

ART. VII. – *Borrowdale, its land tenure and the Records of the Lawson Manor.*

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The history of Cumberland's Borrowdale has been obscured for years by the existence of the document of James I's time called The Great Deed, and by later reliance on peculiar interpretations of, and deductions from, it. Also, we have underestimated the importance of graphite or wad to those who in the seventeenth and eighteenth century had an "interest" in the dale. Moreover the mere title "Freeholders of Borrowdale" has aroused reactions which events since Charles I's reign cannot justify.

First, as to Borrowdale's status before the dissolution of the monasteries – the main head of Borrowdale, Grange, and much of the land around Stonethwaite and up Langstrath had belonged to Furness Abbey, and the lands towards Armbboth and Wythburn to Fountains. By Stonethwaite was an area of intercommonage between Fountains and Furness, the sharing of which followed an agreement of 1211. In "Borcheredale" Furness had not only a "vaccaria" whose rent was 4s. but also "Item de herbagio pasturae [right of or payment for pasturage], 3s. 6d."¹ The Furness Coucher Book and Fountains Chartulary carefully document this. Lower down the dale beyond Barrow Beck was the Manor of Castlerigg and Derwentwater with which I am not much concerned.

Henry VIII, having taken both Fountains and Furness lands, himself in the 37th year of his reign granted all the Fountains lands "in Watendlath and Stainthwaite to Richard Greame",² but the Furness lands remained with the Crown as part of the Duchy of Lancaster until James I was King. This is his grant to two London entrepreneurs:

Rex Willo Whitmore et Jono Verdon . . . tot tenementes maneri de Borrodale in . . . Cumberland cum suis juribus membris et pertinentiis necnon omn. ils. terras er ten's in Borrodale . . . et particular . . . mene [demesne].³

These two, Whitmore and Verdon, were asset-strippers: keeping back the wad they in November 1614 sold the separate farms to thirty-eight people of Cumberland. (The originals of these conveyances do not survive). Then, still keeping the graphite or wad, on 28 November they sold the "Manor of Borrowdale" to the thirty-eight "for the apportionable benefit of themselves and of the rest of the tenants of the Manor . . . ratably and apportionably according to the several rents which they respectively have paid for the several tenements".⁴ What these people received by this Deed included "all the woods . . . wastes, commons, stinted pastures . . . ways and entries, these being things which cannot conveniently be apportioned and divided". The list of those with whom Whitmore and Verdon agreed was headed by "Sir Wilfred Lawson of Isel, Knight", and followed by the names of men who mostly dwelt at the farmsteads of upper Borrowdale.

The Lawson family had already, in 1606, acquired some land of the Fountains territory – from the Grahams (Greames) – "at Watendlath and Stonethwaite, with all Courte Leets . . . and Courte Rowles", and more in 1617. And in the other manor they bought Sea'waite with its "bruery ground" or heathland from Whitmore and Verdon on the eve of the 1614 Great Deed.

To return to Whitmore and the reason which must have driven him to buy from the king and to sell so quickly this far-away manor: the wad-hole had long been known as a source of profit. This profit in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries had been small. Under Furness Abbey the “quarry of stone called Calkstone alias Shepe Oode” had in one year (1514) made 6s. 8d., but the next year this hole on “a mountain called Close Edge” yielded nothing.⁵ For this wad the oldest use was sheep-marking. A report of 1555 by the Royal Commission on the Duchy’s lands formerly of Furness Abbey mentioned the “Comon of Setower, where the wad-hole lies, the comon of the King and Quene’s Majesties”. Half a century later medicinal and mechanical uses for wad had been found – “for cholick, gravel stone and strangury, and to glazen and harden vessels of clay. By rubbing it upon guns and pistols, it preserves them from rusting . . .”⁶ But the urgency of the need for graphite early in James I’s reign is explained by Mr G. C. Boon:⁷ though the graphite of Passau in Bavaria was worked in the beginning of the seventeenth century, “from 1613 the Bavarian authorities banned the export of graphite of crucible-making quality” – and that was just before Whitmore and Verdon bought this graphite-rich manor. The expected shortage must have roused their interest, for graphite was then vital for armaments. These first few years of the reign of the joint King of England and Scotland were in this border country troublous. Armed Scots made a foray on Penrith⁸ and a Royal Commission was appointed to govern the Border. In April 1605 it chose Sir Wilfred Lawson as its convenor and the Grahams, and then the Armstrongs, were dealt with by banishment. How far Lawson acquisition of lands from Richard and Walter Graham were connected with this, I do not know. Wilfred served “in the field” for a while, but by 1615 was too old.

During the Civil War between King and Parliament, Sir Wilfred Lawson (like others) freely changed sides. In April of 1642 he was among those collecting a “voluntary contribution” to His Majesty,¹² but by the time that Charles had, in July 1644, lost the battle of Marston Moor, with Carlisle alone in the North loyal to him, Sir Wilfred headed “a rascall route” to try to take it.¹⁰ Twice that year he and William Lawson (and also Richard Barrwys) were appointed to the county “committee for general assessment”.⁹

Later, when parliamentary forces seriously besieged the city in 1644-5, William Lawson¹¹ of Isel sent money for the King’s cause, but Sir Wilfred had become a parliamentary colonel heading the attackers. He reported that he had found Cumberland “not seduced with lecheres and free from schisme”.¹¹

With Sir Wilfride busy outside Carlisle, in April 1645 Cornet Robert Philipson “adventured” to surprise Lawson’s own isle on Derwentwater – which we call St Herbert’s. That Easter Sir Wilfrid took time off from the outskirts of Carlisle to join in taking Lord’s Island (in Radcliffe’s manor) and to ride up Langstrath at the head of parliamentary forces to take Rydal Hall. They carried off money and young Fleming’s guardian.¹³

By an Ordinance of the Interregnum at Midsummer 1645 because “papists and other wicked persons have traitorously combined and raised forces in several counties, and levy war in the North . . .” committees are to be formed to raise money for an army. That for Cumberland included Sir William Lawson, Knight, Wm. Lawson, Thomas Lamplugh and Rd. Barwis. It is, in fact clear that the Lawsons were people of power in the county, and Borrowdale men wishing to stand out against them needed courage. My appendix shows the point of view of one opponent, John Musgrave.

Civil War or not, in Borrowdale the formalities for the transfer of property were still followed. An illustration of this is that the family of Bankes, one of whom, John, was

Attorney General to Charles I, and another his lady who famously withstood the siege of Corfe Castle by parliamentarians, emerged from these disorders still as holders of land in the head of Borrowdale. Even today, some Sea'waite land is theirs.

While the Lawsons were prominent in the Civil War, farming people of Borrowdale spared time to see to their own financial interests.

Anyone supposing, like J. Fisher Crosthwaite in 1876,¹⁴ that once the Great Deed was signed each freeholder would share in the ownership of the manor, no longer paying suit to a Lord, must be surprised by the seventeenth century manorial documents now at the Record Office, Carlisle. To the Lawsons the tenantry of Borrowdale already in October 1632 had "fynes to be payd tow medlen day next 20d.," and rents such as Edward Birkett's of 10d. Those who had fines "to be payd" include John Longthwaite, Myles Birkett, Gawyen Norman and John Youdall Jr. Of these the Great Deed 18 years earlier had listed Edward Birkhead of Rosthwaite and John Youdall of Chapel – in the old manor of the Furness monks. It is, therefore, plain that already the Lawsons had arrogated to themselves the manor, claiming both rents and fines.

By 1656 the Lawsons' records show that their tenantry of Borrowdale have "several suits depending in the High Court of Westminster and in the Court of Chancery of Oliver Lord Protector" as to "whether the tenants of the Mannario ought to pay a fyne Certaine or Arbitrary after the death of William Lawson, late Lord of the Mannario, unto Sir Wilfryd Lawson Knight as heir". The next year twenty men of Borrowdale submitted – "Wee know that ansiently fynes arbitrary never were paid by our predecessors both upon death of the Lord and change of tenant . . .". There is no doubt that Lawsons now had the Lordship of this manor.

A Lawson memorandum "to councell" on this states that the manor's tenants are "Joyning in a suite in Chancery against their Lands Lord for 1⁰⁰ pennie of fine where formerly 20^D have accustomedly been paid by them and predecessors". My searches in Chancery decrees and orders have produced no record of such a case. However, a Lawson record of 1668 shows "fynes" continuing – there is a variation in amount between tenants from less than a pound to over eighteen pounds.¹⁵

It is not against fines as such that Borrowdale men are taking action, but against fines being "arbitrary". The distinction between fines certain and arbitrary was in the Stuart age of importance. payments defined in an earlier age, before inflation, were small and could not be increased. C. Elton¹⁶ has explained that a fine certain may be fixed by custom at a particular sum for every admittance, or at so much per acre, or it may be ascertained otherwise, as at a year's value for a fine.

Whether all fines for tenant-right lands in the north should be made certain had long been a prickly question: in 1571 an abortive Bill about Cumberland lands came before Parliament. It was then argued that if fines were certain and the fear of landlords removed, tenants would be less likely to follow their Lord into rebellion.¹⁷ The same struggle against "fines arbitrarie and uncertaine" in the neighbouring Manor of Castlerigg led in 1623 to their Great Deed by which fines were made certain and their "services" listed in detail.¹⁸

It is plain from the manorial records of the next two and a half centuries that Borrowdale "tennantrie" at about the time of the Interregnum did not bring a successful case on the "certainty" of fines due. Still in 1806 those holdings for which particular enfranchisements had not modified the tenure paid "a reasonable arbitrary fine" when the lord, Wilfred, had died. The fine of Thornythwaite's "grasses" (on the fells) in 1895 is "reasonable

arbitrary".¹⁹ It is of interest that the fines at any one death could vary between different grasses in one man's estate: 1749 showed some fines on grasses working out at about 1s. 5½d. each, some at 1s. 9d. each and some at 2s. 3d. And each grass, of course, entitled the farmer to turn out the same number of sheep – ten.

The bound Court Books of the Lawsons' Manor²⁰ start from 1716 and show that tenements did not change hands except by permission of the Court and that customary fines were still levied both on inside land and on the Grasses on the fell. It is recorded that in 1749 John Jopson's fine on ten cattlegates on Stonethwaite Fell was 14s. 6d., and in 1800 Robert Wren paid £1 as fine for his 17 Grasses alone, and John Birkett had a fine of £8. The transfer of grasses on the fells without inside land is recorded in 1798 to John Allason, in 1800 to Robert Wren, and at other times.

In this manor, as also for example in Leconfields' Eskdale Manor, the customary rent is also called Lord's Rent. In 1855, and into our century, that phrase is used still.

The Court Books record tenements "reverting into the hands of the Lord". In 1727 D. Fisher surrenders into the hands of Gilfred Lawson, Lord of the Manor. The "gates to the fell" which tenants could use were here limited, as in any well-managed Cumbrian manor. "No person having any right upon the Forest of Stonethwaite Fell shall occupy any way to it but up at Scale Gate, Iron Garth Gate, or Greengap Gate".²¹ The names Iron Garth and Greenup are today used by the commoners. The iron must be an echo of the iron ore brought here for smelting from near Ore Gap. Stonethwaite Fell is the same as Langstrath Fell. This is confirmed by a statutory declaration of 1936 by John Jopson of Chapel, Borrowdale.

The lord's rights in the soil are safeguarded in 1755 when Jos. Youdell is licensed by the lord to inclose some steep land provided it "be no ways prejudicial to me or my successors in rents fines or services". His court limits the number of cattle: in 1727 Jopson is not to put on the fell more than three.

Again and again in these Court Books, men of Borrowdale are called the tenants-at-will of the Lord of the Manor, e.g. 1786 Joseph Wilson. (When in 1806 Wilfred Lawson died, he died "seized in fee of the Manor of Borrowdale.").

The level of manorial rents charged may be a surprise. For grasses not only could different people pay different rents in any one year, but also the same farmer could at one time be charged different prices per grass in different groups of them. In 1797, B. Wren paid 1d. each, J. Allason about 1½d. each. The rents in 1894 varied from ½d. to 1d. and 2d. each. Longthwaite's grasses in the 1920's were some 1d. each, and other groups 1¼d. each.

So our records show that in the reign of George III transfer of customary-hold land was going on in a seemly way. This helps to undermine the remark on the Borrowdale of that time in Macaulay's History: "Even after the accession of George III the path over the fells to Ravenglass was a secret carefully kept by the dalesmen, some of whom had probably in their youth escaped from the pursuit of justice by that road. The irregular vigour with which criminal justice was administered shocked observers from more . . . tranquil districts".²³

In the first century of the surviving manorial court records the bounds of the manor are not defined. This is a description given in 1805:²⁴

Borrowdale boundary – Beginning at a Gill called Flood Stangs Gill between the freehold grounds of Mr Pocklington, late Dan. Fisher's and the lands of Watendlath holden under Sir Wilfred Lawson, and up the Gill to Eddy Grave Stake and thence to High Tooves, and thence to Middle

Cragg, and thence to a standing Cragg and thence on even water division to Low Pike . . . and to High Pike and to the top of Greenup Hedge and thence to the top of Uteril of the Rays, and thence to the Mere Beck, all this adjoining Wythburn from Eddy Grave Stake. And from Mere Beck to Broadmoor Gill Head adjoining the manor of Lowther and to Moor Syke and thence to Borrowdale Stake and to Roger Gill Head and some hundred yards farther, which adjoins Lord Lowther's manor of Great Landale, and thence to Ure Gate, where it meet Mr Stanley Manor of Birker and to the top of The Greens, and so to the Nook of the mountains called Eskhause, where it adjoins Lord Egremont's Manor of Eskdale, from there to the top of Great End between Eskdale and Wasdale Head, and to the top of Styhead, and thence to the top of Great Gavel where Wasdale Head ends, thence to the Three-footed Brandreth where Lord Lowther and Lord Egremont and Sir Wilfred Lawson meets, and thence to the top of Raven Cragg, a rock a little south of the wad mines where it adjoins the Freeholders of Seatole". (Roger Gill Head might be Rosset Gill). One perambulation of the bounds is mentioned, 1857.

That in the eighteenth century the Lawsons were recognized as Lords of Borrowdale and owners of its common is shown too by the records of two neighbouring manors, Castlerigg and Derwentwater, and the Manor of Birker and Austhwaite. The Admiralty records of the estates of the third Earl of Derwentwater on their map of 1736 show his manor as ending at Barrow Beck against the words to the south "Sir Gilfred Lawson, his Manor of Borrowdale, Common Fell".²⁵ The archives of the Lords of Birker and Austhwaite include a roll of 1738 which states that the manor joins "the Earl of Egremont, Sir Michael Fleming . . . and Sir Gilfred Lawson".²⁶

The status in 1787 of Borrowdale's farmers was accurately noted by James Clarke, an exact-minded surveyor of Penrith. "All the lands in Borrowdale are freehold paying a small quit-rent to Sir Gilfred Lawson." He knew Borrowdale well as he used to come to the salt well for his rheumatism.

Towards the beginning of the nineteenth century the Lawsons, like other manorial Lords, took to enfranchising their tenants. This gave them money at once, and less later. D. & S. Lysons in 1816 summed it up: their manor in Borrowdale "has lately been enfranchised by Wilfred Lawson who has retained the royalties and woods". In each of the enfranchisements made over several years they reserved items. Daniel Fisher after 1798 had to pay still the "free rent". Thomas Wilson, for Low Bank and other land, in spite of enfranchisement in 1813, had to "continue to perform all such suit of court" as before, and "mines and quarries" on his land remained with the lord. The Lawson lord carefully reserved too his right to the rent on "customary grasses" on the fell. (In selling Thornywaite in 1868 to H. C. Marshall, J. Fisher Crosthwaite and his co-owner noted the Lawson right as to the nine customary grasses:²⁷ they sold "by licence and consent of the Lord of the Manor"). By the time that Mannix and Whellan's Directory was published in 1847 they had to report "The manor is of little value, the land being nearly all enfranchised".²⁸ In fact, the court books show that by 1876 there were three tenements "freehold by enfranchisement" to every two "customary", and that even in 1907 some occupiers – John Simpson of Rosthwaite, John Musgrave and the owners of Longthwaite, and others, were under obligation to pay customary rents.

Ours is not the first generation to be puzzled about how present rights to land and grazing are related to the Great Deed of Borrowdale. When solicitor John Musgrave of Wasdale Hall and Whitehaven was, in 1896, buying Thornythaite from the Marshalls, he wrote to their solicitor: "I await information as to how Sir Wilfred Lawson became Lord of the Manor and by what right, if any, his alleged claim originated."²⁹ The answer was: "We

cannot say how he became Lord. His claim may be inconsistent with the Great Deed but the vendors purchased the nine grasses as customary and have sold them as such, and you must take them as they are." The sale catalogue³⁰ of Wasdale Hall Estates in 1920 listed these "9 grasses on Langstrath Fell" as "customary freehold of the Manor of Borrowdale", at a yearly rent of 9d. The catalogue was probably drawn up by Edward Musgrave of the Wasdale Hall family. The Land Valuation Survey of 1910 and the rating records of the early 1920's also indicate that Langstrath and Coomb were commons owned by Sir Wilfred, and that Borrowdale men paid no rates on their grasses.

In 1953 my late father, the Rev. H. H. Symonds, saw what the status of the fells of Longstrath must be, and wrote: "Langstrath is a common in gross, that is it has grasses which are detachable and saleable and there must here be a Lord of the Manor in the normal way, in distinction from the owners of the grasses". He owned grasses there from 1937.

The information on Borrowdale and other parts of the great parish of Crosthwaite in the Tithe Award of 1844 is not as firm and full as we would hope. The commissioner made heavy weather of these beautiful and little trodden fells. He took over when there had already been years of dispute over the parish's tithes – since 1833. Among oddities in the Award are these. Neither did the maps of the different parts match its maps of the whole, nor did the collected figures for the "common" of a township fit in with the figures written down for its separate fells. "Common" he estimated at 5,300 acres for the whole township. But later in the Award the commissioner has fells, e.g. Coomb, Scawdale, Langstrath, Seathwaite, Watendlath, for each of which he puts down a round figure for acreage; for the first three he records that the "owners and others" are the occupiers. The valuers for Borrowdale were R. Atkinson and W. Hetherington. J. Job Rawlinson, the Commissioner in charge here at the later stage, wrote that the valuers had been misleading about "the nature of the ownership of these commons. Many of the owners have no other property in the parish." As to the mapping, done for the Award by William Robinson, Rawlinson wrote on 18 October 1843: "There have been several errors in Mr Robinson's maps. The costs of corrections will have to come out of his price . . . agreed . . . These originated in his having undertaken to make maps for which he was altogether unfit."

To me, it seems that these "others" who share the grazing of Langstrath and Coomb may be considered an echo of the Great Deed's arrangement to sell the commons, wastes . . . privileges . . . for the benefit of "themselves" – the thirty-eight men – "and the rest of the tenants". Who the "rest" of 1614 could be is difficult to decide, but for the nineteenth century I know of two fells where the grazing was properly used by heafed sheep from outside the manor. Sea'waite's fell was grazed not only by the flock of the present farm and the old flock of High House, whose inside land is now one with Sea'waite's, but also by the sheep of Longlands, Kinniside. The Patricksons of Longlands used to do a two-day journey, spring and autumn, with their stock, through the length of Ennerdale to the part of Sea'waite Fell towards Windy Gap. This journey is known by established inhabitants of Ennerdale, and the facts were told to my father some forty years ago by Mr John Harrison of Brothelkeld, Eskdale. "Patrickson used to sleep on the fell with his flock when he came to look them over. He got deaf with wet lying and sold his stock to Sea'waite saying: I don't want others to get deaf sleeping out there". The Ordnance Survey keeps the memory of his fold, and H. C. Marshall's map in the particulars of sale in 1895 shows "Patterson Fell" between the foot of Styhead Tarn and Great Gable.

The second fell, Borrowdale's Langstrath, was grazed in the late nineteenth century by flocks from the head of Langdale, Middlefell and Sidehouse, and two from near Elterwater, Lane End and Thrang. Elderly farming people remember the sheep and horses of Lane End and Thrang being turned out to use their grasses on Langstrath; and in the nineteen-fifties Middlefell was using its twenty grasses, Sidehouse its ten. It is also possible that cottagers of Borrowdale – that is, people with no more than the use of a small garth for wintering – and of Ennerdale and Langdale turned out geese, and as such could have been “tennants of the Mannario”, though not among the thirty-eight listed Borrowdale men. Geese are far-travelling creatures, and can be heafed: for some time, perhaps from the Middle Ages, they travelled from Elterwater up Dunmail Raise to the Wythburn Fells, and some ganders in returning home circumnavigated the Langdale Pikes.³¹

In the seventeenth as in the nineteenth century there might also have been some intercommonage with Watendlath. There is mention in a Lawson document, 1847, of established intercommonage between Stonethwaite and Watendlath.²⁴

An article of 1876 by J. Fisher Crosthwaite in the Transactions of the Cumberland and Westmoreland Association for the Advancement of Literature and Science has carried weight on “Old Borrowdale”, and wrongly. He quoted the Great Deed about the lands, the salt and the wad, and went on:

Thus the tenants become owners of all minerals and manorial rights except the Black Lead, and each statesman is Lord of his own estate, and cannot have his property invaded by anyone to dig for minerals, except by his own permission.

But Mr Crosthwaite could well have known, firstly that in the enfranchisements of the previous hundred years the Lawsons normally took care to reserve mineral rights, and that on many Borrowdale farms in his time suit and service was owed to the Lord. Even at the “inn at Rosthwaite” the annual court of the manor must have been known, for here Sir Wilfred's court was held.³² Secondly, under the will of Abraham Fisher, who died in 1864, this J. Fisher Crosthwaite had become a joint owner of Thornythwaite and Seathwaite. He could be said to have a double interest in these two farms in Lawson's manor! In '68 he and the joint owner sold both, with Thornythwaite's nine “customary grasses on Stonethwaite Fell” to H. C. Marshall. He sold them “by and with the consent of the Lord of the Manor of Borrowdale or his steward”.³³ The records of the manorial court noted: “H. C. Marshall has bought the late Abraham Fisher's property within the Manor.”

Ownership did not stay with the Marshalls for long; for John Musgrave of Wasdale Hall had in '76 transferred his legal practice to a son John R., and interested himself in county affairs, particularly the highways and the possibility of a road over Sty Head. Once that was made, these highest farms of Borrowdale would be a considerable asset. So he bought them from J. Fisher Crosthwaite – who knew indeed that these lands were *not* such as “could not be invaded . . .”.

I see a parallel in Yorkshire to the curious state of the Manor of Borrowdale immediately after the Great Deed. It arose in lands which also were ex-monastic at Kettlewell (1656) and Conistone and Whernside Trustlands. A. Raistrick has written: “In some dales a meeting of freeholders of the township exercise all the powers of the Lord of the Manor. This arose on monastic lands after the dissolution of the monasteries; the crown took over, and sold to entrepreneurs of the City of London, who sold to yeomen on the spot.”³⁴

Are the sheep-farmers of Borrowdale from the middle of the seventeenth century properly classed as yeomen? Bouch and Jones³⁵ took it that “yeomen” was applied not only

to freeholders, but to those holding by tenant-right subject to “customary” dues, and stated that Parson & White’s Directory indicated that over half Borrowdale’s farms were occupied by yeomen. When I explored the manorial documents I saw that the distinction between customary and enfranchised tenants does not coincide with the Directory’s listing of non-yeomen and yeomen. These farmers themselves thought of themselves as statesmen or yeomen. Nine of them – Allison, Jopson, Birkett, Wren, Wilsons and others – in April 1845 signed a note to the Tithing Commissioner as “Yeomen of Borrowdale”. Whatever their precise status, they were, and are, “the very best of men, with a recognisable cast of feature speech and thought. Their speech has pith and humour as full of flavour as nut or apple.”

My conclusion is that the Great Deed & subsequent use of the emotive term freeholders has obscured the fact that from at least 1632 the people of Borrowdale were customary tenants of a lord, a Lawson. Present public access to the Lawson’s archives puts this beyond argument. But Cumbrian temperament has ensured that men of Lawsons’ Borrowdale manor, as of other Lake District manors, keep the independence of habit which elsewhere goes with the term freeholder. Of the Great Deed.

In longum tamen aevum
Manserunt hodieque manent vestigia
(*Horace*)

Appendix I

That the Sir Wilfred Lawson of the time of Charles I and the Commonwealth could be thoroughly hated and reviled, is shown in a pamphlet written at the end of 1645 by John Musgrave.³⁷ He wrote in *The Fleet Prison*, but two years before had been a Commissioner for Cumberland and Westmorland.

The lamentable grievances of Parliaments’ friends in Cumberland . . . presented to the House of Commons two years ago are far yet from being redressed . . . Sir Wilford Lawson, Commander in Chief of Cumberland, betrayed the county into the enemies’ hands. After he was commissioner of array he carried men and arms out of the country against Parliament.

Persons desired to be removed from being sequestrators in Cumberland – Sir Wilfride Lawson, William Lawson. Persons desired to be removed from command and office of war – Sir Wilfride Lawson.

The black band under the command of Marquesse Montrose are received and have command. Notorious delinquents are protected and go armed up and down the country upon the best horse of the country, and at liberty go to the King’s forces . . . Divers of the enemies have been taken prisoners, and sallying out of Carlisle . . . are released.

Information from the two commissioners of the well affected of Westmoreland and Cumberland (Osmotherley and John Musgrave) – Sir Wilfride Lawson with . . . John Barwis and Wm Briscoe have without consent of the rest of the committee levied great summes of moneyes upon the country, distrained their goods and committed their persons to prison who refused it, and have raised great summes of money under pretence for the public service which they do still detain in their own hands. When the country people complained of Sir Wilfride’s soldiers . . . neither were the persons punished, nor the goods restored. His men had pay from the country and yet took free quarters, and stole horses.

Sir Wilfride and . . . his officers conveyed in victuals to the enemy in Carlisle . . . (A complaint that Sir Wilfride should be put upon the committee of Cumberland and Westmerland tho then in arms against Parliament . . .)

About a fortnight after (an action at Skipton Castle) there was a plot of malignants . . . for

betraying of *Kasewick Isle*, raising of the country, beating away the Scots and cutting off the well affected, but this design was discovered by a gunner of Sir Wilfride who was hired to be an actor in it but troubled in conscience revealed it. Sir Wilfride's uncle, who lives in the house with him, was upon this plot.

The Scottish Commissioners (state) – Before the coming of the Scots Army John Osmotherley raised in the service of Parliament 500 men and opposed the Commissioners of Array till they were betrayed by Sir Wilfride and . . . Curwen.

In April 1642 Sir Wilfride was among those collecting voluntary contributions to his Majesty.

This was written on 25 December, 1645, and in the Autumn of 1646. (A petition from the inhabitants of Millom is also mentioned.)

Notes and References

- ¹ J. C. Atkinson, *Furness Abbey, Coucher Book*, pt. 3, p. 636.
- ² P.R.O. – 14 December, 37th of Henry VIII.
- ³ P.R.O. reference C.66, 1963, item 7.
- ⁴ The Great Deed of Borrowdale. A text is at the County Record Office, Carlisle.
- ⁵ Brownbill, *Furness, Coucher Book*, p. 653.
- ⁶ Listed by Thos. Robinson in *Natural History of Westmoreland and Cumberland*, 1709, p. 75.
- ⁷ CW2, lxxvi, p. 116.
- ⁸ *Victoria County History of Cumberland*, vol. 2, p. 282.
- ⁹ Acts and Ordinances of the Interregnum.
- ¹⁰ *Clarendon's History of the Rebellion, III*, p. 185.
- ¹¹ Isaac Tullie's *Siege of Carlisle*, pp. 39 and 1.
- ¹² Pamphlet in British Museum's *George Thomason Collection*, by John Musgrave.
- ¹³ W. T. McIntyre in *West Cumberland News*, 1934, and M. L. Armit, *The Church of Grasmere*.
- ¹⁴ *Transactions of the Cumberland and Westmoreland Association for the Advancement of Literatures and Science*, 1876.
- ¹⁵ Lawson documents at County Record Office, *Fines and Rents*.
- ¹⁶ The Law of Copyholds, 1874.
- ¹⁷ CW2, xliii, p. 178.
- ¹⁸ A copy is in the Armit Library, Ambleside.
- ¹⁹ H. C. Marshall's sale catalogue.
- ²⁰ C.R.O.
- ²¹ The manorial court jurors, April 1759.
- ²² Deeds of Chapel, Borrowdale (by permission).
- ²³ Vol. I, p. 222.
- ²⁴ Lawson documents at C.R.O., *Enfranchisements*.
- ²⁵ P.R.O., M.P. 1/230.
- ²⁶ Recorded by the Rev. W. S. Sykes in red leather covered notebook at C.R.O.
- ²⁷ John Musgrave's records at C.R.O., D/M.G., 40-49.
- ²⁸ p. 562.
- ²⁹ John Musgrave's papers at C.R.O., D/M.G. Misc. Letters and Papers.
- ³⁰ C.R.O.
- ³¹ Information from the late John Holmes of Elterwater.
- ³² Whellan, *Cumberland*, published 1860.
- ³³ John Musgrave's papers at C.R.O., D/M.G., 40-49 and others.
- ³⁴ *Old Yorkshire Dales*, 38.
- ³⁵ *The Lake Counties*, p. 334. P. Messenger takes the same line in CW2, lxxv, p. 329.
- ³⁶ Published 1829.
- ³⁷ In George Thomason's collection of pamphlets in the British Library.

