

ART. VIII.—*Five Bewcastle wills, 1587-1617.* By  
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*Read at Keswick, April 1967.*

THE wills and inventories given below<sup>1</sup> may add something to our understanding of the day to day life of the common people on the West Marches of England in the later years of Queen Elizabeth and early years of King James I. The Surtees Society has printed many wills of this period but they relate in the main to the East and Middle Marches. Moreover, with few exceptions they are those of noblemen, gentlemen, substantial yeomen and merchants. The wills of humbler people are few.

The wills, and even more so the inventories, throw light on farming in Bewcastle 350 to 400 years ago. John Routledge of the Black dubs held less than 15 acres of land<sup>2</sup> yet he owned more than 50 head of cattle, the majority of which were put out to pasture on other men's farms. James Routledge of the Ash had 42 beasts as well as sheep and a horse. His holding consisted of 21 acres,<sup>3</sup> and he too had cattle grazing on other farms. Among the factors influencing the number of livestock which could be kept were the provision of fodder during the winter, and the shelter available in the way of byres. The problem was a very real one. So much so that it was usual in high-lying districts to slaughter the cattle for which there

<sup>1</sup> See Appendix I. The wills form part of the material I collected when writing an account of the Routledge family of Cumcrook (CW2 lxx 320-370). They are the five earliest wills at Carlisle of men bearing the surname of Routledge and living in the parish of Bewcastle. That they are all Routledge wills is I think immaterial. Had they been Forsters, Nixons or Nobles the overall picture would have been little different. A note on each of the testators is given in Appendix II.

<sup>2</sup> SBL 29. The land is called "knowne grounde" in the Survey, and I assume it was enclosed. In addition, as customary tenants, they had grazing rights on the commons. The acreage of the holdings is given in statute measure.

<sup>3</sup> SBL 29.

was a lack of fodder. This was done about Martinmas each year and the beef salted down.<sup>4</sup> The stronger animals were "wintered", but more often than not they emerged from the byres in the Spring in a weak condition. John and James Routledge seem to have overcome the difficulty by placing their surplus cattle with farmers whose lands were understocked, and who therefore had hay and byre accommodation in excess of their needs. This arrangement had another advantage. It lessened the risk of loss from marauders from across the Border.<sup>5</sup> These two men were substantial farmers. At the other end of the scale was William Routledge, the younger, of Todholes, a poor man.<sup>6</sup> Although he owned the tenement whereon he lived he possessed only three cows and three other cattle, the total value of which was £3. 5s. His hay and corn were worth 10s.

Of the livestock, apart from numbers and values, the information to be gleaned is scanty. Cattle predominate over sheep, and black cattle are more frequently mentioned than those of other colours. They were probably of or akin to the Galloway breed. A black-belted ox stirk is met with, as is also a black branded ox.<sup>7</sup> Was the first a belted Galloway bullock and the other a "blue gray" one? One beast is singled out for special mention. She is called "a choise kowe". Similar words are used today when describing an outstanding animal at an auction

<sup>4</sup> A large store of salt beef was sometimes a liability. In 1618 Lord William Howard of Naworth accused William Taylor of Roantrees in Bewcastle of being a thief. In support of his accusation he said that in the summer of 1616 "he (Wm. Taylor) did eat in his sheild in shilding tyme nine barrells of salted beefe, a large proportion for his familie in so short a tyme" (SS 68 438).

<sup>5</sup> John and James Routledge evidently believed in the old saying, "Do not place all your eggs in one basket".

<sup>6</sup> The majority of the tenants were poor; "rude for want of instruction, and poor for want of stock, having more ground by a great quantite than they are able to store" (SBL 35).

Another poor man was William Routledge of Wickerthwaite, par. Stapleton. His goods were "prized" on 26 July 1620 — His apparell 6s., Insight of his house 20d., crope of otes, bigg and hay 20s., five kyne and their calves £5. Total £6. 7s. 8d. He owed debts amounting to £4. 14s. Admon. at Carlisle 23 October 1620 to Rosamond Routledge his widow.

<sup>7</sup> Branded is the northern form of brindled, meaning of mixed colour. I do not think the ox had been branded with an iron.

mart or at a local agricultural show. I wish I could say more about the breeds of cattle prevalent on the West Marches, but little is known and much is surmise. In addition to those already noticed, the wills mention white, brown and red animals; the last a red "cowed quy", that is, a red polled heifer. No doubt there was much haphazard breeding, with the small but hardy Galloway remaining dominant.<sup>8</sup>

Only two horses are met with, a black mare worth 10s. and a gray nag valued at 30s.<sup>9</sup> At this time ploughing was done by oxen. Later, Bewcastle became a great horse-raising district and was noted for its horses and horse-dealers.<sup>10</sup>

Prices need much research. Many inventories and accounts have to be studied in arriving at something approaching a true picture.<sup>11</sup> Only three of the four inventories given in Appendix I are of use for this purpose, and naturally the information derived from them is limited. They cover the years 1612 to 1617. Good oxen in Bewcastle were worth 30s. apiece. Others were valued at £1. 6s. 8d. and £1. 2s. 6d., and two obviously poor ones at 12s. 6d. each. The average value of all ten oxen mentioned in the inventories was £1. 4s. 8d.<sup>12</sup> Cows

<sup>8</sup> There is some evidence that enlightened men in the North were interested in establishing or preserving breeds. The Rev. Cuthbert Ridley, rector of Simonburn, who lived only 20 miles from Bewcastle had a small herd of white cattle. In his will (1636) he mentions "eight white oxen and seven white kine with three calves". In 1629 Lord William Howard had wild cattle brought to Naworth from Thornthwaite in Westmorland (SS 68 264), and six years later Sir William Brereton saw wild cattle in the bishop of Durham's park at Auckland (SS 124 10). Mention of the well-known Chillingham herd in Northumberland occurs in 1645/6 (NCHN xiv 301). Returning to the domestic cattle of Cumberland, Bailey and Culley, in 1796, described them as "a small breed of long horns with a few exceptions of the Galloway breed intermixed".

<sup>9</sup> The will (1631/2) of John Routledge of Daplemore, parish of Stapleton, contains a bequest of a "bosaned meare". Bosaned is I think intended for haubond, that is the mare was piebald or had white spots on a black or bay ground.

<sup>10</sup> An old Northumberland farmer once said to me, "Give a Bewcastle man a halter and he will soon find a horse".

<sup>11</sup> The Border Papers would have been a very useful source if the values in respect of losses could have been relied on. Unfortunately, despite penalties, the Borderers invariably grossly overvalued their stock. See Scrope to Burghley (BP ii 188).

<sup>12</sup> Four stots, that is bullocks under 2 years, averaged 15s.

and calves were usually valued together, which implies that they ran together in the fields or on the commons. It is unlikely that the cows were used for dairy purposes. Four cows each with a calf were worth £4. 16s., that is an average of £1. 4s. for cow and calf; and nineteen cows with nine "followers" were valued at £24. In the latter case a fair average for a cow with a suckler would be £1. 9s., and the three cows of William Routledge of Todholes were perhaps worth 12s. 6d. each. The only cow valued separately (probably a milk cow) was worth £1. 6s. 4d. A heifer, maybe newly calved or due to calve, was valued at £1. 6s. and two "first neates"<sup>13</sup> were worth 20s. each. Of the sheep, little can be added to the information given in the inventories. Four ewes are valued at 2s. each. As the inventory was made in the month of July they were probably geld or keb<sup>14</sup> ewes, and as such may have been worth less than a breeding ewe. A ewe with a lamb averaged 4s., and young sheep and hogs just under half a crown each. Wool was 6s. a stone.

It will be apparent that livestock values in Bewcastle were low, lower, in fact, than those ruling in other parts of the North of England. One can only conclude that the animals were small in comparison with those in more favoured places. This is not to be wondered at when it is remembered that the land was poor, the holdings small, and that the tenants were "very rude and poor". Moreover, the region had for centuries been subject to an almost continuous state of petty warfare, and that at the time the inventories were made lawlessness still prevailed. Some average prices with place and year are given in the annexed table.

<sup>13</sup> First neates: year-old cattle, or between one and two.

<sup>14</sup> Keb ewe: A ewe that has dropped a dead lamb.

Table of Average Values.

Place and Year	Cattle		Sheep		Horses		Pigs	
	No.	Average Value	No.	Average Value	No.	Average Value	No.	Average Value
Bewcastle 1612-1617	60	17s. 10d.	44	2s. 2d.	2	£1. 0s. 0d.		
Bewcastle (includes Solport) 1618	151	19s. 2d.	58	2s. 9d.	9	£2. 4s. 1d.	3	5s. 4d.
Styford, Northumberland 1602	50	£1. 6s. 0d.	420	5s. 5d.				
Orton, Westmorland 1606	4	£1. 1s. 3d.	24	4s. 7d.				
East Murton, co. Durham 1607	16	£1. 10s. 2d.	19	7s. 1d.	2	£2. 3s. 4d.		
Melmerby 1613	1	£1. 0s. 0d.	29	3s. 5d.				
Gainford, co. Durham 1615	24	£1. 18s. 6d.	51	5s. 6d.	2	£1. 10s. 0d.	3	6s. 0d.
Woodhorn, Northumberland 1616	76	£1. 11s. 0d.	90	2s. 5d.	4	£3. 5s. 0d.	11	2s. 0d.
Plumpton, Hesket in the Forest 1618	20	£1. 15s. 6d.	112	3s. 6d.	8	£2. 15s. 0d.	4	3s. 4d.

Notes. The values have been compiled from inventories at Carlisle and Durham. The second list of Bewcastle values is from the inventory (8 May 1618) of John Musgrave of Plumpton, a substantial man, farming at Bewcastle and Solport as well as at Plumpton. The inventory gives information about crops and values of grain, and as these are lacking in "Five Bewcastle Wills", some items are given here. At Bewcastle, 25 bushels and 3 pecks of bigge (barley), value £6. 5s. 0d.; 14 bushels of haver (oats), 28s. At Solport, 8 bushels of bigge, 32s., and malt in the making, 30s.; 6 bushels of skillings (shelled oats), 36s. Seeds were sown at both places. At Bewcastle, 4 bushels of haver and a peck of beans, value £4. 2s. 0d. At Solport, 60 bushels of haver £6, and wheat and rye, 15s.

Household furniture was almost non-existent, and it is clear there was little comfort in the home.<sup>15</sup> James Routledge of the Bailey head whose household effects totalled £1. 15s. 4d., had only one chair but he had sheets and bedding. His most valuable article was a brass pot worth 13s. 4d. James Routledge of the Ash had two chairs, but his brass pot even with the addition of a pan was worth only 4s. Both men were better off than William Routledge of Todholes. His "insight"<sup>16</sup> was valued at 4s. plus 16d. for a pan.

Most Borderers had an alias or second name distinct from their own surname. In communities of Routledges, Nixons and Nobles it was very necessary to distinguish between men bearing the same surname and having the same christian name. The difficulty was overcome by coupling with the man's christian name some indication of his descent, or his place of residence, or some peculiarity in his appearance or personality. Many such names occur in these wills. The following are typical: cuddie's John, Eckies edmount, Thomas of the Eakeshawe, geordy of the butter hill, Andrewe rowtlidge alias blackstaffe and Ramish<sup>17</sup> John's Whinton.

It will be noticed that four out of five of the testators express a wish to be buried within the church of Bewcastle. This is a high proportion, but too much importance should not be attached to the figures. They do however indicate that many burials took place within the church, and in fact it seems likely that it was greatly

<sup>15</sup> The houses, too, were very primitive. Bailey and Culley said "they are mostly built of mud and clay, and form a miserable contrast to the buildings in the other part of the county" (*View of the Agriculture of Cumberland*, c. 1796).

<sup>16</sup> Insight denotes household goods.

<sup>17</sup> Ramish or rammish means rough or violent; perhaps lusty. It occurs in *Th' Upshot* by Mark Lonsdale (1758-1815):

*Young Martha Todd was haister't sair  
By rammish Wully Barr'as,  
They lost thersell an hour an mair  
etc.*

It also means rank or foul smelling.

overcrowded. Burial in the church was usually the prerogative of the more substantial parishioners, and higher fees were charged by the clergy for the privilege.<sup>18</sup> The funeral expenses of James Routledge of the Ash who died in 1617, and who was buried in Bewcastle churchyard amounted to 11s. 10d.

It seems clear that almost every person dwelling in Bewcastle was illiterate, for in the whole of the five wills and inventories only two men sign their own names. They were Thomas Musgrave, captain of Bewcastle, and Anthony Baines, clerk, both of whom witnessed the will of John Routledge of the Black dubs.<sup>19</sup> The remaining wills were probably drawn up by the parson of Bewcastle or perhaps by a lawyer, but bear no signatures. They appear, in each case, to have been made while the testator lay dying surrounded by kinsmen and friends.

The men of Bewcastle had originally held their lands by a kind of military tenure,<sup>20</sup> and this coupled with a certain pride of ancestry caused many comparatively humble Borderers to regard themselves as gentlemen, and to assume arms.<sup>21</sup> We catch a glimpse of this spirit in the will of William Routledge of Todholes, a very poor man. All who read his will cannot fail to be moved. We see him on a sick bed prepared to die, but at the same time hoping, indeed perhaps praying, that his unborn child will be a son. Should it be a boy he bequeaths

<sup>18</sup> John alias Jock Routledge of Durtupp desired to be buried in the chancel of Bewcastle church. He directed his executrix to pay "Doctor Sibson parson there the duties thereunto belonging". He also gave 2s. 6d. to the Church for the "reparation of the windowes thereof" (Will dated 19 May 1635, proved at Carlisle 29 July 1636).

<sup>19</sup> The will is in the handwriting of Baines.

<sup>20</sup> See CW2 lxxv 320 (footnote 1).

<sup>21</sup> These arms may be seen on 18th-century gravestones in many churchyards in northern Cumberland. Those of Routledge are to be found at Bewcastle and Stapleton. All the shields, with the exception of that of Thomas Routledge of Smithsteads, bear or are intended to bear a chevron between a garb and a sprig of willow, and in chief a sword fessways. Each coat is differentiated by a charge in base such as a heart, a fleur-de-lis or an oakleaf. Some but not all are recorded by F. J. Field in *An Armorial for Cumberland*. In 1666 Thomas Routledge of Kirkoswald was disclaimed by Dugdale. His arms are not known.

to him his sword.<sup>22</sup> Failing a boy he wishes it to go to his sister's son, Edward Routledge, so that it may continue as an heirloom in the Routledge name and blood. I doubt if another will such as this can be found anywhere in England, unless indeed on the English-Scottish border.

## APPENDIX I.

### **Will of John Routledge of the Blackdubs.<sup>23</sup>**

1587. March 26. In Dei nomine Amen, I John rowtlidge of the blackdubs, sicke in bodye but hole in mynd, and in good and perfect remembrance, thanks be unto god make this my last will and testament, in manour and forme Followinge First I commend my Sowll into the hands of almightie god and my body to be buried in my parish church of Bewcastle. Item I gyve and bequeath unto my master Mr. Thomas musgrave £6. 13s. of good and lawfull mony of Ingland to be taken of duke Stavely For the gettinge of the rest to the use of my children. Item I gyve and bequeath to my mistres his wiffe 29s. to be taken of peter Lambart and mathew kirsopp of the Fowersteenes.<sup>24</sup> Item I gyve and bequeath to my brother nycholl('s) wyffe one browne kowe in the hand of clemmy of the Flatt. Item I gyve to my Sister Annas one kowe of hir owne chowsinge. Item I gyve and bequeath my bowght land holy to my Sonne Cuddy bell. Item I gyve to Andrewe rowtlidge alias blackstaffe one kowday.<sup>25</sup> Item I gyve to hob rowtlidge

<sup>22</sup> Following a proclamation made in 1605 it became an offence for anyone dwelling on the Borders (Bewcastle dale specially mentioned) save only noblemen and gentlemen, unsuspected of felony or theft and not being of broken clans, to go armed with a sword or other weapon (NB i cxxviii).

<sup>23</sup> This will is given in full, but in the four which follow the conventional preamble to the will has been omitted. Contractions have been extended throughout.

<sup>24</sup> Fourstones, par. of Warden, Northumberland. Lambert and Kirsopp were well-known surnames in that district.

<sup>25</sup> Kowday: a puzzling word. Four "cowdoos" are mentioned in a Gilsland complaint of 1595 (BP ii 64), and I am indebted to Mr C. Roy Hudleston of Durham City for an extract from the will (1633/4) of James Forster of Crackthrope, par. of Stapleton, mentioning "a black ox cowday" (two bequests) and "a black quie cowday". In 1667 Daniel Sowerby of Sleetbeck in Bewcastle left each of his servants "a cowday or 10s.". From this it would appear that a kowday could be either a bullock or a heifer, in colour it tended to be black, but not necessarily so, and that in 1667 it was worth about 10s. Jamieson's *Dictionary of the Scottish Language* (abridged ed. 1877) gives Cowda (Roxb) Cowdie (Dumf): A small cow. Cowdy: A little cow, a Scotch runt without horns. Cowdach: A heifer, a big stirk, a little nolt beast. The word "cowey", in use in Cumberland and Northumberland today, meaning a hornless beast is I think a derivative. To sum up, a kowday was a small or stunted polled animal of either sex, probably akin to the Galloway breed.



of the myer one why<sup>26</sup> in will talers hand of the herper hill. Item I gyve and bequeath to the woman thatt kept my howse called by the naime of Sibell bell vi kine and viii Fower-year-olds and iii other nowlt.<sup>27</sup> And as For the Stedinge whereon I dwell I gyve to my eldest sonne Tome rowtlidge commandinge him not to put out the womane that kept my howse duringe hir likinge. The rest of all my goods moveable and unmoveable (my funerall expences discharged) I gyve and bequeath to my iii children Thomas rowtlidge, Cuddy bell and esabell bell whome Jointly and severally I make my executors equally to be devyded Amonge them att the Seight of thes iiii honest men viz. Clemy of the kill, Adam Story, rychie rowtlidge of cumcrooke and Will of the croft. And my master Mr. Thomas musgrave to be umpear in the caise. written the xxvith of march 1587. Wittnesses of this will Thomas Musgrave, Adam x Story, hob x rowtlidge of the myer, nycholl x rowtlidge, Anthony baines, clarke.

Proved at Carlisle 19 May 1587 by Cuthbert one of the executors, power reserved to the other executors.

A note of such monye as is owinge unto John rowtlidge alias of the blackdubs with a note of his nowlt that are in other mens hands and att home and what he himself is owinge.

And First of the monie.

Imprimis gawin Armestronge	£2.		
Adam Storie	£1.	6s.	8d.
Ecke noble	£1.	7s.	
geordy pruddom		15s.	
rychie Sowerby	£1.	6s.	
Johns willy	£1.		
Cuddies John of the trough		15s.	
Joh. Murrese of heskatt	£1.	6s.	8d.
Will Sanderson	£2.	6s.	8d.
Christopher Sanderson }			
geordy of the butter hill		12s.	4d.
Jamy of the nuke		13s.	
mathewe of the parke		3s.	4d.
peter Lambart		9s.	
mathew kirsop	£1.		
Jenkin Armestronge		6s.	
John of the kill		6s.	6d.
Josye bell		6s.	

<sup>26</sup> Why or whie, also spelt quey: a heifer.

<sup>27</sup> Nowlt: cattle.

Eckies edmount	17s.
Duke Stavely	£16. 13s. 4d.
gawin of the moore	8s.
Summa	£33. 13s. 4d.*

A note of his cattle in other mens hands and att his owne howse.

Eckies edmount	one ox & viii other nowlt
Will Taler of the herper hill	one kow & one whye
Ecke noble	o blacke ox
Geordy of the hare hill	one stott <sup>28</sup>
Jeffray robson of Kinge(water) <sup>29</sup>	iii nowlt
John robson of the Saime	iiii nowlt whereof
one is a choise kowe	
Tome Steavenson	ii nowlt
Jenkin Armestronge	ii kine & one whit whie
Clemetts Adam	ii kine
Antony of the pickes	ii stots & one whye
cuddies John of the trough	ii younge oxen
Ramish Johns Whinton	one kowe & one ox
geordy pruddom	iii younge kine
Jamy of the nuke	iii whies
Rowye ellot	one kowe & one ox
John of the kill	one kowe & one ox
Thomas of the eakeshawe	one ox
att his owne howse	viii nowlt
Summa	xlxiii nowlt

A note of such debts as John rowtlidge abovesaid confessed himself to be owinge.

Imprimis To one John woode	8s. 4d.
To one in Carliell	2s. 4d.
To one John crowe	7s. 4d.
per me Anthonie baines	

cl . . .

### Will of Rowland Rutledge of the Nook.<sup>30</sup>

1597. March 22. Will of Rowland Rutledge of the Newke within the parish of Bewcastle being sicke in bodie but in perfect remembrance, etc. To be buried in the parish church of Bew-

\* There is a mistake in the addition. It should read £33. 17s. 6d.

<sup>28</sup> Stott: a bullock under two years old.

<sup>29</sup> Kinge with a contraction mark. Robsons were numerous in the parish of Lanercost. In addition to Kingwater there was a farm called King Hill there.

<sup>30</sup> There is no inventory with this will.

castle. First I Give<sup>31</sup> that my sonnes sonne Adam Rutledge and the daughter of Gracie Rutledge of the Crooke burne called Elizabeth Rutledge shall marrie when it pleaseth my maister Thomas musgrave Captaine of bewcastle. Item I give Adam Rutledge and Elizabeth Rutledge all my title and claime of my tenement of the Newke which was in the occupation of Richard Rutledge my father with all houses, barnes, meadowes and pastures thereunto belonging. Item My will is that if the said Adam Rutledge and Elizabeth Rutledge chance to die without Issue that then all the tenement and farmehold of the Newke shall come to Thomas Rutledge and Gracie Rutledge his mother whom I make executors of this my last will and testament witnesses hereof John Rutledge, Dand Baylie and George Armstrang. And further my will is that the aforesaid Gracie Rutledge shall have the said land untill the above said Adam Rutledge come to lawfull years.

Proved at Carlisle 7 October 1608 by John Rutledge and Gracie his wife.

#### **Will of James Routledge of the Baileyhead.**

1612. April 25. Will of James Rutledge of the balyhead within the parish of Bucastle being sicke in body but in perfect remembrance, etc. To be buried in the Church of Bucastle paying such duties as thereunto belongeth. First I give to my wife Janet Rutledge all my lands and tenements that I hold and have within the baly during her natural life. And my will is that after her decease my eldest Sonne Thomas Rutledge shall have all the land of the balyhead; and also I ordaine that after the death of my said wife my second Sonne Richard Rutledge shall have the tenement in Sleetbecke and the tenement of the Nuke now in the tenor of Gawin Hamelton provided also that if my wife and my eldest Sonne Thomas can not agree then I will that he dwell upon that land of the balyhead late in the occupation of Antony Carleton and after her death to enter on the whole farmhold of the balyhead. And further my will and pleasure is that my Sone Thomas Rutledge shall pay to my other 2 Sonnes James and Rowland Rutledge either of them Forty shillings of good and lawfull English money towards their maintenance, and likewise my Sonne Richard shall pay to my 2 Sonnes William and John Rutledge the like summe of Forty shillings to either of them towards their further maintenace. And for all my worldly

<sup>31</sup> Word crossed out and "Give" written above. I think "Give" is a mistake on the part of the person who made the will. The sentence should perhaps commence: I will that my sonne's sonne etc.

goods moveable and immoveable my debts and funerall expenses discharged I give to my wife Janet Rutledge. Witnesses hereof. William Rutledge, Simon Rutledge, George Rutledge, Adam Rutledge, Gerard Rutledge, John Fleming with others.

Proved at Carlisle 10 July 1612 by Janet Rutledge his widow.

1612. July 6. The Inventory of all the goods and Chattells of James Rutledge deceased prised by William Rutledge, Archilles Purdom<sup>32</sup> and Simon Rutledge the day and yeare above written.

Inprimis	2 kine, and 2 calves	48s.	
Item	2 kine and 2 calves	48s.	
	2 oxen colour blacke	45s.	
	2 first neates	40s.	
	one gray nagge	30s.	
	ten ewes and lambs	40s.	
	4 ewes	8s.	
	3 yong sheepe	6s.	
	his apparell	13s.	4d.
	one crooke and a kettle	5s.	
	Saddle and bridle	3s.	
	one brasse potte	13s.	4d.
	wooden vessels	4s.	
	one chaire and a chest	3s.	
	sheets and bedding	10s.	
	one stone of wooll <sup>33</sup>	6s.	

Summa totalis £16. 2s. 8d.

### **Will of William Routledge, the younger, of Todholes.**

1612. Dec. 27. Will of William Routlidge younger of Todholes within the parish of Bucastle being sicke in body but in perfect remembrance, etc. To be buryed in the Church of Bucastle neere to the sepulchre of my father. First I give to my daughter Elizabeth Routlidge all my tenement whereof I am possessed with the appurtenances thereunto belonging lying and being in a place tearmed Todholes in Bucastle aforesayd, provided alwayes That if it please God my wife be delivered of a Sonne being now with child by me at my death, then I ordayne and by this my last will absolutely declare and appoint that he shall have the right of my tenement abovesayd notwithstanding my

<sup>32</sup> His Christian name was, I think, Archibald. The name Archilles Routledge occurs in the will of James Routledge of the Ash. There is little doubt that his name, too, was Archibald.

<sup>33</sup> A stone of wool in Cumberland formerly contained 16 lbs. (Bailey and Culley's *View of the Agriculture of Cumberland*).

bequest to my daughter Elizabeth Routlidge. Item I give to Edward Routlidge my Sister's Sonne my sword, and if my wife be with a sonne, then my will is, that he shall have the same when he comes to yeares of discretion. And all the rest of my goods moveable and immoveable my debts payed and funerall expenses discharged, I give to my wife izabell Routlidge and Elizabeth Routlidge my daughter equally to be devided betweene them, and I ordayne Elizabeth Routlidge my daughter the sole executrix of this my last will and testament. witnesses hereof James Routlidge, William Nixon, William Burne, George Nixon, John Routlidge, Edward Routledge and Christopher Nixon.

Proved at Carlisle 26 November 1613 by Isabell Routlidge his widow.

The Inventory of all the goods and Cattells (*sic*) of William Routlidge yonger of the parish of Bucastle deceased prised by William Routlidge, James Routlidge, William Nixon and William Routlidge elder the 19 day of November Anno Domini 1612.<sup>34</sup>  
Inprimis 3 kine and a stirke<sup>35</sup> 40s.

Item	2 oxen	25s.
	his Apparell	5s.
	Corne and hay	10s.
	Insight	4s.
	one panne	16d.
	Summa totalis	£4. 5s. 4d.

Debtes which the testator oweth

Inprimis	to Alexander Nixon	33s.	4d.
	to Edward Routlidge		12d.
	to his sister Elizabeth	3s.	4d.

### Will of James Routledge of the Ash.

(Undated) Will of James Routledge of the Ashe within the parish of Bewcastle being sick in body but in perfect remembrance, etc. To be buried in the Churchyard of Bewcastle.

First I give to my brother Thomas Routledge of the Ashe one black belted oxen stirke. Item I give to my brother Richard Routledge one red cowed quy. Item I bequeath to my Sister Elizabeth Foster a black stott. As for the rest of my goods moveable and immoveable my debts payed and funerall expenses discharged

<sup>34</sup> 1612 is a slip by the person who entered up the inventory. It is clear that this should read 1613.

<sup>35</sup> Stirke, or stirk: a young beast, formerly a year-old bullock.

I give to my wife Elenor Routledge and my fower children viz., Francis Routledge, Elenor Routledge, James Routledge and George Routledge to be equally devided amongst them by the judgement of 4 friends viz., Thomas Routledge, Archilles Routledge, Richard Foster and Cuthbert Routledge of Okeshaw. And I ordayne and make Elenor my wife and Francis Routledge my eldest sonne the joynt Executors of this my last will and testament. Witnesses hereof, Edward Routledge, Richard Routledge, Archilles Routledge, Thomas Routledge, Richard Foster and Cuthbert Routledge with divers others.

Proved at Carlisle 17 October 1617 by Elinor Routledge.

10 October 1617. The Inventory of all the goods and Chattels of James Routledge of the ashe within the parish of Bewcastle deceased prised by John Foster, Quintyn Sowerby, Archilles Routledge and Thomas Routledge de kill the day and yeare above said.

Inprimis	4 oxen	£6.	
Item	4 Stottes	£3.	
	xix kine and ix followers	£24.	
	a black mare	10s.	
	Corne and hay	50s.	
	17 hogges <sup>36</sup>	42s.	6d.
	his apparell	20s.	
	one brasse pott and a pan.	4s.	
	2 tubbes, one kitt, <sup>37</sup> dishes and other insight geare	15s.	
	2 chaires, one crooke and a pare of tongs	2s.	
	one plough, one wayne, one yooke and plough irons	2s.	6d.
	in the hands of Ingram barnefather 2 kine	53s.	4d.
	in the hands of Thomas Henderson of Sleetebeck alias Johns Thom a black quy	26s.	
	in the hands of Thomas Sowerby one cow	26s.	4d.
	in the hands of John Routledge an oxe	26s.	8d.
	in the hands of Thomas Routledge of the Ashe	20s.	
	in the hands of George Nickson one black braded <sup>38</sup> (sic) oxe	30s.	
	Summa totalis	£49.	9s. 4d. <sup>39</sup>

<sup>36</sup> Hogges or hogs: young sheep between the age of weaning and first clipping.

<sup>37</sup> Kitt: a barrel or tub usually with a lid.

<sup>38</sup> Intended for branded.

<sup>39</sup> The total should be £49. 8s. 4d.

Debtes owinge by the deceased

Inprimis	to Edward Routledge of the Ash	2s.	
Item	to John Routledge of kinkerhill	3s.	4d.
	to William Ellwood	3s.	
	to David little	14s.	
	to John Foster	6s.	8d.
	to George Foster	16s.	
	to Henry Browham	8s.	
	for harvest worke	9s.	4d.
	for funerall expenses	11s.	10d.
	to francis urwen	15.	4d.
	Summa totalis	£4.	19s. 6d.

## APPENDIX II.

### John Routledge of Black dubs.

We first meet with John Routledge in Thomas Musgrave's account of the "Border Riders";<sup>40</sup> also mentioned is Nicoll his brother. He, too, dwelt at Black dubs. There appear to have been five tenements there, all of them small. John Routledge held two of them. In 1604 the owners of these tenements were his son Thomas, and one Cuthbert Routledge.<sup>41</sup> The latter was, I think, his illegitimate son Cuthbert Bell to whom his father bequeathed his "bowght land". He appears to have discarded the name of Bell and taken that of his father.

John Routledge and his housekeeper Sibel Bell must have lived together many years more or less as man and wife. In his will he made generous provision for her and their children, although his legitimate son Thomas Routledge did not fare so well. It is possible, however, that the latter was already well established in life. Nevertheless, John Routledge seems to have sensed that trouble might arise after his death and he took precautions to ensure that his wishes were carried out.

At the time of his death he had debts owing to him amounting to nearly £34, a surprisingly high figure. It may be worth noting that seven of his debtors were men on whose lands he had cattle pasturing. His principal debtor however was Duke Stavely who owed him £16. 13s. 4d. He may be identified as Marmaduke Stavely who together with John Musgrave were deputy captains of Bewcastle in 1583.<sup>42</sup> It would seem that

<sup>40</sup> BP I 123.

<sup>41</sup> SBL 29. Cuthbert Routledge derived his title from his father John Routledge.

<sup>42</sup> BP I 99.

Routledge must have lent somewhat unwisely for he offered Thomas Musgrave no less than £6. 13s. if he succeeded in collecting the debt.

### **Rowland Routledge of the Nook.**

Rowland Routledge may be identified as Dike's Rowe Routledge who in 1583 is mentioned by Musgrave.<sup>43</sup> He lived near to Jeme Routledge of the Neuk (Nook), and as there were several tenements there he no doubt occupied one of them. Two years earlier he had suffered at the hands of the Armstrongs of Liddesdale led by Kynmont Jock, losing thirty cattle, a horse and his "insight" valued in all at £60.<sup>44</sup> In 1587 the Nook was again raided by the Armstrongs and fifty head of cattle belonging to Andrew Routledge were driven away; in addition his corn and his house with its contents were burned.<sup>45</sup>

When Rowland Routledge made his will, in 1597, he was apparently guardian of his son's son Adam Routledge, a minor. We find him deeply concerned for the welfare of the boy and engaged in ordering and arranging his betrothal to a girl of his own surname, Elizabeth Routledge. The young people were probably cousins. The will does not mention her father, but her mother Grace was the wife of John Routledge of Crookburn,<sup>46</sup> and he in all probability was her father.

The will is remarkable in that it mentions four generations of the testator's family.

### **James Routledge of the Baileyhead.**

I am unable to identify James Routledge with certainty. His will tells us that in addition to Baileyhead he held tenements at Sleetbeck and the Nook. In 1583 there were Routledges at all three places;<sup>47</sup> in 1604 three of the five tenements at Sleetbeck were held by James Routledge, Thomas Routledge and William Routledge. Baileyhead and the Nook are not mentioned

<sup>43</sup> BP 1 123.

<sup>44</sup> NB 1 xxxiii.

<sup>45</sup> NB 1 xxxi.

<sup>46</sup> In 1617 he was bailiff of Bewcastle (SS 68 438-439). Lord William Howard of Naworth had a poor opinion of him. He called him "a common drover of cattle into the south", and more or less accused him of being a thief, but Lord William was a South-countryman and his standards and those of the Borderers were very different. He rated the Musgraves low, yet as we have seen, the Bewcastle men placed their trust in Thomas Musgrave, and in 1631 John Routledge of Dapleymoore said, "And for the good opinion that I have of Edward Musgrave, gent and Thomas foster my brother in law . . . I make them Supervisors of this my last will" (Will dated 11 February 1631/2, proved at Carlisle 1 January 1632-3).

<sup>47</sup> BP 1 123.



by name, but a certain James Routledge held 38 acres of land in the bailey.<sup>48</sup> This man was, I think, the testator.

Thomas,<sup>49</sup> the eldest son of James Routledge, became a pawn in a bitter quarrel between Lord William Howard of Naworth and Sir William Hutton of Shank, one of the commissioners for the government of the Middle Shires as King James I preferred to call the Borders. In the course of the quarrel Lord William was commanded by the King to appear before the Lords of the Council. The history of the quarrel is told in Lord William's own words in SS 68 452-456. It makes interesting reading, and tells how Thomas Routledge, although innocent, was maliciously prosecuted by Sir William Hutton for felony, found guilty by a partial jury, condemned to death and finally "saved by his book".<sup>50</sup>

### **William Routledge, the younger, of Todholes.**

The Routledges of Todholes appear to have been active men. About the year 1540 James Routledge of Todholes with other Englishmen is found raiding Abbotrule in Rule Water.<sup>51</sup> Another member of the family, although perhaps an unlucky one, was Thomas Routledge who in resisting a big raid by the Elliots of Liddesdale in 1581 was taken prisoner, and his horse with him.<sup>52</sup> Two years later he figured in a desperate encounter with the Armstrongs. In this raid Allan Routledge was killed and many others of his surname "were hurt in peril of death",

<sup>48</sup> SBL 29 and 30. The Survey shows that he was not the same man as James Routledge who held a tenement at Sleetbeck. The father of James of the Bailey was James Routledge, while James of Sleetbeck was a son of Andrew Routledge.

<sup>49</sup> He was known as Baylihead. In 1616 it was reported that he had fled among the outlaws, and Sir Wilfrid Lawson and Sir Wm. Hutton, two of the commissioners for the government of the Middle Shires, ordered a party of soldiers from the garrison at Carlisle to occupy his houses until such time as he should surrender himself (NB 1 cxxx).

<sup>50</sup> "Saved by his book" means that he claimed "benefit of the clergy", and that he saved his life by reading a verse from the Bible, usually the beginning of Psalms li. In view of the remarks on illiteracy earlier in this paper it is interesting to note that after Routledge's release Sir William Hutton examined the Ordinary (court official) upon oath as to whether he had not been bribed to favour Routledge.

<sup>51</sup> AL xlix. Compenis the lard of Ferneheist and his puir tennentis of Abbot Rowll apou Dwn George Rowtleische, Wille Rowtleische his brodir, Jame Rowtleische sone to Reyd Rolland, Jame Rowtleische of the Todhoillis, Wille Grame callit Will of the Belle, Mathew Frostar of the Dowhill, Cudde Grhame, Dand Elliot callit Baggott, Wille Grame Arthuris maich, the Grame callit Serke, Johne Richartson servand to Thomas Dacre and thair fallowis, that thai cruellie slew Thome Oliver and Will Kowman agane the vertu, etc. (From S.P. of Scotland, Henry VIII, vol. 5, no. 29 MS. Record Office).

<sup>52</sup> BP 1 70.

among them "Thome of Toddholls". In this foray one man was said to have had his leg cut off.<sup>53</sup>

In 1604 James Routledge of the Toddhills (*sic*) held 18½ acres of land in the Bailey. He derived his title from Martin his father.<sup>54</sup> This tenement seems to be the one owned by William Routledge the younger in 1612. In 1677/8 Thomas Routledge of "Toddels" was presented as a Quaker by the rector and churchwardens of Bewcastle.<sup>55</sup> Perhaps William's sword had now been beaten into a ploughshare! Nevertheless, Todholes continued to be the home of men of the Routledge surname for a great many years.<sup>56</sup>

### James Routledge of the Ash.

I know little of the Routledges of the Ash. In 1604 James Routledge of the Ashes held a tenement of 21 acres in the Bailey. He derived his title from his father George Routledge.<sup>57</sup> The latter may be identical with George Routledge of the "Greinhillesh" (Green Hill Ash) who on 6 October 1583 complained upon "the Lard of Maingerton, Lard of Whithaugh and Eamont Armstronge of Wisgills" with others to the number of forty persons for the theft of ten goats, twenty ewes, all his "insight" and the wounding of himself and his son.<sup>58</sup> This was the raid in which Allan Routledge lost his life and Thomas Routledge of Todholes and others were wounded.

There were Routledges living at the Ash in 1729,<sup>59</sup> but it does not follow that they were of the same family as those mentioned above.

<sup>53</sup> BP I III.

<sup>54</sup> SBL 29.

<sup>55</sup> Bewcastle par. reg., B/Ts.

<sup>56</sup> In 1840 High Todholes and Mid Todholes formed part of the estate of John Routledge (1754-1840) of the Platt, par. of Bewcastle. His wife Jane Routledge (c. 1778-1829) was a daughter of Leonard Routledge of High Todholes. John Routledge died without issue, and left his property at Todholes to his sister Elizabeth the wife of Arthur Harding of Rinnion Hills, par. of Lanercost (MS. account of the Dodgson family of Dodgsonstown, etc., in possession of the writer).

<sup>57</sup> SBL 29.

<sup>58</sup> BP I III.

<sup>59</sup> Bewcastle par. reg., B/Ts.

**Abbreviations.**

SBL	Survey of the Border Lands, 1604, ed. R. P. Sanderson.
BP	Calendar of Border Papers, 1560-1603, 2 vols., ed. J. Bain.
SS	The Surtees Society.
AL	The History of Liddesdale, Eskdale, Ewesdale, Wauchopedale and the Debateable Land, R. B. Armstrong.
NCHN	A History of Northumberland, 1893-1940, 15 vols.

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