

These following tenants to the Goodman of Langtowne:

John Blacke	Fergue Richieson
Nicholl Edger	John Richieson
Jamie Latimer	Richard Todd
Sandie Mablane	Wattie Wilkin

These following are tenants to Thomas Storie of Howend:

Thomas Game	James Clerke
George Bell	Willie Dennis
Robert Blakeburne	John Jeffrey

These following are tenants to Richie Grame of the baylie:

Eddie Batie	Eddie Halliday
Richie Batie	John Wilson

Now hereafter follows young Hutchins Clanne and Gang, And first the names that Geordie answers for being brother to young Hutchin:

[Geordie Grame]	Andrew Elwood
Jock Anderson	John Litle
Geordie Edger	William Litle

William Grame brother to Young Hutchin answers for:

[William Grame]	Mathew Moffat
Arthur Grame	Cuthbert Mounsey
John Archerson	John Waughe
Davie Batie	Christie Wilkin
Mathew Henderson	Simon Urwen
William Marke	

William Grame son to Robbie answers for:

[William Grame]	Andrew Linton
Davie Browne	Jock Linton
Mathew Browne	Wattie Murrey
Jock Cowtert	John Pott
Thomas Cowtert	Thomas Pott
John Croser	Willie Pott
Andrew Glendoning	Thomas Scott
Christie Halliday	Jock Urwen
John of Scotland	John Waughe

Willie Grame brother to Hutchin doe answer for:

[Willie Grame]	Christie Byers
Wattie Grame Stoope	Willie Phillip
Jamie Bell	Jock Turner

Followeth Jocks Johnie and his:

Jocks Johnie and his
Jock Storie
Thomas Grame his man

These following are Young Hutchin's mens names:

[Young Hutchin]	Adam Fargueson
Jock the Graime	Andrew Fargueson
John Grame	Nickie Richieson
Leonard Grame	Nilk Rogerson
Thom Grame	Hutchin Storie
Jock Armstrong	Richie Storie
Thom Armstrong	Geordie Tulie
Jock Bell	Willie Twedop
John Byers	Willie Twedopp
William Carrudders	Thomas Urwen als Newland
Geordie Creighton	John Walker
Sandie Croser	William Walker

Robert Game's men son to Hutchin's Davie and Andrew his brother:

[Robert Game]	Davie Carrudders
[Andrew Game]	John Glendoning
Jamie Game	George Sarkbrigs
John Armstrong	Willie Sarkbriggs
John Armstrong	William Turner
John Bell	Edie Waughe

Hutchin's Arthur doth answer for:

Hutchin Game son to Arthur	John Moodie
William Game son to Hutchin's Arthur	William Mounsey
Edmond Game	Mathew Palmer
Edward Game	Willie Rawling
Thomas Clerke	John Rennyck
Christie Cowtert	Arthur Steale
Sandie Cowtert	Hubbie Urwen
Sandie Henderson	Runyon Urwen
Mickell John Hewett	Christie Wilkin
Davie Jackson	William Wilkin
Mathew Kennedy	Peter Willson of Bankhead
Willie Lay	

William Game of the Fald will answer for:

William Game of the Fald	William Game
Walter Game	Robert Game
Mathew Game	Hutchin Game

Their Tenants

Rinyon Game	Geordie Kennedie
Wattie Bell	Herbert Martin
Herbert Blakeburne	John Maburnie
George Carne	John Michelson
William Cowtert	John Michelson
Adam Glendoning	

William Game of Rosetrees will answer for:

William Game of Rosetrees	
William Game	} his sons
Walter Game	
Geordie Game	} his brether
Walter Game	
Andrew Game	} sons to Geordie
Justice Game	
Francie Game	} his brether
Geordie Game	
Fargue Game Plump	
Jock Game his brother	
Wattie Game son to Quintine	
John Game his brother	

Geordie [Grame] of Steale
 John [Grame] of Steale
 Archie the Grame
 Geordie the Grame
 Hutchin Grame
 Sim the Grame
 Christie Allison
 Stephen Baitie
 David Bell
 Edward Bell
 Humfrie Bell
 Jockie Bell
 Richie Bell
 Robert Bell
 Geordie Byers
 William Byers
 Adam Fargueson
 John ffarish
 Jamie Gay
 Christie Glendoning
 Jamie Glendoning

Their tenants:

Thomas of Glendoning
 Simon Hennell
 Geordie Johnston
 Edward Litle
 Edward Litle
 Wattie Litle
 Geordie Marke
 Andrew Martin
 Thom Pattison
 Geordie Purdum
 Georg Richieson
 Jock Storie of burnefoote
 Will Storie
 Francis Turner
 John Twedop
 Jamie Twedop
 Richie Urwen
 John Watson
 John Waughe
 Thom Wilkin
 Thom Wilkin

Davie Bankhead undertakes for:

Davie Grame
 Thomas Grame
 William Grame } his sons
 Regnald Grame

Jock Grame
 Thom Halliday
 John Phillip
 Nicholl Moffet
 Mathew Urwen

His Tenants

Alex Grame
 Rinyon Grame
 Francis Grame
 John Armstrong
 Robert Batie
 Gilbert Blakelock
 John Blakelock
 John Cuvert
 Geordie Gibson
 John Gledstons
 Thomas Pronefoote
 Thom Pronefoote
 Willie Readpeth
 James Tinding
 James Turner
 Thomas Turner
 George Wilson
 John Wilson
 John Wilson

Jock of the Lake undertakes for:

Jock Grame of the Lake
 George Grame
 Richie
 Christie
 Arthur
 Francis } his sons
 Robert Grame of Akeshawhill
 Fargus Grame
 John Grame } his sons

Richie Grame of Akeshawhill
Walter Grame
Will Grame his brother

Rinyon Armstrong
Christofer Bell
John Bell his son

Tenants

George Grame	Robert Cowtert
Herbert Grame	Andrew Innglsby
William Grame his brother	John Taite
William Armstrong	Simon Tathoe
John Bell	William Urwen

Dick's Davie will undertake for:

Davie Grame	John Litle
Davie Grame his son	William Pott
Watie Grame his nephew	Richie Purdom
Robert Foster	

Will Grame Goodman of Medop, his Eames, sons and friends will answer for:

[Will Grame]	Walter Grame
Francie Grame	Arthur Grame
Robert Grame	

Jock Anderson	Archie Halliday
Richie Anderson	William Parke
Richie Blakeburne	William Taite
Hobbie Blakeburne	Robert Wright
John Glendoning	

“The whole number of these names given to my lord as aforesaid, 343”. [The actual total is 442].

Notes and References

Abbreviations

C.R.O. – Carlisle Record Office
A.P.C. – Acts of the Privy Council
R.P.C. – Register of the Privy Council

¹ Joseph Bain (ed.), *Calendar of Border Papers* (2 vols, Edinburgh, 1894-6), I, 124-6; II, Appendix I (hereafter, *C.B.P.*, I, II); T. H. B. Graham, “The Debateable Land”, *CW2*, xii, 33-58; xiv, 132-57; Netherby Maps.

² See Appendices A and B.

³ Historical Manuscripts Commission, *Tenth Report*, Appendix, part IV (1885), MSS of Lord Muncaster (hereafter MP), 233.

⁴ R. T. Spence, “The Pacification of the Cumberland Borders, 1593-1628”, *Northern History*, xiii (1977), 59-160.

⁵ See also G. P. Jones, “King James I and the Western Border”, *CW2*, lxix, 129-43.

⁶ P.R.O., S.P.D., S.P. 14/6/43.

⁷ T. I. Rae, *The Administration of the Scottish Frontier 1513-1603* (Edinburgh, 1966), 6-7; R. P. Sanderson (ed.), *Survey of the Debateable and Borderland Adjoining the Realm of Scotland and Belonging to the Crown of England* (Alnwick, 1891), 13-14; *C.B.P.*, I, 123-4.

- ⁸ *C.B.P.*, I, 101.
- ⁹ *C.B.P.*, I, no. 804. In Bewcastle, the marked kinship groupings were overlaid by clearly defined border tenure under the Crown officer, the constable, who in 1603 was Thomas Musgrave (Sanderson, *Survey*, 17-36).
- ¹⁰ *C.B.P.*, II, 688.
- ¹¹ *C.B.P.*, II, no. 625.
- ¹² P.R.O., S.P. 14/6/43.
- ¹³ Sanderson, *Survey*, 14-15; Appendix B. For Long Will Graham, see R. C. Reid, "The Border Grahams, their Origin and distribution", *D. & G. Trans*, 3rd series, XXXVII (1961), 90-91, 104-7.
- ¹⁴ C.R.O., Carlisle Probate Registry, 1604.
- ¹⁵ See Appendix B; MP, 259.
- ¹⁶ C.R.O. D/Pen/216 f. 125v; MP, 230, 258. The poverty of Bewcastle is evident in Sanderson, *Survey*, 17-36 and J. V. Harrison, "Five Bewcastle Wills, 1587-1617", CW2, lxvii, 93-8.
- ¹⁷ C.R.O. Carlisle Probate Registry, 1604. The opportunities for corrupt practices as customer are noted in *C.B.P.*, II, no. 479.
- ¹⁸ R. Fieldhouse, "Social Structure from Tudor Lay Subsidies and Probate Inventories: A Case Study: Richmondshire (Yorkshire)", *Local Population Studies*, xii (1974), 21, Fig. 1; J. Thirsk (ed.), *The Agrarian History of England and Wales*, vol. iv 1500-1640 (Cambridge, 1967), 92-3. The border country is discussed on pp. 16 *et seq.* and 403.
- ¹⁹ Appendix B; Sanderson, *Survey*, 14-15.
- ²⁰ D. L. W. Tough, *The Last Years of a Frontier* (Oxford, 1928), 40-41; CW2, xii, 40.
- ²¹ Thomas, Lord Scrope stated in 1598 that many in Cumberland lived well, maintaining a gentleman's estate, on less than £40 a year (*C.B.P.*, II, 571). Southern yeomen were far wealthier cf. M. A. Havinden (ed.), *Household and Farm Inventories in Oxfordshire, 1550-1590* (1965), 150-61.
- ²² Sanderson, *Survey*, 14-15; P.R.O. Duchy of Lancaster, Special Commissions, D.L. 44/642.
- ²³ MP, 261.
- ²⁴ Nicolson and Burn, I, cx; CW2 xii, 44; *C.B.P.*, II, 357.
- ²⁵ *C.B.P.*, II, no. 291, 162; Harrison, CW2, lxvii, 99; C.S.P.D., 1619-1623, 339.
- ²⁶ Spence, *Northern History*, xiii, 146-51. Religion on the Borders is discussed by Tough, *Last Years*, 61-75.
- ²⁷ P.R.O. Exchequer, King's Remembrancer, Entry Books of Decrees and Orders, Series II, E134/35 Eliz. Easter, no. 21.
- ²⁸ C.R.O. Carlisle Probate Registry.
- ²⁹ *A.P.C.*, 1547-1550, 478.
- ³⁰ Netherby Maps; Sanderson, *Survey*, 12-16; P.R.O., D.L. 44/642; Duchy of Lancaster, Examinations, D.L. 4/70 f. 34b; Chatsworth, Londesborough MSS, Bundle 44, Lawsuit over Rowland Marsh; *A.P.C.* 1547-1550, 478. W. Hutchinson describes "old closes" which he saw in his *History of Cumberland*, II, 550 note.
- ³¹ Netherby Maps; Sanderson, *Survey*, 12-16.
- ³² Chatsworth, Londesborough MSS, Bundle 44, Rental of Cumberland 1609; *C.B.P.*, I, 124-6. Cf. Hutchinson, II, 550 note, 547 note. The tenants of Nichol Forest in Henry VIII's reign are shown in P.R.O., D.L., Rentals and Surveys, D.L. 43/1/16. I owe this reference to Mr Philip Dixon.
- ³³ C.R.O. Carlisle Probate Registry; *C.S.P. Ireland* 1603-1606, 554-6. Cf. claims for losses to Scottish reiving in N. & B. xxx-xxxviii.
- ³⁴ Netherby Maps; Sanderson, *Survey*, 13; CW2, xiv, 148; John Rylands Library, Crawford MS 59/1/7 f. 110.
- ³⁵ *C.S.P.D. Add*, 1547-1565, 350.
- ³⁶ *C.B.P.*, I, 101.
- ³⁷ C.R.O. Carlisle Probate Registry, 1600; D/Pen/216 f. 126. Carwinley Mill is shown on both the 1552 and 1607 maps (CW2, xiv, 133, 148).
- ³⁸ P.R.O., D.L. 44/642; C.R.O. D/Pen/216 f. 125 *et seq.* Richard Graham of Longtown employed a clerk, William Haire, to collect blackmail from the tenants of Lanercost (*C.B.P.*, II, no. 613).
- ³⁹ P.R.O., S.P. 14/18/113, i; *C.S.P.D.* 1603-1610, 292.
- ⁴⁰ Spence, *Northern History*, xiii, 77-97.
- ⁴¹ Rae, *Administration of the Scottish Frontier*, 9-11. Cf. Sir Robert Bowes' views in 1550 on partible inheritance and overpopulation on the Borders, in J. Hodgson, *A History of Northumberland*, part III, ii (Newcastle, 1828), 243.
- ⁴² C.R.O. D/Pen/216 f. 125 *et seq.*

- ⁴³ Appendices A and B. It was estimated that a third of the inhabitants of the English Borders were Scots. English officials were hostile to Scottish immigration (Tough, *Last Years*, 179). Cf. Lord Herries' perceptive comments on the attraction of the more fertile English Marches which could sustain a higher population than the Scottish (*R.P.C. Scotland*, III, 79). The common but mistaken English view that the English border wastes were underpopulated (hence the ease of Scottish incursions) and should be colonised by people moved from heavily populated regions is well stated in *C.B.P.*, II, no. 323.
- ⁴⁴ *C.B.P.*, II, 613, 815-6. It was the danger of forays by the Scots such as on 20 March 1601 (*C.B.P.*, II, 736) that made urgent the rebuilding of the bridge over the Eden near Carlisle as an escape route for the local inhabitants (*A.P.C.* 1601-1604, 424-5) and this was authorised by the statute 43 Eliz. I, c. 16 (1601).
- ⁴⁵ *A.P.C.* 1591-1593, 106-7; Spence, *Northern History*, xiii, 77-9.
- ⁴⁶ *C.B.P.*, I, 126.
- ⁴⁷ *A.P.C.* 1591-1592, 291-2, 1592, 29.
- ⁴⁸ Sanderson, *Survey*, 31, *C.B.P.*, II, 133-4; *Howard Family Documents*, Index, part I, c. 6, 1.
- ⁴⁹ *C.B.P.*, II, 686-7, 815-6. Cf. the unenforceable statute of 1601 to prohibit blackmail, Eliz. I, 43 c. 13. Hutchin of Guards was denounced for levying blackmail of four pecks of malt annually from each husbandman in Cargo near Carlisle, where his followers divided their "busy week" spoil in 1603 (MP, 258).
- ⁵⁰ Tough, *Last Years*, 42; R. S. Ferguson, *Carlisle* (1889), 132. There was also the local burden of the cost of border defence. Lord Scrope, for example, after the arrest and punishment of two Armstrongs in Feb. 1601, levied a rate of 5s. for every plough kept by a gentleman and 6d. for husbandmen, householders and tenants with four acres but no plough (C.R.O.D./Lons/L Al/1, f. 16).
- ⁵¹ Andrew B. Appleby, "Disease or Famine? Mortality in Cumberland and Westmorland, 1580-1640", *Economic History Review*, 2nd ser. xxvi (1973), 403-31. See also J. Hughes, "The Plague in Carlisle 1597/8", CW2, lxxi, 52-63.
- ⁵² P.R.O., S.P. 14/6/43.
- ⁵³ Tough, *Last Years*, 180, 183m
- ⁵⁴ Spence, *Northern History*, xiii, 97-160.