

NOTES

1. *A Bronze Age axe from Levens*
BY ANDREW WHITE M.A., PH.D., F.S.A., F.M.A.

This axe was discovered by Mr T. Leonard of Lancaster while metal-detecting in a field on the west side of the A6 road, to the north-west of Heversham village in Levens parish. The find-spot was at SD 494 844 and the axe lay close to the surface. When Mr Leonard first uncovered it the bronze was bright but it rapidly oxidised on exposure to the air.

The axe belongs to the convex-flanged type which is transitional between the flat axes of the Early Bronze Age and the "palstaves" of the Middle Bronze Age. Precise dating is not possible because of the small number of comparable pieces from the area and because of the lack of associations, but a date around 1500 BC is not unreasonable. It is 112 x 78 mm overall and has no stop-ridge or decoration. Axes of comparable type have been found in Cumbria at Castletown, near Penrith, and Waterloo Farm, Eaglesfield, in each case lacking a stop-ridge or any decoration. A further axe from Ravenstonedale lacks a stop-ridge but does have a faint shield pattern on one side.¹ Examples from Lancashire and Cheshire include Chatburn, Grappenhall, Lower Allithwaite, Wallasey and Golborne, although only the first of these is comparable in lacking a stop-ridge or shield-pattern. A decorated axe from Radcliffe is also similar in shape.² Typologically this axe is quite early, judging by the width of the blade, the shallowness of the flanges and the absence of a stop-ridge.

Mr Leonard retains the axe. I am grateful to him for lending it to Lancaster City Museum for recording purposes.

Notes and References

- ¹ Clough, T. H. McK., "Bronze Age metalwork from Cumbria", *CW2*, lxix, 6-9.
- ² Davey, P. J. and Forster, E., *Bronze Age Metalwork from Lancashire and Cheshire*, University of Liverpool Department of Prehistoric Archaeology, Work Notes 1, nos 24-8, 12.

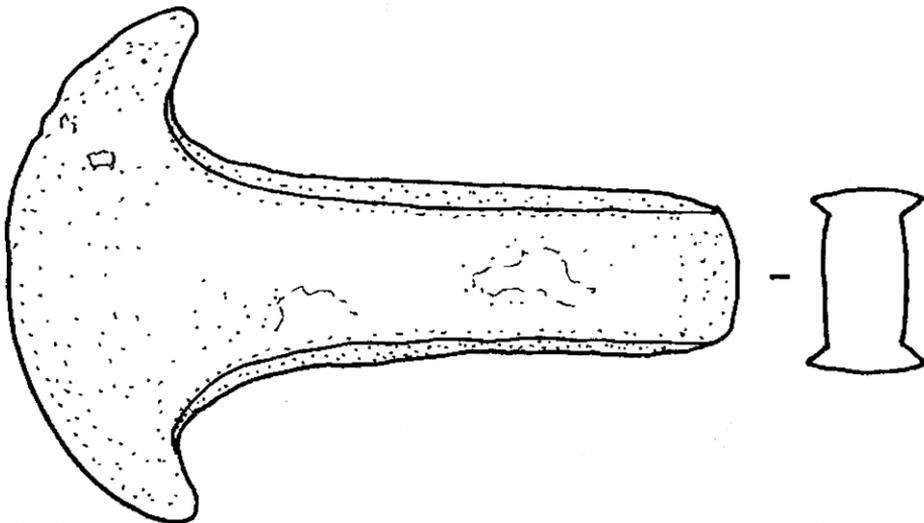


FIG. 1. A Bronze Axe from Levens.

2. *An archaeological evaluation at William Howard School, Brampton, Cumbria*
 BY JOHN M. ZANT

Early in 1997, a proposal was made to convert a field on the northern edge of Brampton into a playing-field for the William Howard School. The field concerned was situated immediately north of the school, on the north side of the Old Church Farm road, close to its junction with the A6071 (NY 524614). Since the surface of the field sloped from west to east, and was generally rather undulating, it was clear that quite extensive ground-works would be required in order to create a level playing-surface. The initial proposal envisaged the removal of considerable quantities of earth from the western half of the field, and its re-deposition on the low-lying eastern part of the site.

Although nothing of archaeological significance was known from the field itself, the remains of a Roman military tiler were discovered in the school grounds, less than 100 m to the south, in 1963 (Hogg 1965). Furthermore, the site falls within the Hadrian's Wall World Heritage Zone and is situated little more than half a kilometre south of the Stanegate, and less than 1.5 km east of the Roman fort at Old Church Farm. Consequently, Carlisle Archaeological Unit was asked to evaluate the site prior to the submission of an application for planning permission, the work being undertaken in February 1997.

The Archaeological Features

Nine randomly-distributed trenches, 1.7 m wide and from 15-45 m in length, were excavated mechanically to the top of the natural subsoil. All were located in the threatened western half of the field, and the sequence of deposits recorded in each was, for the most part, consistent.

The surface of the natural orange-brown sand appears to have been considerably more uneven than that of the modern field. Over much of the central part of the evaluated area, immediately south of Kirby Moor House, the subsoil was directly overlain by a virtually identical layer of sand up to 0.1-0.15 m thick, which was not present over the rest of the site. Although probably a natural accumulation, this deposit is of particular significance, for it produced two stone artefacts – a Mesolithic backed bladelet in an opaque, pale cream-beige flint (Fig. 1), and a blade segment or waste flake in a slightly translucent, pale grey flint, which is probably of the same date. Whilst both objects could have been lost or discarded by a passing hunting-group, the possibility of a more significant Mesolithic presence on or near the site cannot be ruled out.

The sand deposit was cut by a shallow V-shaped ditch, 1.8 m wide and 0.65 m deep, and a gully 0.9 m wide and 0.38 m deep, both of which were filled with almost pure sand. Elsewhere, the natural subsoil was directly cut by three gullies and two shallow postholes or depressions. One of the gullies produced two fragments of Roman brick or tile, and the other

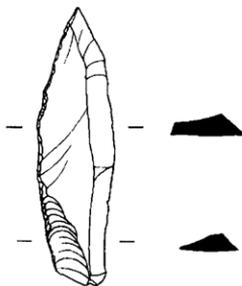


FIG. 1. Mesolithic bladelet (scale 1:1).

features are presumed to be of a similar date. Although their precise character was impossible to determine within the narrow confines of the evaluation trenches, it seems likely that these features represented the remains of timber buildings. Whether the structures were in any way associated with the tiling in the school grounds is not known.

In each of the evaluation trenches, the earliest features and deposits were sealed by a build-up of pinkish-brown, slightly silty sand. For the most part this deposit was between 0.1-0.3 m thick, although it increased to as much as 0.5-0.6 m where it filled dips and hollows in the natural surface. This layer was so clean that it was initially mistaken for a geological deposit of natural origin, although it subsequently produced small quantities of Roman brick and tile, and a single grey ware potsherd. The very small amount of tile recovered (only 18 small fragments) does not suggest the presence of kilns in the immediate vicinity, and it is possible that the fragments reached the site in rubbish transported from the tiling to the south.

Over the whole of the evaluated area, the sand was overlain by a mid to dark grey-brown sandy loam 0.1-0.2 m thick. This layer produced four abraded sherds of 14th/15th century pottery, and can be interpreted as a buried topsoil or ploughsoil of late medieval date. It is possible that the sherds reached the site in domestic refuse transported from the town and spread as manure on the surrounding fields. A modern topsoil 0.2-0.35 m thick sealed this deposit.

The evaluation established that potentially important archaeological remains, namely the Mesolithic soil-horizon and the probable Roman structural features, were present on the site, and would certainly suffer considerable disturbance were the development to proceed in the form initially outlined. Following discussions with the school authorities, however, a mitigation strategy was proposed, whereby a much more limited amount of earth would be removed from the top of the field, allowing *in situ* preservation of the sensitive archaeological deposits. The remainder of the soil required to build up the eastern part of the field would be brought in from elsewhere. It was subsequently agreed that this strategy was acceptable, and no further archaeological work was undertaken on the site.

Acknowledgements

Thanks are extended to Mr R. T. Alston, Headteacher, and Mr P. Saunders of William Howard School for facilitating the work, and to the excavation team of Kathryn Blythe, Aaron Johnston and David Robertson. Thanks also to Mike McCarthy for commenting on this note, Christopher Tolan-Smith for commenting on the flints, and Cathy Brooks for her identification of the medieval pottery. The illustration was prepared by Phil Cracknell.

References

Hogg, R. 1965: "Excavation of the Roman auxiliary tiling, Brampton", *CW2*, lxxv, 133-68.

3. *An excavation at Low Crosby, Carlisle*
BY JOHN M. ZANT

In 1994, outline planning permission was sought for the residential development of a field in the village of Low Crosby, near Carlisle. The field in question lay east of the Village Hall, and some 160 m west of St John's Church (NY 446596). Prior to the submission of the planning application, Carlisle Archaeological Unit was asked to evaluate the site, the work being undertaken in July 1994 (McCarthy and Flynn 1994). Most of the site proved to be devoid of archaeological remains, but features were recorded towards the north-east corner of the field. Limited excavation revealed several curvilinear gullies cutting the natural subsoil, which

appeared to represent the remains of a circular or sub-circular timber structure. Although a complete ground-plan could not be obtained, and no artefactual material was recovered, the building was tentatively identified as a round-house of pre-Roman or early Roman date.

In the light of these discoveries, it was recommended that more extensive archaeological excavation should take place in a limited area around the gullies, prior to the commencement of building works. Carlisle Archaeological Unit commenced excavation of the site in early February 1997, when a roughly rectangular area of approximately 300 sq. m was mechanically stripped to the surface of the natural subsoil. After a week, work was abandoned due to inclement weather and a poorly-drained subsoil, but excavation recommenced in late April, and was completed by early May.

The Building

When completely exposed, the building proved to be sub-rectangular rather than circular in plan, although the wall-lines were curved, particularly at the short north and south ends of the structure, resulting in a roughly D-shaped ground-plan. Although three structural phases could be identified, the remains of the primary building had been almost completely destroyed during the later re-builds. So far as it was possible to tell, however, this structure appears to have been similar in character to those that succeeded it.

The Phase 2 structure (Fig. 1) was defined by a pair of concentric gullies set 0.25-0.5 m apart, representing the remains of a double timber wall. These features were not associated with any surviving floors, occupation deposits or external surfaces. Externally, the building measured 6.5 m north-south by 4.6 m east-west, and had internal dimensions (measured to the centre of the internal gully) of 4.05 m by 2.8 m. The gullies themselves were up to 0.5m wide and 0.35 m deep, with sloping sides narrowing to a slightly rounded base, and had been filled with clean, blue-grey sandy silt. They were unbroken but for a narrow gap of undisturbed subsoil in the centre of the west wall, which clearly represented an entrance. Slight post-impressions at the base of the terminal-ends of the outermost gully marked the position of timber door-jambes 0.2-0.25 m square, flanking an entrance approximately 0.9 m in width.

In plan, the gullies did not describe a smooth curve, but had a slightly angular or polygonal appearance as though they had contained a number of short timber panels set end-to-end to form continuous wall-lines. The discovery of slight impressions at the base of both features, which appeared to mark the position of vanished timber base-plates or sill-beams, lent support to this hypothesis, and indicated that the panels were approximately 1.8-2 m in length. The absence of stakeholes or post-impressions at the base of the gullies reinforced the view that the wall-panels were constructed on sill-beams. Although the precise character of the buildings' superstructure could not be determined, the wall-panels were most probably of wattle construction. The cavity between the inner and outer walls may have been filled with insulating material such as turf.

After a period of unknown duration, the building was reconstructed on precisely the same site. The Phase 3 structure (Fig. 2) was virtually identical to its predecessor, with external dimensions of 5.3 m north-south by 3.6 m east-west, and an internal area measuring 4.4 m by 2.6 m. Both buildings may have been dismantled, for there was no sign that structural timbers had been left to rot *in situ*, although the evidence was not conclusive.

Other Features

Although a number of other features were recorded on the site, virtually all proved to be either of natural origin or of recent date. Those worthy of further comment include two short gullies, one extending south for 1.5 m from the south wall of the Phase 2 building, the other

Phase 2

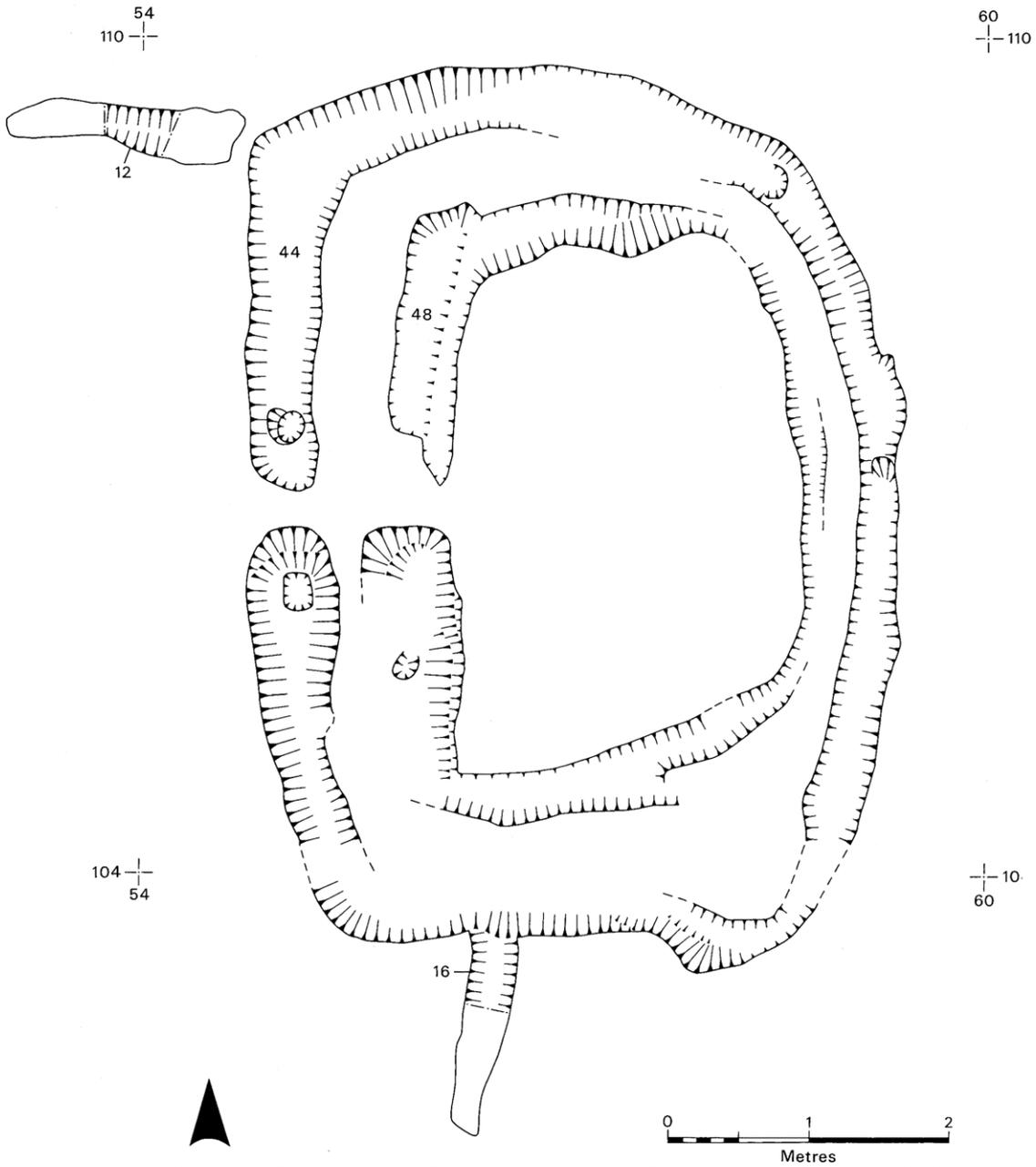


FIG. 1. Phase 2 building (scale 1:50).

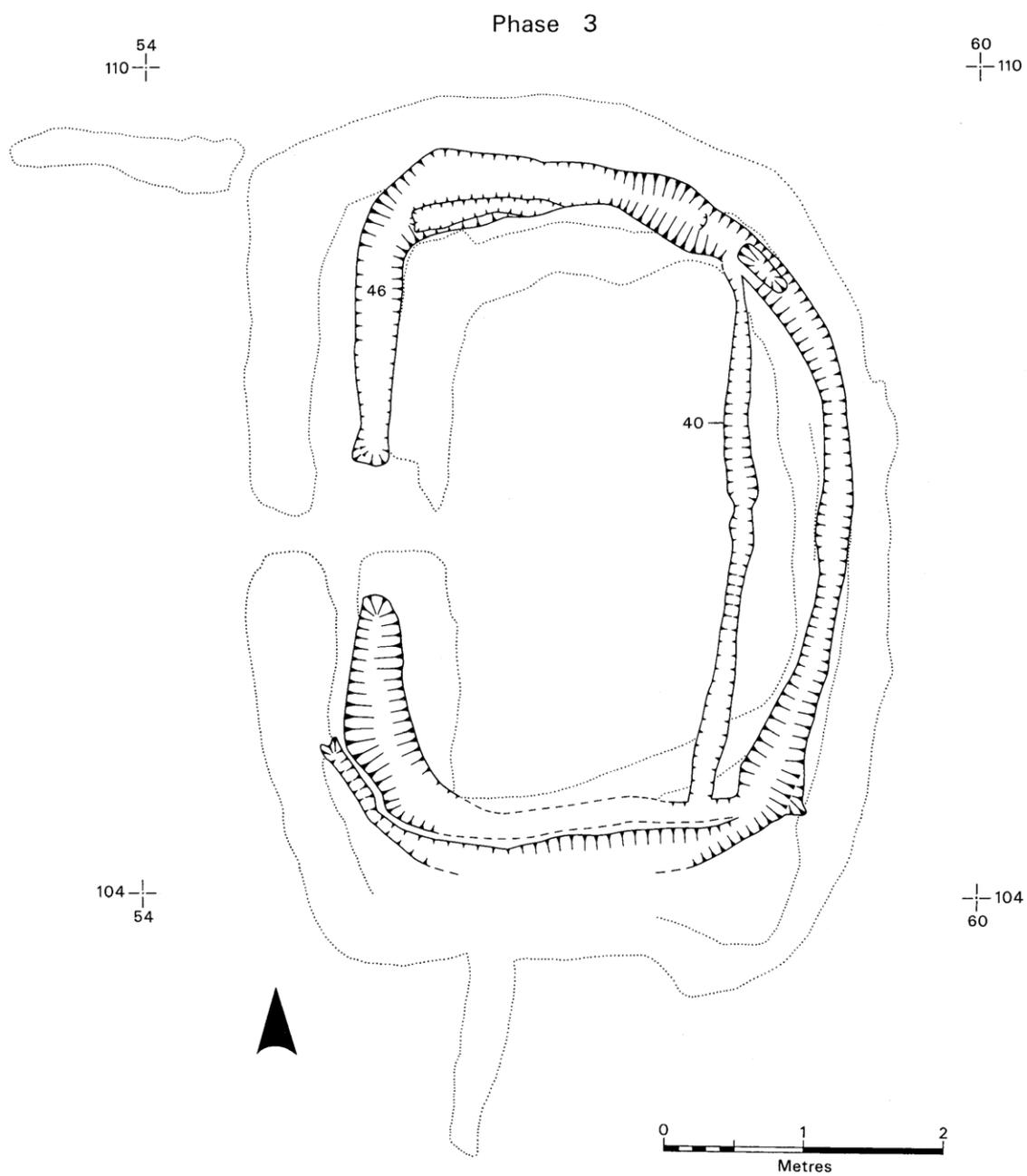


FIG. 2. Phase 3 building; the Phase 2 building is shown in outline (scale 1:50).

extending 1.7 m west from the north-west corner of the same structure, that could conceivably represent the remains of fences associated with the building (Fig. 1), although they were not certainly associated with that structure.

Some 4 m south of the building, a large, probably linear, feature was partially excavated. The south edge of the feature lay beyond the limit of the excavation, but it was in excess of 4.5 m wide and 0.6-0.8 m deep, with an undulating base, and was filled with clean, grey/brown clay-silts. Although the precise character of this feature could not be determined, it may represent part of an old stream channel running roughly east-west across the field.

Discussion

In the absence of any artefactual evidence, the date and function of the Low Crosby building are difficult to determine. Whilst paucity of artefactual material is a normal feature of native sites of pre-Roman and Roman date in north-west England, the idea that the building was a round-house must obviously now be discounted. However, a date within this very broad chronological period cannot be completely ruled out, for the technique of double-walling, whilst by no means an exclusively pre-Roman feature, was employed in the construction of round-houses in the north during this period, the nearest known example being at the Cumberland Infirmary, Carlisle (Flynn and McCarthy 1993), some 6 km south-west of the site. Small rectangular or sub-rectangular timber buildings of a similar size to the Low Crosby example are known from Romano-British sites in northern and southern Britain (Hingley 1989, 35 and Fig. 15k), although the round-cornered, D-shaped ground-plan is perhaps more closely paralleled in early medieval contexts, as, for example, at the monastic site of Whithorn in Galloway (Hill 1997).

To conclude, however, it must be conceded that the Low Crosby building cannot be securely dated on the available evidence; indeed, a late medieval or even post-medieval date cannot be completely ruled out, although a very late date is considered unlikely, given the character of the soils that filled the gullies. As to the function of the building, the complete absence of associated deposits and artefactual material, together with its apparently isolated location, make interpretation difficult, although the provision of a double-wall suggests that it served as a dwelling or a shelter rather than an animal pen.

Acknowledgements

Thanks are extended to Hassall Homes (Cumbria) Ltd. for facilitating the work, and to the excavation team of Kathryn Blythe, Aaron Johnston and David Robertson. Thanks also to Mike McCarthy and Paul Flynn for their comments on this note, and to Phil Cracknell, who prepared the illustrations.

References

- Flynn, P. A. and McCarthy, M. R. 1993: "Carlisle, Cumberland Infirmary: Scheme 2, Interim Report", unpublished report, Carlisle Archaeological Unit.
- Hill, P. 1997: "Whithorn and St Ninian" (Whithorn Trust/Sutton Publishing, Stroud).
- Hingley R. 1989: "Rural Settlement in Roman Britain" (London).
- McCarthy, M. R. and Flynn, P. A. 1994: "Low Crosby, Carlisle: an Archaeological Evaluation", unpublished report, Carlisle Archaeological Unit.

4. *Recent finds of Roman coins in Cumbria*

BY DAVID SHOTTER

A. Hoards

1. *Ambleside*: It has been reported that a hoard of *denarii* of considerable size was found at or near to the fort-site at Waterhead in the early 1990s; no further details are available, and the present location of these coins is unfortunately unknown.
2. *Mallerstang Edge*: A hoard of 138 *denarii* was found at Sleddle Mouth in 1926, and reported in *Transactions* in the following year (*CW2*, xxvii, 205-17). It was said that eleven of the coins went to the British Museum, and the remainder to Carlisle Museum (although I understand that the records of the latter museum indicate that only 121 coins were accessioned). It appears that a small number of coins was found subsequently, and these remain in the possession of the family of the original finder. Three coins, of which there were no examples in the contemporary report, have recently been presented for examination:

Domitian (as Caesar)	1	<i>RIC</i> (Titus), 43
Nerva	1	<i>RIC</i> 7
Trajan	1	<i>RIC</i> 356

These coins do not alter the range of the hoard, or comments made upon it (Shotter, 1990, 197).

B. Casual Finds

(i) From known Roman Sites

1. *Hardknott*: In 1996, an *aes*-issue of Valentinian I (*LRBC* II. 296) was found a little outside the east gate of the fort. It was moderately worn, perhaps as a result of water-action. Such a discovery in the context of a fort which had, by the time of the coin's loss, been long abandoned, recalls the finding of a coin of Constantine I in the top levels of ditch-fill at Watercrock (Potter, 1979, 293). In both cases, the losses may suggest the use of abandoned Roman forts by passing travellers.

(Information from the finder, Mr Peter Charnley)

2. *Kirkby Thore*: Seven Roman coins have been recently reported; the precise locations of the finds are not clear:

Republican	1	<i>AR</i> (<i>Crawford</i> 544)
Vespasian	1	<i>AR</i> (<i>RIC</i> 65)
Domitian	1	<i>Æ</i> (<i>As</i>)
Trajan	2	<i>AR</i> (<i>RIC</i> 58, 64)
Hadrian	1	<i>Æ</i> (<i>RIC</i> 786)
Septimius Severus	1	<i>Æ</i> (<i>As</i>)

3. *Ravenglass*: A small *aes*-issue of the Constantinian period (*c.* 330-346) is reported to have been found in 1990.
4. *Watercrock*: From a location to the south of the fort (close to the presumed site of the cemetery) were recorded an *as* of Marcus Aurelius (as Caesar: A.D. 145-161), an unidentifiable *sestertius*, together with a lead weight and an iron stylus.

(ii) From other locations

1. *Barbon*: An *aes*-issue of Eudoxia has been reported, although there are few details regarding the circumstances of the discovery. The coin, an unusually late one for north-west England, is badly worn, and its mint-mark is illegible; it appears, however, to be the empress' "proclamation-issue" of A.D. 400 (as *LRBC* II. 2217).
(Information from Meriel Wainwright of Kendal Museum)

2. *Hincaster*: A *denarius* of Marcus Antonius and Octavian (*Crawford* 517 of 41 B.C.) was found in c. 1990; for other finds from an area which has sometimes been canvassed as the site of an early Roman fort, see Shotter, 1990, 234.
3. *Isel*: Carlisle Museum (Acc. No. 6-1938) received in 1938 a donation from Mrs Wakefield of three Roman coins – one each of Crispina (wife of Commodus), Probus and Constantine I. Mrs Wakefield's husband, who had recently died, was Vicar of Isel from 1925 to 1936, and it is assumed that the coins had a local origin. The donation also suggests that Mr and Mrs Wakefield collected historical material, and that the coins may have had a connection with others found at Isel Vicarage (Shotter, 1996, 28f).
(Information from Ian Caruana)
4. *Kendal-area*: A number of coins were found in c. 1990 in unspecified locations, but mostly, it is understood, to the west and south of the town. These were a legionary *denarius* of Marcus Antonius (*Crawford* 544 of 32-1 B.C.), two *denarii* of Trajan, a *denarius* each of Marcus Aurelius and Septimius Severus, and *aes*-issues of Hadrian (?), Carausius, Licinius I, as well as "a number" of radiate copies.
5. *Kingstown*: It is reported that a few years ago a fresh *denarius* of Antoninus Pius (*RIC* 129 of A.D. 145-161) was found near Kingstown, and at a short distance from the line of the Roman road running northwards from Carlisle. It is unclear whether the coin was *in situ*, or whether it had been transported to its findspot (presumably from Carlisle). The coin, which is described in *RIC* (and *BMC* 521f) as depicting *Concordia*, is attributed by P. V. Hill (1970, no. 728) to *Clementia*, and dated to A.D. 147.
6. *Natland*: Four coins are reported to have been found in the late 1980s at various locations near to Natland; they are two legionary *denarii* of Marcus Antonius (*Crawford* 544, 14 and 18 of 32-1 B.C.), a *sestertius* of Nero and a radiate copy of Tetricus I.
7. *Workington*: Mr Ian Smith of Workington has drawn my attention to a note the *Cumberland Pacquet* (15 July 1862), referring to the discovery of coin of Trajan near Isabella Pit.

Correction

In my note in a previous volume of these *Transactions* (CW2, xciv, 294; see also Shotter, 1995, 34), I recorded three coins which were reported as having come from Maryport. It has now become clear that of the *aes*-issues of Antoninus Pius and Septimius Severus, one in fact came from Papcastle. Unfortunately, the finder cannot now recall which coin came from which of the two sites.

Falsum

In a previous note (CW2, xcv, 276; see also Shotter, 1995, 77), I referred to the discovery of a *dupondius* of Hadrian in Cockermouth. The opportunity has arisen for a full examination of this "coin", which indicates that it is in fact a modern replica.

References

- BMC*: *Coins of the Roman Empire in the British Museum*.
Crawford: *Roman Republican Coinage* (Cambridge, 1974).
LRBC: *Late Roman Bronze Coinage* (London, 1960).
RIC: *The Roman Imperial Coinage*.
Hill, 1970: Hill P. V., *The Dating and Arrangement of the Undated Coins of Rome, A.D. 98-148* (London).
Potter, 1979: Potter T. W., *Romans in North-West England* (Kendal).
Shotter, 1990: Shotter D. C. A., *Roman Coins from North-West England* (Lancaster).
Shotter, 1995: Shotter D. C. A., *Roman Coins from North-West England: First Supplement* (Lancaster).
Shotter, 1996: Shotter D. C. A., "Recent Finds of Roman Coins in Cumbria", CW2, xcvi, 27-33.

5. *Four pieces of sculpture from Devonshire Street, Carlisle*
 BY PHILIP CRACKNELL

In March 1997, number 7, Devonshire Street, Carlisle (formerly “Hodgsons”), underwent refurbishment before conversion into a café. The clearance of a small cellar to the rear of the building revealed four pieces of sculpture built into the brick walls. Carlisle Archaeological Unit was duly contacted, and it was decided to record the sculpture while it was easily accessible. The stones remain *in situ*.

The sculpture

1. Head of a man? (Figure 1, 1)

Height: 296 mm

Width: 220 mm

The features of the face are badly weathered, with the nose and mouth mostly worn away. The eyes are lentoid-shaped below a prominent brow. The hair is parted centrally, and there is the suggestion of a beard on the chin. The head projects 64 mm from the face of the brick wall and does not appear to be broken at the neck, which suggests that it was not part of a free-standing sculpture but was originally an architectural feature such as a hoodmould stop or corbel.

2. Roof boss (Figure 2, 2)

Diameter of boss: 390-408 mm

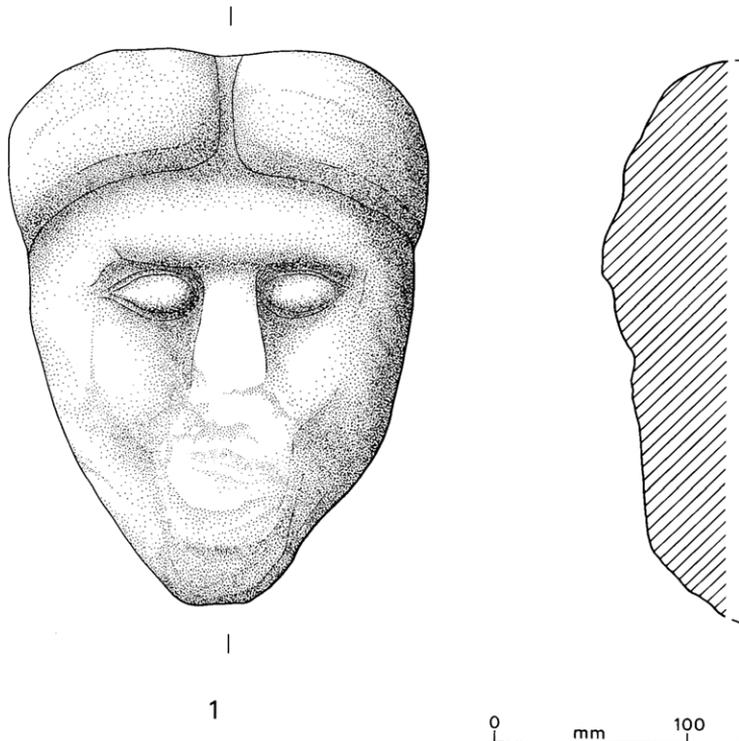


FIG. 1. 1, stone head (scale 1:4).

Overall dimensions (including stumps of vaulting): 474 mm x 510 mm

The roof boss is badly worn but originally depicted a small human head at the centre of a mass of foliage. At the four cardinal points on the circumference are the beginnings of vaulting ribs. The stone projects 126 mm from the face of the brick wall.

3. Trefoil windowhead (Figure 3, 3)

Width: 669 mm

Width of opening: 468 mm

Height (estimated): 330 mm

The trefoil windowhead has been placed end-on within the thickness of the cellar wall and virtually flush with the face, so forming a narrow letterbox-shaped niche. The two lower arcs of the trefoil are grooved on the inner face, presumably to take the lead for window glass.

4. Cross (Figure 3, 4)

Overall dimensions: 552 mm x 552 mm

Width of arms: c. 135 mm

The cross projects 45 mm from the face of the brick wall. The exposed face is flat and featureless apart from a slight indentation at the end of each arm. The arms are set diagonally to form a saltire cross but with the end of each arm cut at ninety degrees to the axis. The lack of any decoration suggests a purely functional use rather than being partly decorative, i.e. as a piece of window tracery or rib-vaulting.

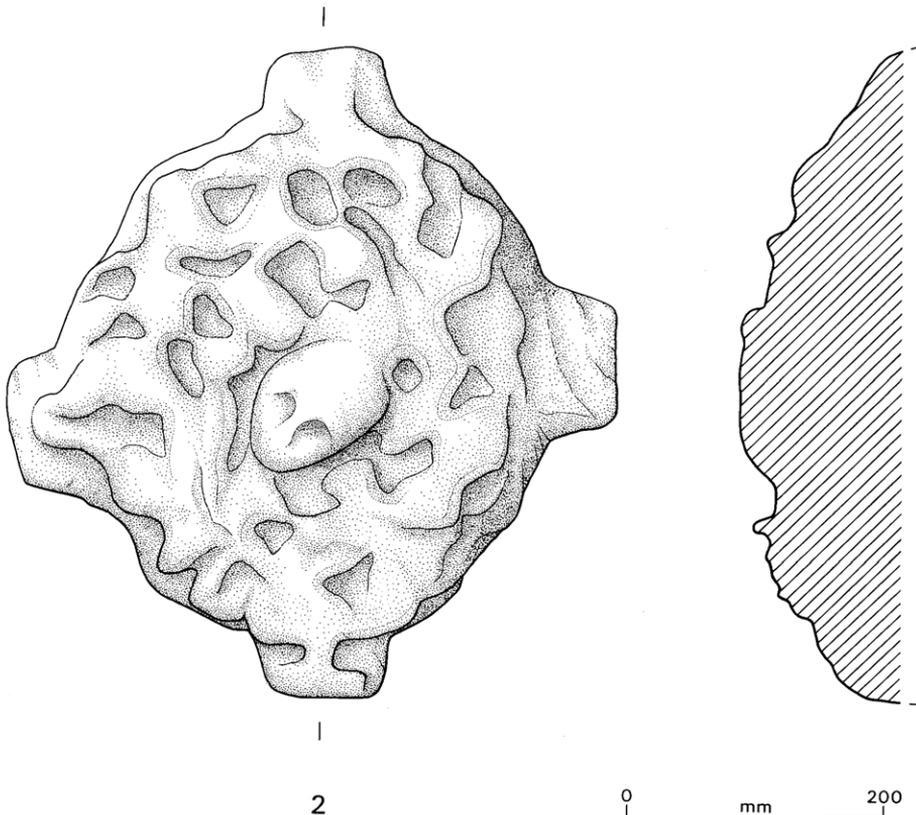


FIG. 2. 2, roof boss (scale 1:6).

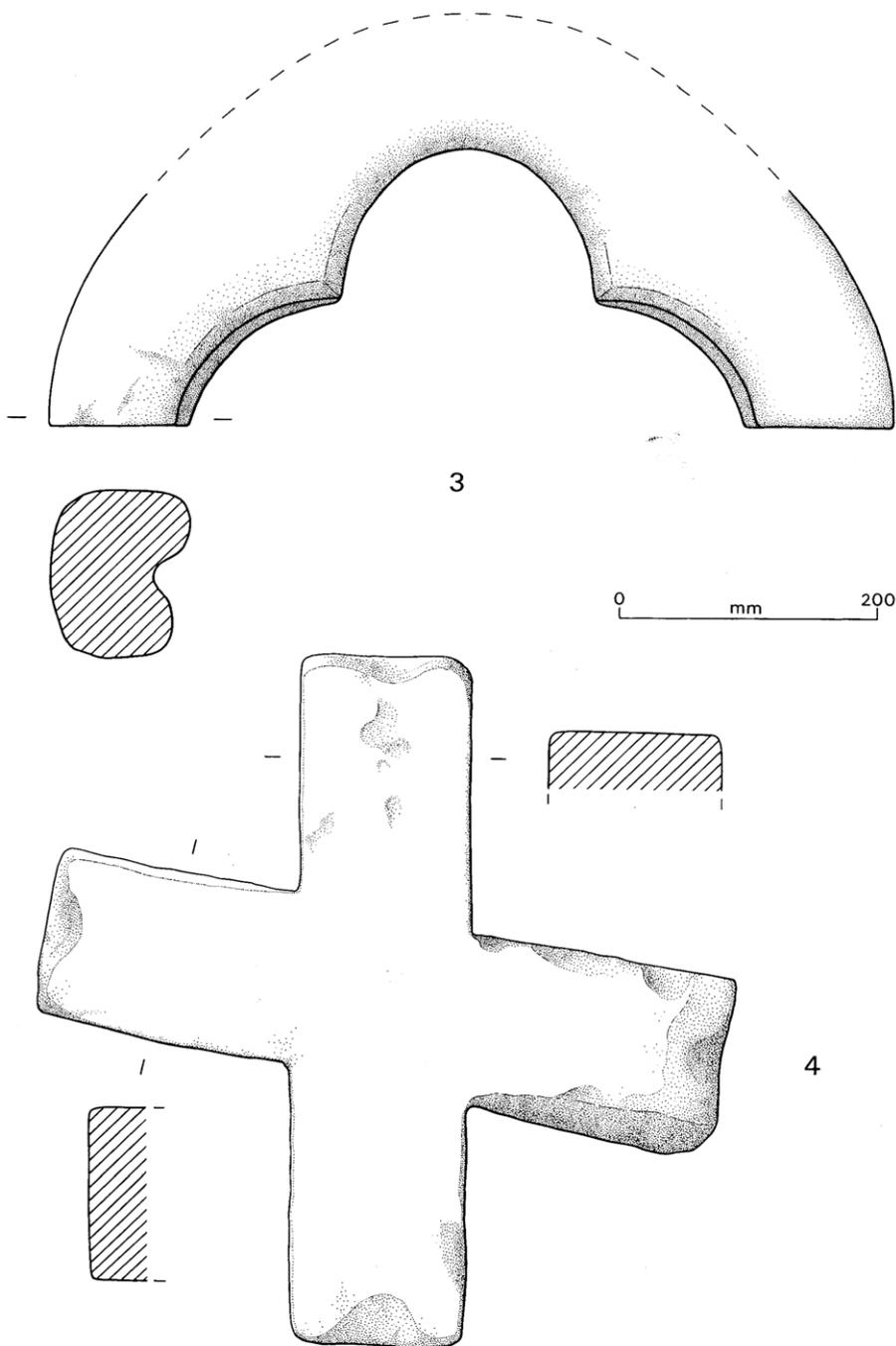


FIG. 3. 3, trefoil windowhead; 4, cross (scale 1:6).

All four pieces of sculpture can be considered as being ecclesiastical in origin. Such sculpture has been found scattered around the centre of Carlisle during the course of various excavations by Carlisle Archaeological Unit over the past 20 years. There are several candidates for the original source of these pieces: the Dominican Friary of Blackfriars, the medieval church of St Cuthbert, the medieval church of St Alban, or the demolished buildings of the Cathedral. However, the obvious source is the Franciscan Friary of Greyfriars which stood on, or very near to, the present site.

The Franciscan order arrived in Carlisle in 1233 and their church was damaged or destroyed in the fire of 1251. Henry III granted forty oaks and £20 towards the rebuilding costs, suggesting that a large building was planned. The Friary was again destroyed in the fire of 1292, and probably damaged by further fires in 1296 and 1391 which destroyed large tracts of the city.¹ At some date after this the Friary was rebuilt in stone. Following the dissolution of the religious houses, Greyfriars seems to have been totally demolished to provide the stone for repair work carried out on the castle and city defences in 1543, and this is supported by a map of Carlisle of c. 1560² which records a complete blank where the Franciscan Friary once stood.

Notes and References

¹ See H. Summerson, *Medieval Carlisle: the City and the Borders from the Late Eleventh to the Mid-Sixteenth Century*, CW Extra Series XXV (1993).

² British Library Cotton Ms Aug I, i, 13; see Summerson, *op. cit.*, Plate XIX.

6. *Cross-Border clergy movements in the Reformation West March*

BY MARGARET CLARK

The West March has somewhat cynically been defined as “Cumberland and Dumfriesshire. Add Westmorland and Selkirk to taste”.¹ The English West March is thus roughly synonymous with the modern county of Cumbria; in Reformation England it fell within the dioceses of Carlisle and Chester. In 1599, Bishop Robinson of Carlisle composed a long and gloomy assessment of the clergy and laity of his diocese, essentially complaining that both were ignorant and unreformed. The border parishes were particularly ill-served; some had none to celebrate the Eucharist at all, “save only certain beggarly runners which come out of Scotland”.² A similar comment had been made of the East March some thirty years earlier by the bishop of Durham.³ The implication was that any Scots clergy were of poor quality, and probably papists to boot. Certainly the resistance of the Scottish Border counties to reform – one could still hear Mass at Dumfries at the time Bishop Robinson was writing – enhances this impression.⁴ On at least one occasion, a layman of Bowness on Solway was cited by his church wardens at episcopal visitation for having slipped across the Solway to hear Mass in Scotland.⁵ Of the clergy serving Cumbrian cures in the 1570s John Anderson at Kirklington was reported as “coming out of Scotland”,⁶ exactly as the bishop later claimed. Several others in 1574 had Scottish surnames, like John Fairbairn at Irthington, John Maggee at Lanercost, and Thomas McKinnon at Croglin; this last was however ordained at Carlisle and may have been a genuine immigrant.⁷ These men, serving the impoverished Northern parishes, appear to confirm the association of Scottish clergy with poor cures and low standards.

Monastic links across the Solway are well known. Mediaeval Holm Cultram had many endowments in Galloway, and Lanercost in Dumfries. Likewise, Jedburgh had Arthuret and Bassenthwaite, Holyrood had Torpenhow, and Kelso, Lazonby.⁸ Scottish kings might both endow West March houses, as did David, or raid them, as did Bruce.⁹ Perhaps this legacy contributed to the conservative solidarity of the Scottish and English West March in the

sixteenth century. Cross-border contacts, initially at least, had meant refuge for the English clergy falling foul of a changing regime. In the aftermath of the Pilgrimage of Grace, there is a suggestion that “grey freres, uthr doctoures and religious men” took refuge north of the Border, and one of the canons of Cartmel priory made good his escape to Holyrood.¹⁰

Because the Reformation in Scotland has a later official start than in England, 1560 rather than 1534-6, and the subsequent difficulties, arising from political intrigue, in imposing it there, one is inclined to assume that nothing good could come out of Scotland, and that cross-Border movement in either direction could only be in support of the old religion. The work of revisionists in emphasising the Catholicism of the north-west tends to confirm that assumption. It is easy to overlook in consequence the premature stirrings of reform in Scotland, which provoked the burnings of Patrick Hamilton in 1528 and George Wishart in 1546.¹¹ The conflict in the 1540s between Cardinal Beaton and the reformed party, responsible for the introduction of the vernacular bible there, is easily ignored, despite its having been the era which produced John Knox, significant in the history of the Reformation not only of his own country but on the English East March.¹²

A flurry of activity on the West March in 1547-8 suggests that in Cumbria at least the stirrings of reform across the border, by now perhaps twenty-five years old, had at last, with a change of government, been recognised as significant. Thus in 1547 the West March Warden, Lord Wharton, reported to London the arrival in Cumberland of the Warden and two brothers of the Dumfries Greyfriars, who had renounced the supremacy of Rome.¹³ In his report the following month, he enthused on the obedience of the Dumfries friars, which was a joy to see. They had abandoned their mendicant habits for secular gowns, and appeared to be excellent if unexpected reinforcements for a preaching and propaganda campaign: something for which the North was notoriously ill-equipped.¹⁴ That there was such a campaign in hand is indicated by the letter of 1548 in which Wharton confirms the safe arrival of a parcel of books for distribution amongst the noblemen and others of the West March; all charitable men in that realm should be contented with them.¹⁵ The degree of charity extant is open to question. At least if the “rough wooing” was seeking to enforce on the East March the supremacy, temporal and spiritual, of Henry VIII, the West March appeared, to some of the reformed Scots at least, a safe haven in which to practise their faith.

One such Scot was recorded by the Cumbrian antiquarian, Thomas Machell. He spoke of the first schoolmaster at the grammar school at Kirkby Stephen, founded by the will of Lord Wharton in 1568, as Mr Edward Mynes (*recte* Menzies), born at Castlehill near Edinburgh, “who fled hether in the time of Edward the Sixt for his Religion, being then of the Reformation”.¹⁶ His informant was the great-grandson of Menzies himself, who being a clerk of the peace was a reliable authority. The story is confirmed by the historians Nicolson and Burn, who noted Menzies on the Wharton property at Ravenstonedale in 1546. A rental included “to Edward Mynese schoolmaster his stipend £20”.¹⁷ Twenty years earlier than his descendant had known, Menzies was already established on the English West March, having arrived even before the time of Edward VI as Machell had supposed. His existence confirms a connection between reform and Lord Wharton which might otherwise appear unlikely. The early years of Elizabeth’s reign showed Wharton in his true colours; by 1564 Bishop Best had revised his initial favourable opinion and thought him evil of religion, and the second Lord Wharton turned out to be a notable recusant in Essex. The first lord’s will of 1568 comes as near to establishing a chantry for his soul as was still possible in Elizabethan England.¹⁸ A political opportunist who established his landed estates by acquiring monastic property, he was keen enough for reform when expedient, as it was in the England of Protector Somerset.

Menzies must have been thought a very valuable commodity to have commanded such a high stipend. Few livings in Cumberland and Westmorland were worth, in the *Valor Ecclesiasticus* of 1535, anything approaching £20. The curate of Ravenstonedale was, in the same rental in which Menzies appears, worth only half his salary: £8 6s. 8d., and 10s. for a

horse.¹⁹ Preachers and teachers were rare commodities; Wharton was prepared to pay handsomely to retain Menzies' services.

Far better known than Menzies was the ex-Cistercian John McBray, a Marian exile appointed by Bishop Best first to a Carlisle prebend in 1566 and then to the parish of Crosthwaite in 1567.²⁰ Not only was Crosthwaite an extremely wealthy living by West March standards – over £50 in the *Valor*²¹ – but the development of the copper mines was producing an immigrant population of German miners, resulting in ethnic tensions with the inhabitants and a need for someone who spoke German to minister to them.²² This McBray had learned to do whilst in exile, but he was much in demand elsewhere too. Just as Knox had found Berwick and Newcastle far more receptive to reformed preaching than the Scottish West March, so McBray too was appointed to St Nicolas Newcastle within a year.²³ It was impossible to do justice to the major towns of East and West Marches, and a developing industrial site in the heart of the Lake District as well. This common problem besetting Protestant preachers resulted, as usual, in neglect of the less congenial for the more productive situations. It was no criticism of McBray's conviction that he should concentrate his efforts where they were likely to produce results.

Other Scottish Protestants are known to have existed, and to have crossed the Border: their staying in the English West March however is unusual. The Dominican friars John McDowell of Wigtown and John Willock of Ayr left, as Protestants, in 1535; "Friar Jerome" was imprisoned at Dumfries for Protestant views in 1539.²⁴ Willock was later a chaplain in Dorset's household, and McDowell in Shaxton's, as was friar MacAlpine, while friar Seton joined Suffolk's.²⁵ Any contact such men had with Cumbria must have been fleeting at best.

Not all traffic of the reformed was from North to South; Alexander Gordon of Airds picked up Lollard doctrines at least in England, and, bringing back to the Scots West March books and a tutor, was instrumental in the conversion of Alexander Stewart of Dumfries, who, in 1558, introduced a Protestant preacher there.²⁶ (There appears to have been no follow up to the ministry, ten years earlier, of John Rough.) The north-west of England sent at least one notable Protestant to Scotland, but he did go via Geneva. This was Christopher Goodman, first appointed to Ayr and then to St Andrew's, before returning in 1572 to be Archdeacon of Richmond for the rest of Elizabeth's reign.²⁷ Goodman was another associate of Knox; continental contacts had much to do with cross-Border ones in the Reformation era. Like McBray, Goodman was not long enough in his parish (1559-60?) to have much effect. The cure was actually served by one Robert Legatt who had been chaplain at Ayr in 1520, promoted to vicar by 1548, reduced to curate in 1559 and then to reader in 1563 as the reformation took hold, and served on until 1570.²⁸ The chances of the parish even really appreciating the changes in title, when the same man served the cure for fifty years, are slim. That a man of European reputation like Goodman was sought by both English and Scottish protestants is no surprise; the only surprise is that he should have taken on such a Herculean task as Richmond, when he had had the opportunity of ministry in a university town and before that, in one of the old homes of Lollardy. A Lollard group was identified at Kyle and Cunningham as early as 1494, and was flourishing in the 1530s, when its doctrines were being influenced by available Lutheran literature.²⁹ One wonders if this was the kind of group for whom Wharton's delivery of books was intended. The Lollards of Ayr had given shelter to McBray after his protestant conversion in 1541, when James V was tightening anti-reformist legislation, and would appear to have been trickling across the West March border as a result.³⁰

Few though were to settle in the West March as Menzies did. Most Scots kept going to the far South, to find chaplaincies in noble households, like those of Dorset and Suffolk,³¹ or to seek suitable cures. John Rough, encouraged by the English to preach around Dumfries in 1547-8, suffered his Marian martyrdom as minister to a London congregation.³² Reformed clergy of the English West March were liable to follow the same route. Neither Sandys or

Grindal came closer to their native Cumbria than the Archbishopric of York; Horne and Gilpin were prepared to work on the East, but not the West, March; Elizabeth had great difficulty in finding anyone to take Carlisle at all. It was of course the constant problem of the North that talent tended to haemorrhage southwards, to the universities in England or abroad, or to London. West March cross-Border contacts therefore tended to remain at a low level, both numerically and in influence. Either the men involved progressed to better things, or stayed because they lacked the calibre to leave. The excitement of 1547-8 at the flow of Protestants from Scotland died away, to leave, by the end of the century, only Bishop Robinson's complaint: the poor standard of the remaining flotsam and jetsam of the reformation, abandoned by the tide, not worth employing anywhere but in the poorest parishes. What more, alas, could the West March expect?

Notes and References

- ¹ Fraser, G. M., *The Steel Bonnets* (London, 1971), xxii n.1.
- ² PRO SP 12/273/56.
- ³ Bateson, M. (ed.), "A collection of original letters from the bishops to the Privy Council in 1564", *Camden Misc IX*, Camden Society n.s. liii. (1895), 54.
- ⁴ Keeling, S. M., "Church and Religion on the Anglo-Scottish Border", unpublished Ph.D. thesis, (Durham, 1975), 134.
- ⁵ Cumbria Record Office (Carlisle) [hereafter C.R.O.(C)] DRC/3/1, unfoliated.
- ⁶ *Ibid.*
- ⁷ C.R.O.(C) DRC/3/1, unfoliated; 3/2, unfoliated; 1/3, f. 36.
- ⁸ Victoria County History, *Cumberland*, ii, 45.
- ⁹ *Ibid.*, 170, 191.
- ¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 274; Haigh, C., *The Last Days of the Lancashire Monasteries and the Pilgrimage of Grace* Chetham Soc., 3rd Series 17, (1969), 116.
- ¹¹ Foxe, *Acts and Monuments*, iv, 578-80; v, 622, 626, 637.
- ¹² Cowan, I. B., *The Scottish Reformation* (London, 1982), 76-7.
- ¹³ *Calendar of State Papers Domestic Additional* i. 39.
- ¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 50; for the preaching ability of northern clergy, Archbishop Lee in *LP*, ix, 704.
- ¹⁵ *CSP Dom Add* ii, 15.
- ¹⁶ C.R.O.(C) D&C Machell iii, 195.
- ¹⁷ Nicolson, J. and Burn, R., *History of Westmorland and Cumberland* (London, 1777, reprinted East Ardesley, 1976), i, 523.
- ¹⁸ PRO SP 12/18/21; *Camden Miscellany* ix, 48-51; will in James, M. E., *Society, Politics and Culture* (Cambridge, 1986), 140-1.
- ¹⁹ Nicolson and Burn, i, 523.
- ²⁰ C.R.O.(C) DRC 1/3.20, 23.
- ²¹ *Valor Ecclesiasticus*, v, 284.
- ²² PRO SP 12/46/80.
- ²³ Hinde, G. (ed.), *The Registers of Cuthbert Tunstall bishop of Durham 1530-59, and James Pilkington, bishop of Durham 1561-76* Surtees Society 161 (1952), 168.
- ²⁴ Keeling, thesis, *op. cit.*, 294-5.
- ²⁵ *Ibid.*, 338.
- ²⁶ *Ibid.*, 134, 294-5.
- ²⁷ Sanderson, M. H. B., *Mary Stewart's People* (Alabama, 1987), 152, 161-3; Le Neve, *Fasti*, iii, 52; Emden, A. B., *Biographical Register of the University of Oxford, 1500-1540*, ii, 241-2.
- ²⁸ Sanderson, *op. cit.*, 152.
- ²⁹ Thomson, J. A. F., *The Later Lollards* (Oxford, 1964), 204.
- ³⁰ Keeling, thesis, *op. cit.*, 295; *LP* xiv./1 625.
- ³¹ Keeling, thesis, *op. cit.*, 338, *et al.*
- ³² Foxe, *op. cit.*, viii, 444.

7. *A Seventeenth century treasure trove in Furness, a correction*
BY DR ANDREW WHITE

In my article in the 1996 *Transactions* on “A seventeenth century treasure trove in Furness” I referred to a Thomas Senhouse. Gent, one of those cross-examined in the case, as “presumably of the Workington family”.

Lt. Cdr. Brian Ashmore has kindly pointed out to me that there never was a Senhouse family of Workington. Instead this Thomas is likely to have been a member of the family which held the manor of Seascale and later that of Ellenborough. The figure which Lt. Cdr. Ashmore reveals carries all the more credibility as a man of the world who would be familiar with handling coins of types which the yeomen witnesses might rarely or never see. While I am not a genealogist and the family connections of Thomas Senhouse are only incidental to the article in question I am publishing this brief amendment to avoid puzzling future scholars and setting off a baseless controversy.

8. *The original location of Workington’s drinking fountain*
BY D. IAN SMITH

In the 1986 volume of these *Transactions* (CW2, lxxxvi, 235-246) Jeremy Godwin gave an account of “Some Drinking Fountains in Cumberland”. The article relates that Workington’s drinking fountain was set up in 1859 at the head of Wilson Street, where it stands today. This site was not the original one, however.

On 25 January 1859 the *Cumberland Pacquet* carried details of the new fountain. It was installed in Sanderson Street, at the crossroads with Pow Street and Udale Street, in a position which would today be on the side of the Midland Bank facing the town centre. The adjacent Pow Street was at the time the main street in Workington and the *Pacquet* remarks on the drinking fountain “Being convenient and accessible to the most crowded neighbourhood”. The first edition, large-scale (1/500) O.S. map (Cumberland sheet LIII.11.4) of c. 1865 also has the fountain in this location. When and why it was moved from its original position, and whether the fountain was moved directly to Wilson Street, remains unknown.

Erratum

With reference to Note 2 (page 254) of the 1997 volume of *Transactions* – line 4 should read “Lengthy enquiries reveal that 3 coins of Henry etc.”.

