

## Anglo-Scottish Warfare and its Effects on the Manor of Irthington in the Barony of Gilsland, 1295-1603

HUGH VAUX

For 300 years preceding the union of the crowns in 1603, war and cross-border raiding took its toll on the lands of both England and Scotland. This paper traces the fortunes of the manor of Irthington and of the long-suffering tenants during that time, using the inquisitions *post mortem* of the barons of Gilsland, supplemented by sixteenth-century surveys. In addition, lay subsidy records are used to provide evidence that the manor did not suffer in isolation.

### The manor of Irthington, 1295

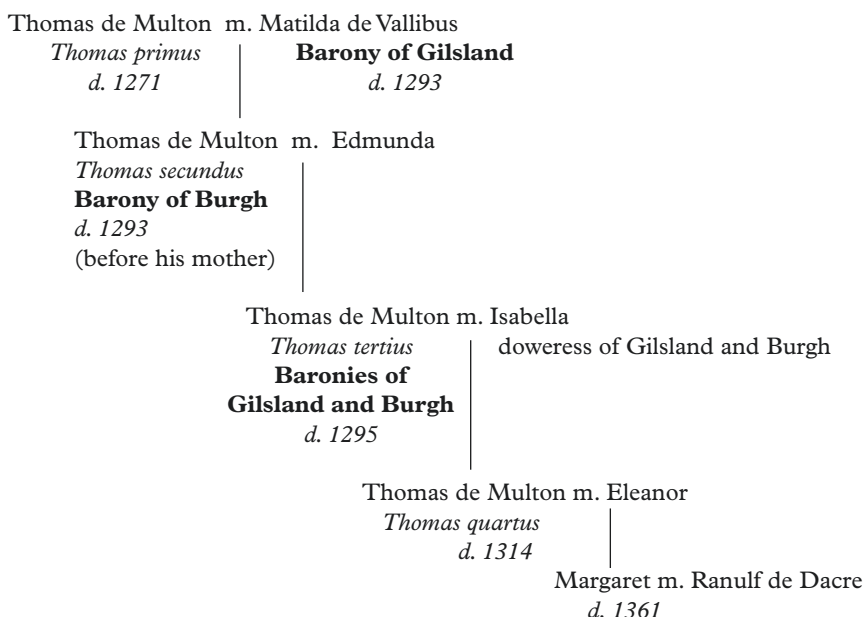
IRTHINGTON lies six miles north east of Carlisle on the River Irthing. Near the present church are the remains of the castle motte and beside this was the capital messuage<sup>1</sup> that was centre of the manor granted to Hubert de Vallibus in 1157 as the *caput* of the barony of Irthington, later to be known as Gilsland.<sup>2</sup> Pertaining to the manor was the advowson of the priory of Lanercost lying a further four miles eastwards and, at a later date, the castle of Naworth ('Naward'), one mile directly south of the priory. Between Irthington and Naworth lies the town of Brampton, where a weekly market and two annual fairs were granted to Thomas de Multon and Maud, *née* de Vallibus, his wife, in 1252.<sup>3</sup> The descent of the barony of Gilsland through Maud de Vallibus to the de Multons and, later, through Margaret, daughter of the last Thomas de Multon, to the Dacres is fully described by Graham,<sup>4</sup> who resolved some confusion between the various generations of Thomas de Multons. In addition, Graham gave an account of the inheritance of the barony of Burgh-by-Sands which included the manor of Kirkoswald, lying six miles north of Penrith and 25 miles south of Irthington.

An inquisition *post mortem* carried out on 23 April 1295,<sup>6</sup> following the death of Thomas *tertius*, included among the evidence a return of £143 2s. 4d. for Irthington from the free tenants, the farmers (*firmari*), the villeins (*nativi*) and the cottagers (*cotarii*). Some free tenants possessed charters and held by socage with oath of the court of Irthington; some paid in kind with pepper and cumin and some paid their rents in money.

Because the initial findings relating to Irthington were not clear, a second writ was issued (*ad melius inquirendum*)<sup>7</sup> resulting in a picture of the manor at the end of a relatively peaceful period on the Borders which coincided with the rule of Alexander III (1249-86) in Scotland. The return of the writ, translated, reads:

The same Thomas held the said barony de Gillesland of the lord King in chief for feudal service of two knights and it is worth yearly which is to say the capital manor of Irthington with curtilage gardens and that common mill of the manor and payments each year 26s. 8d. Item he held in lordship 116 acres of land of which each acre is worth yearly 12d. Total 116s. Item 20 acres of pasture in demesne of which each acre is worth yearly 18d. Total 30s.<sup>8</sup>

### The Pedigree of Thomas de Multon<sup>5</sup>



There were 18 free tenants of the manor (all named) who returned a total of 69s. 1d., holding a total of 245 acres and whose land was of three sorts: poundland (*librata terrae*), shillingland (*solidata terrae*) and pennyland (*denariata terrae*). Most of the holdings were in units of five acres and the largest was 40 acres. The rents varied enormously. David de Michaisle held 20 acres of poundland for 20 shillings annually, while John de Kent paid 13s 5d for a similar holding and Peter dal Regne paid 16s. for 20 acres of shillingland. Another tenant, Robert de la More, paid only 1d. for his 20 acres.<sup>9</sup> In addition, a further 17 free tenants (all named) paid their rent in pepper and cumin, totalling four pounds of pepper and just over 15 pounds of cumin. ‘Ada de Houlton holds 30 acres of shillingland yearly for one pound of pepper and one pound of cumin. Harold of Caterlenn holds 10 acres of poundland yearly for one pound of pepper. Richard de Farlam holds 12 acres of pennyland yearly for one pound of cumin.’ The scribe converted the whole return into cash as ‘total of pepper in pence, 2s. 8d., and total of cumin in pence, 23d.,’ working out at 8d. for a pound of pepper and a penny for cumin. The reply to the writ *ad melius inquirendum* was further explained:

There are there also nine natives; they hold 17 bovates of land in villeinage, the acres yearly 53s. 2d. ... There are there also 17 farmers engaging in cultivation who hold 36 bovates of land, the acres yearly 108s. ... Also 10 cottagers who hold 37 acres of land, the acres yearly 26s. 10d. ... There are also some remaining free [tenants] who by reason of payment of minimal amounts for various ancient acres are worth yearly 13s. 4d. ... There is held also one park which is worth 40s. ... There is also a waste, although the right to pasture it is for the community. There pannage is worth 2s. There is a certain water mill which is worth yearly £9. The pleas and perquisites from the manorial court are worth £10 each year. ... Total of the aforesaid manor £43 5s. 1d.

The natives of the vill, the villeins, were common agricultural labourers, holding their tenancies at the will of the lord and 'unfree' to leave the manor.<sup>10</sup> Their rights were subject to the custom of the manor and their holdings related to the size of the oxgang. In Cumberland, the ploughland (carucate) for a team of eight oxen was approximately 64 acres<sup>11</sup> and a bovate, the equivalent for one ox, was eight acres. In Irthington both the villeins and the farmers each held roughly two bovates and each cottager half a bovate. In Brampton, where there were six natives with a total of 17 bovates and 49 farmers with 99 bovates altogether, there were 38 cottagers holding in all 58 acres which were worth 73s. annually. There the whole manor was worth £48 10s. 9d.

### 1295-1327

The Anglo-Scots conflict which was to last for 300 years and cause so much hardship, resulted from the premature deaths of Alexander III in 1286 and his successor, Margaret the Maid of Norway, four years later, leaving no clear candidate for the throne of Scotland. Edward I, called on to adjudicate between the rivals, Bruce and Balliol, awarded the crown to John Balliol, a close ally of the Comyns, in 1292.<sup>12</sup> Two years later, Edward was at war with Philip IV of France, who had declared Gascony forfeit, and the Scottish nobles, threatened with military service for Edward I's consequent campaign, rebelled.<sup>13</sup>

During 1295, the Scots had sent envoys to Philip 'to treat with that king and kingdom against the English king and kingdom'<sup>14</sup> and in the following March, the Lanercost Chronicle recorded, 'Sir John Comyn of Buchan invaded England with an army of Scots, burning houses, slaughtering men and driving off cattle, and on the following two days they violently assaulted the city of Carlisle; but, failing in their attempt, they retired on the third day'.<sup>15</sup> This pattern was to be repeated over subsequent years but on this first occasion brought retribution from Edward which resulted in the sacking of Berwick-on-Tweed with, wrote the chronicler of Lanercost, the loss of 7,000 lives.<sup>16</sup>

Resistance in Scotland developed under William Wallace, culminating in defeat of the English at Stirling Bridge in 1297 and still more raiding. The monasteries of Hexham and Lanercost were destroyed, and this, the chronicler<sup>17</sup> thought, could 'by no means be attributed to the valour of warriors, but to the dastardly conduct of thieves who attacked a weaker community where they would not be likely to meet with any resistance'.<sup>18</sup>

Although defeated at Falkirk in the following year, the Scots continued their raids and guerrilla warfare until the capture of Wallace and his execution in 1305. The Scottish cause was eventually taken over by Robert Bruce who, though initially loyal to Edward, rebelled in 1306 after the murder of John Comyn and was crowned at Scone. Sadler points out that it was self-interest, not patriotism, which motivated Bruce in the first instance.<sup>19</sup> But within a year the English military response and the factional quarrelling with the Comyns resulted in Bruce's temporary exile.<sup>20</sup>

It was these events which brought the sick and ageing Edward north to attempt a final drive against the Scots, spending nearly six months at Lanercost before parliament was

called to Carlisle at Easter 1307. Three months later, Edward died at Burgh-by-Sands, the centre of the de Multons' second barony. The numbers of 'nobles of the land and the prelates of the Church who were assembled there'<sup>21</sup> must have had enormous consequences for the inhabitants, both there and at Irthington and Brampton. At Lanercost, too, the king's long stay was 'grievous indeed and the house was much impoverished by it'.<sup>22</sup>

Following his father's death, Edward II failed to take adequate counter-measures thus allowing Bruce to consolidate his strength in Scotland. The cross-border raiding continued and in 1312 'was burnt all the land of the Lord of Gillesland and the town of Haltwhistle and a great part of Tynedale.' The Lanercost Chronicle added that, although the Scots killed few men, they took with them 'a very large booty in cattle'<sup>23</sup> and, in addition, that 'Robert de Brus, King of Scotland, came with a great army in the month of August to the monastery of Lanercost, and remained there three days, making many canons prisoners and doing an infinity of injury'.<sup>24</sup>

Thomas de Multon *quartus* seems to have spent those years in Cumberland for, in 1305, he had been ordered to supply the king with 'horses and arms for the defence of those parts'.<sup>25</sup> Two years later, he received similar orders to assist the men of Cumberland<sup>26</sup> and in February 1313, having been ordered to attend the royal council at Westminster, he was told to 'stay in his parts for the security of the same'.<sup>27</sup> Thomas died in the following November<sup>28</sup> and the jurors at his inquisition *post mortem* at Carlisle, in March 1314, found the value of the manor of Irthington to be around £40. The heir was his daughter, Margaret, aged 13½ years. The inquisition recorded:

Thomas held on the day that he died two parts of the manor of Irthington with all appurtenances in his [damaged], that is to say of the lord king in chief, except a third part which his mother [Isabel de Multon] holds in dower: it pertains through service of socage [in] chief for two and a half knights. And they say that, as to the capital messuage there, with gardens around the manor one pasture and fruit trees, they are worth per annum 13s. 4d. There is at that place a close which is held separately and is worth per annum 13s. 4d. and a park which is worth per annum 20s. In lordship are 119 acres of land, any one acre being worth 9d. per annum. Also in lordship are 400 acres of pasture and various sections of land, any one acre being worth 10d. There are also separate pastures which are worth a total of 100s per annum. Two lakes have fishing worth 3s. 4d. and four mills are worth £8 4s. 2d. per annum. 100 customary tenants hold 180 good lands, yielding £19 4s., 40 cottagers yield, per annum, 45s. and the services of the tenants by custom of the manor and the cottagers are worth 46s. 4d. per annum though lately they are wasted through the war with Scotland. There is also a market worth 50s. [Brampton]. The return of various free tenants is 55s., three pounds of pepper worth £1.0.12 and six pounds of cummin worth £1.0.1. Pleas and perquisites of the court below of the said manor are worth 100s. per annum. ... thirtieth day of March.<sup>29</sup>

Though here reproduced in full, this survey of Irthington is, in fact, far less detailed than the earlier inquisition of 1295. Tenant numbers are given in round figures, suggesting some guesswork, but a few items can be picked out which are directly comparable between the two surveys. The 119 acres of desmesne lands were worth only nine pence an acre, previously 12d., the perquisites of the court £5, previously £10, and four mills £8 4s. 2d., previously one mill, worth £9 annually.

Although devastation by the Scots was clearly beginning to cause problems, this was to become much worse following the English defeat at Bannockburn in June 1314. By November, having devastated Northumberland, the Scots moved on to Durham 'but

they did not burn much, for the people of the bishopric ransomed themselves from burning by a large sum of money'.<sup>30</sup> However, the Scots carried off the cattle while the locals took refuge in the woods and the castles. Moving westwards, they burned Brough, Appleby and Kirkoswald, and 'so, passing near the priory of Lanercost, they entered Scotland, having many men prisoners from whom they might extort ransom at will'.<sup>31</sup> Only the payment of £400 in tribute to Robert Bruce by the county of Cumberland prevented matters from being even worse.<sup>32</sup> These payments were to continue with monies levied on the local communities, both secular and clerical, at a time when it had become increasingly difficult for Edward II to raise his own lay subsidies.<sup>33</sup>

In the following years similar events occurred, made worse in 1316 by 'such a mortality of men in England and Scotland through famine and pestilence as had not been heard of in our time',<sup>34</sup> both in men and beasts. McNamee considers that this combination of adverse weather conditions, poor crops and sickness from 1313-22 caused widespread economic depression throughout England especially in the north. This and the preoccupation of Edward II with his domestic affairs were as important as the wars in producing Scottish military supremacy during that period.<sup>35</sup>

Edward II's expedition to Scotland, in 1319, failed, resulting in a counter-invasion by the Scots 'when the crop had been stored in barns, and [they] burned the whole of Gilsland, both the corn for which the people depended for sustenance during that year and the houses wherein they had been able to take refuge; also they carried off with them both men and cattle'.<sup>36</sup>

Edward failed to resolve the situation and his refusal to recognise Bruce prevented any permanent peace negotiation, resulting in the total disillusionment of the northerners. Eventually, a prolonged truce was arranged in 1323 for 13 years<sup>37</sup> only to be broken with the accession of Edward III.

## 1327-46

The situation had become so acute on the Borders that from 1313-32 the lay subsidies granted by parliament were not collected in Cumberland, Westmorland and Northumberland which Willard considered was due to their 'exhaustion',<sup>38</sup> a situation worsened by payments of money extorted by the Scots. The subsidies on moveables included 'household utensils, grain, cattle and goods for sale of noble, freeman or serf'<sup>39</sup> and were thus distinct from taxes on lands and property. From 1332, the subsidies took the form of tenths in the towns (payable by those who were worth six shillings or more in goods per annum) and fifteenths 'outside cities, boroughs and the king's demesnes' (payable by those who were worth 10 shillings or more in property).<sup>40</sup> Edward III's campaign against the Scots, in 1333, required more money and as this offensive could be said to give the northern counties some protection, they were no longer exempted from payments. The subsidies were based on the assessment of individuals in each vill but, from 1344,<sup>41</sup> this was changed to a flat rate payable by each community. The amounts shown in Figure 1 are for the total sums of cash, less expenses, enrolled by the collectors for the fifteenths.<sup>42</sup>

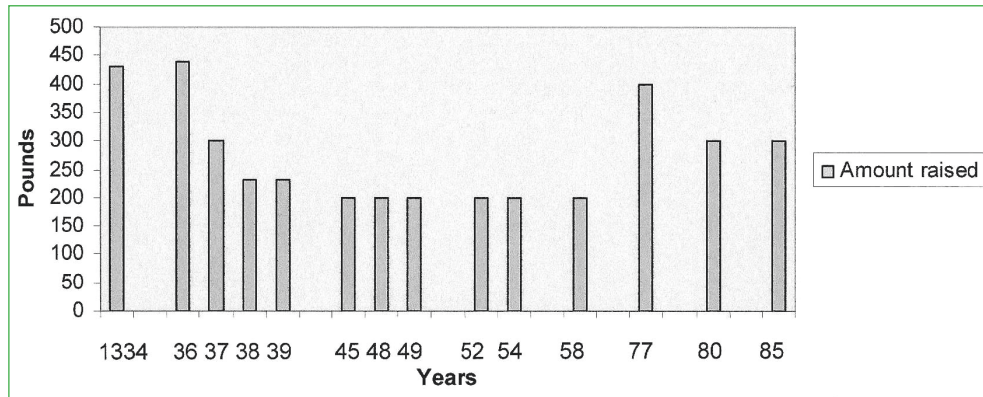


FIG. 1. Totals of the fifteenths collected in Cumberland from 1334-85

Because of the depredations of the Scots, it was, at times, impossible to collect the subsidies in full.<sup>43</sup> As a result there might be a remission but this was usually just deferment for a few months.<sup>44</sup> Once more, the Lanercost Chronicle graphically recorded the misery, on either side of the Border, of Scottish attack and English counter-attack. In 1333, for example:

They invaded Gillesland by way of Carlisle, slaying and burning in the same manner, carrying off cattle and booty, on the following day they returned. On the next day. ... Sir Anthony de Lucy, having collected a strong body of English Marchmen [borderers], entered Scotland and marched as far as twelve miles therein, burning many villages.<sup>45</sup>

Briggs discusses the extent of these raids carried out 1332-46.<sup>46</sup> He considers that the fall in the subsidy collection which, as Fig. 1 shows, was at its lowest between 1345 and 1358, was due to several factors. First, money was needed to pay for supplies and personnel to defend the countryside and to buy off the Scots. Next, further depopulation of the Borders, both in men and stock as a result of emigration and the continuing sheep murrain, diminished the local economy.<sup>47</sup> Other causes may have been evasion of payment and the possibility of manipulation of the assessments, allowing local magnates to claim exemption for the expenses of defence. Briggs points out that the ordinary tax-payer may simply have been unwilling to pay, 'a situation that was probably stimulated by resentment of royal demands that were not reciprocated by adequate border defence'.<sup>48</sup> But in addition, after 1349, the rapid spread of the Black Death compounded the miseries of the local inhabitants.

Whatever the causes, the records of assessments on individuals which were carried out and recorded in the lay subsidy rolls, show a decrease in the numbers of persons appraised to pay the subsidy between 1332 and 1344, as can be seen in Table 1. The total of the assessments on individuals in 1344 formed the basis of subsequent collections in each vill and it was this figure, £197 17s. 4¼d. for the fifteenths,<sup>49</sup> which was to be used in future years for the whole of Cumberland.

Assessment of individuals in Irthington (Table 2), between 1332-37, shows a fall in



TABLE 1: Persons paying the fifteenths in some Eskdale and Leath vills 1332-58<sup>50</sup>

Date E 179		1332-4 90/2	1337 90/6	1339 90/7 and 22	1344 90/79	1349 to 1358 90/14 and 16 90/18 and 19
<b>Eskdale Ward</b>						
Irthington	Fifteenth	53s. 2d.	23s. 4d.	20s.	15s. ?d.	15s. 9d.
	Persons	34	20	16	12	
Brampton	Fifteenth	132s. 2d.	82s. 1d.	64s. 1d.	44s.	44s.
	Persons	54	49	19(?)	32	
Triermain	Fifteenth	26s. 1d.	14s. 1d.	14s.	10s.	10s.
	Persons	17	10	10	8	
Torcrossock	Fifteenth	14s. 11d.	9s. 6d.	8s. 7d.	7s.	7s.
	Persons	11	6	6	5	
Hayton	Fifteenth	26s. 3d.	21s. 4d.	18s.	(?)	18s.
	Persons	14	14	14	14	
Walton-with-Lanercost	Fifteenth	76s. 1d.	51s. 3d.	(?)	30s.	30s.
	Persons	46	36	22	19	
<b>Leath Ward</b>						
Kirkoswald	Fifteenth	206s. 1d.	193s. 4d.	98s.	no record	80s
	Persons	59	33	28		
Lazonby	Fifteenth	82s. 1d.	82s. 1d.	60s.	56s.	56s.
	Persons	22	16	13	13	
Edenhall	Fifteenth	65s. 4d.	No rec	40s. 6d.	30s.	30s.
	Persons	29		18	12	
Hutton-in-The-Forest	Fifteenth	83s. 1d.	52s. 3d.	40s.	no record	40s.
	Persons	35	29	17		
Catterlen	Fifteenth	29s. 10d.	16s. 11d.	12s. 8d.	12s.	12s.
	Persons	12	10	11	11	

wealth of between a third and a half, probably as a result of the raid of 1333. During that time the number of those assessed fell from 34 to 20, only ten of whom had been named in the initial survey. Whether this was due to death, destruction of property or depopulation, or a combination of all three, is not known. Of these ten survivors, eight were further assessed in 1339 and six in 1344, suggesting that, at least, the period 1337-44 was more settled.

In 1333 Edward III had carried the war into Scotland in support of Edward Balliol and the 'Disinherited' but five years later, despite his success, he found himself with the greater problem of war with France.<sup>52</sup> When King David II returned from exile in France to Scotland in 1341, he was determined to emulate his father, Robert Bruce, and, gradually, the military achievements of Edward III were undone. Truces were negotiated but the Scots took advantage of Edward's absence in France and in October 1345 carried out a major raid, burning Gilsland, Penrith and the surrounding area.<sup>53</sup> Because the 'towns, hamlets and places in the greater part of the county have been burned and totally destroyed',<sup>54</sup> the collections of the tenths and fifteenths were remitted in 1346. Amongst these communities were all the vills listed in Table 1, as well as Lanercost Priory. A further invasion by David II in 1346, the same year as the battle of Crécy, resulted in his own defeat and capture at Neville's Cross but produced some relief for the borderers.

TABLE 2: Some individual assessments for Irthington 1332-1344<sup>51</sup>

Name	Worth 1332	Worth 1337	Fifteenth 1337	Fifteenth 1339	Fifteenth 1344
Robt Sire	28s. 10d.	20s.	16d.	16d.	16d.
Thos de Blatar	64s. 8d.	60s.	4s.	2s. 4d.	illegible
Radd Molondmane	23s.	15s.	12d.	14d.	8d.
Johes Prestson	no record	11s. 3d.	9d.	12d.	9d.
Adam de Stable	32s. 2d.	15s.	12d.	10 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>4</sub> d.	10 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>4</sub> d.
Thos fil de Robert	no record	20s.	14d.	12d.	13d.
Wills Wode	no record	21s. 4d.	17d.	15d.	15d.
Wills Whyt (Albus)	33s. 11d.	17s. 6d.	14d.	14d.	12d.
Robt Molond	no record	10s. 8d.	8 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub> d.	19 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub> d.	12d.
Johes fil de Ricus	no record	15s.	12d.	22 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub> d.	22d.
Wills Bacour	23s. 9d.	12s. 4d.	10 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub> d.	16d.	14d.
Johes Cowmane	no record	12s. 6d.	10d.	11 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>4</sub> d.	illegible

### 1346-1400

The pattern of assessments in Table 1 is remarkably consistent and suggests increasing economic hardship in all these communities. A further remission was granted in 1348 and, in addition, the clergy of the same parishes were granted exemption of their tenths.<sup>55</sup> The vills had to defend themselves and all men between the ages of 16 and 60 could be conscripted, 'all persons disobeying to be punished as rebels and aiders of the Scots'.<sup>56</sup> In 1339, Cumberland had been required to provide 40 men at arms and 1,000 hobelars for the king's service in Scotland who were to be paid out of the tenths and fifteenths.<sup>57</sup>

During the 1330s, Ranulf Dacre had held the barony of Gilsland in the right of his wife, Margaret de Multon and, in 1335, had crenellated his dwelling place at Naworth,<sup>58</sup> having been given a royal licence to 'fortify and kernel [enclose] his manor of Naward in Cumberland with a wall of stone and lime'.<sup>59</sup> A pele tower was already in existence there before 1323, when Anthony de Lucy had been warden.<sup>60</sup> Such embellishments do indeed confirm McNamee's claim that 'by 1330 there is a sense that war had become endemic in the region'.<sup>61</sup> Dacre, as sheriff of Cumberland and keeper or constable of the castle at Carlisle, went on to play his part both in defence and retaliation and, as a result, his tenants were required to do the same.<sup>62</sup>

The inquisition *post mortem* of Margaret de Multon's father, Thomas *quartus*, suggests that the manor of Irthington had still been habitable in 1314 but further destruction may have necessitated the fortifications at Naworth which was in a better defensive position. Certainly, the temporalities of the priory of Lanercost were worth nothing by 1318,<sup>63</sup> confirming this dismal situation. The Dacres probably lived at Kirkoswald which, Storey suggests, the de Multons had preferred since it was in the centre of their lands.<sup>64</sup> The lay subsidy records show that Ranulf Dacre was assessed at Kirkoswald for £20 for his moveables, on which he had to pay 26s. 8d in 1337<sup>65</sup> and following his death, in 1339, his widow, Margaret, was liable for 20s. later that year in the same place.<sup>66</sup> She continued to hold the two baronies in her own right until her death before February 1362, when the inquisition *post mortem* recorded at Penrith makes further depressing reading.



Irthington. The extent states that there are tenants at will at Kambek [Cambeck] paying 27s, and that the tenants at will on the manor used to pay 55s. 3d., but now their holdings are waste and without tenants by reason of the destruction done there by the Scots.

Naward. The castle is of no value beyond the cost of repairs by reason that it is near the March and in great peril from the Scots.<sup>67</sup>

The defensive improvements to the castle appear to have been in vain and the combination of destructive raids by the Scots and the spread of the Black Death had depleted the population of the villis. The Borders were relatively quiet in the period 1357-69 but following resumption of war with France, the Scots became increasingly aggressive.<sup>68</sup> Negotiation of an Anglo-Scottish truce until 1384 was not enough to prevent repeated raiding and 'frightfulness'.<sup>69</sup> Sadler writes: 'The constant climate of strife was catalyst for a host of local disturbances, petty raids and feuds, the details of which are scarcely recorded, if at all. Nonetheless this climate of chaos would burden local inhabitants with an equal quantity of misery as the larger but rarer baronial or national operations'.<sup>70</sup>

The increased receipt of subsidies at the end of the century apparent in Fig. 1 reflects the fact that the royal finances were so desperate that two sums of the fifteenths and tenths were granted and collected in 1378 and one and a half in the years 1380 and 1385.<sup>71</sup> Initially made to enable Richard II lead an expedition to France, in 1385 the money was used to finance an abortive campaign to the east of Scotland, only to result in retaliation by the Scots and their French allies around Carlisle.

Three further inquisitions *post mortem*, concerning the manor of Irthington, were held in this period in 1375, 1383 and 1399. The first followed the death of another Ranulf de Dacre, second son of Ranulf and Margaret.

And it is said at the aforesaid manor [Irthington] all is wasted and worth nothing yearly in any profit And there are there 120 acres in lordship wasted and worth nothing. ... There is in the demesne a water mill wholly wasted and worth nothing in any profits and there are there rents of tenants at will amounting to 40s. ... Annual rents of cottagers yield 10s. ... And it is declared that a holding called Little Kamboces [Cambeck] is worth nothing yearly, destruction having been perpetrated by the Scots.<sup>72</sup>

Despite the destruction, a little revenue was forthcoming, though this varied from place to place. At Brampton, some demesne lands were worth nothing but a further 120 acres were worth two pence per acre yearly, with 36 acres of pasture worth three pence per acre yearly and the rents of tenants at will worth 40s. annually.<sup>73</sup>

The jurors in a later inquisition of 1383 on the death of Hugh de Dacre, Ranulf's brother, attributed the problems not just to the Scots but also to 'want of tenants' and it is significant that this was at a time when the impact of a further outbreak of plague in 1380 must have resulted in further depletion of the population.<sup>74</sup> But despite this, there were still both some customary tenants and also the free tenants who held the shillinglands.

They say that the said manor [*Irthington*] having been entirely wasted is worth nothing per annum in any profits damage having been perpetrated by the Scots. ... And there are from the rent of tenants at will 40s. ... And there are certain tenancies to the value of 40 shillings being customary for shillingland. ...<sup>75</sup>

Although Brampton had similar problems, it did have 'a fishery which is worth per annum 12d and there is a communal brewhouse worth per annum 5s'. Further south, in the Dacre property of Kirkoswald, things were no better, with the castle partly in ruins.

There is one capital messuage collapsing [*ruinosum*] with adjacent demesne, worth nothing per acre in any profit at the latest reckoning. There are in lordship 40 acres of land which are worth three pence. There are 16 derelict acres in lordship which were earlier worth per annum ten pence by custom for terms up to Easter and Michaelmas. There is also a park with beasts of the chase and herbage worth per acre 20d. by custom for terms up to Easter and Michaelmas. ...<sup>76</sup>

These findings give a picture of agricultural communities, in various parts of the barony of Gilsland, suffering destitution and depopulation. In contrast, the 1375 record of a raid carried out by Hugh Dacre on the Naworth castle property of his brother, Ranulf, almost accidentally, shows a striking prosperity in livestock. On that occasion, 'Sir Hugh Dacre and others assaulted Naworth castle and carried off 100 oxen, 80 mares, 700 cows, 90 bullocks, 100 calves, 80 colts, 3,300 sheep, value £2,000, there, and at Brampton, Hayton, Castle Carrock, Irthington, Cumrew, Cumwhitton, Croglin, Kirkoswald, Lazonby, Askerton and Dacre'.<sup>77</sup> (In the following year, Hugh Dacre was pardoned for the death of his brother, Ranulf, and for any consequent outlawries, and went on to inherit the baronies).<sup>78</sup>

Although the Scots were blamed for the devastation of the countryside, poverty and the plague had produced a violent society on the Borders. In 1373, 300 armed men had attacked Ranulf Dacre's houses at Beaumont, near Burgh-by-Sands. They had destroyed houses, killed animals, stolen goods and 'entirely relinquished the tenements which they held of him'.<sup>79</sup> If they were, as it appears, his tenants, this incident reflects considerable social unrest.

The English could be just as violent, as is demonstrated by the following incident which took place in 1366.

Since his entry to the castle [Lochmaben], Anthony de Lucy's people ... have plundered the lordship of Annandale of a great number of cattle and prisoners and taken them into England. Since then, Richard de Vaus, John of Thirlewall, John de la More and others have made another raid, carried off cattle, horses, prisoners &c. to England, beaten and wounded the earl of Hereford's [Humphrey de Bohun] servants, and carried off their horses and harness.<sup>80</sup>

Despite this, the usual business of life appears to have continued at times. Thus an inquisition, to determine proof of age of Thomas de Dacre, contains evidence from witnesses of day-to-day activities in Brampton when Thomas was baptised in 1387. But, even here, there is an undercurrent of violence.

The jurors say that Thomas, son and heir of William Dacre, knight, is aged 21 years and more and was so on 28 October last. He was born at Naworth castle on 27 October and baptised on the 28th in Brampton church. This they know for the following reasons.

Roger Leyburn, aged 60 and more, was in church on that day to hear mass and saw Thomas raised from the font.

Henry de Hoton and Thomas de Laton, both 50 and more, separately say that Joan, daughter of Robert Symson, was married on that day at Brampton church to John Tod. They were there for the wedding and saw the baptism.

John de Salkeld of Glassonby and Richard de Beaulu, both 60 and more, saw men and women taking Thomas from the castle to the church.

Adam de Denton and John Brakanthwait, both 44 and more, were servants of William Dacre, knight, and were sent that day to the vicar of Brampton to warn him for the baptism, and they were present in the church.

Adam Mille, 60 and more, fell into a ditch by the church and broke his right shinbone.

John Vaux and William Beauchamp, both 50 and more, say that Richard Johnson, killed by the Scots, was buried that day and they were present.

John Salkeld of Maughonby and John de Melmerby, both 46 and more, were at the church that day for a dispute between Henry Hudson and Robert Daweson. It was settled and they saw the baptism.<sup>81</sup>

The Dacre family seem to have been living at Naworth at that time of Thomas's birth in 1387. However, once more, the following year brought fire and destruction through the western March, ending with the defeat of the English at the battle of Otterburn in August. The whole border area, not sparing Naworth and its vicinity, again became vulnerable to repeated Scottish raids and 12 years later, in 1399, when William de Dacre, son of Hugh, died, Irthington and Brampton were again largely laid waste. At Naworth 'the castle which is worth nothing but is in great need of repair as it is near the March and is in great danger'<sup>82</sup> was, clearly, uninhabitable. In 1393 and 1395, the benefices of Cumberland, Westmorland and Northumberland had already been excused their clerical tenths because they 'were totally destroyed in the last invasion'.<sup>83</sup>

#### 1400-1535

From 1400-1500 no commissioners were appointed for the collection of the tenths and fifteenths in Cumberland.<sup>84</sup> Other subsidies were granted by parliament, for example one in 1450 based on property,<sup>85</sup> but for this, despite the appointment of commissioners, there is no apparent enrolment in the Exchequer rolls.<sup>86</sup> During the same period, successive archbishops of York repeatedly excused the collection of the tenths from the religious houses and benefices of Cumberland, Northumberland and Westmorland,<sup>87</sup> which all suggests widespread depression.

The fifteenth century opened with the death of Richard II following his deposition in September 1399 by Henry of Lancaster and was taken up with inter-factional disputes, both south and north of the border, ending with civil war in England until the Tudor accession in 1485. As far as the Borders were concerned, the early years of that turbulent century saw rebellion by the Percys, in 1403, and the capture of James I by the English, in 1406, resulting in the regency of Robert Stewart, first duke of Albany. James eventually returned to Scotland in 1424 and Anglo-Scottish truces were in place for the next 12 years, providing some respite on a national, if not local, scale. The murder of James I and the accession of his son, James II, in 1437, gave some relief to the English but by 1448, the truces had expired and raiding had begun again.<sup>88</sup>

The next 30 years were taken up with fighting between the houses of Lancaster and York and men from Gilsland would have followed the Lancastrian Ranulf Dacre to

Towton in 1461, where he was killed in battle. As a rebel against Edward IV, he was attainted and, as a result, the subsequent inquest was quoted in a further inquiry of 1466<sup>89</sup> which recorded the revenue of various manors in Gilsland. The castle at Naworth was valueless because of the repairs needed but the manor of Irthington was worth £10 13s. 4d. yearly, Dacre £6 9s. 8d., Kirkoswald 45s., Farlam £18, Blaburthwaite £4, Lazonby £10, Brampton £50 and Burgh-by-Sands £36 13s. 4d.<sup>90</sup>

Ranulf Dacre's younger brother, Humphrey, was also attainted but pardoned in 1468 and both attainders were reversed 1472-73,<sup>91</sup> allowing Humphrey to inherit the estates. A survey of Gilsland carried out at that time<sup>92</sup> showed that although the castle of Naworth, the water mill of Irthington and the chief messuage were described as wasted, 16 other messuages were each worth one penny per annum and 30 oxgangs of land were each worth four pence. In addition, there were nine cottages, each worth one penny with nine acres at two pence an acre. The dovecot was worth four pence but no value was put on the 40 acres of desmense lands.

Sadler writes that by the end of the Wars of the Roses 'the marchers of both countries had grown used to war, indeed for many it was a more natural state of affairs than peace..<sup>93</sup> By 1485, it is clear from the inquisition *post mortem* following the death of Humphrey, Lord Dacre, that conditions had deteriorated so far that the manor of Irthington was again worth almost nothing. What had been spared by the Scots lacked tenants and even the herbage was of no value since there was too much pasture which no one wanted. The tenants-at-will, who 'in the past' had been worth 46s. 5d., were no longer there, although there were eight messuages which had been worth 6 shillings but now only 6d. In Brampton, the only income was from pasture and that was reduced to a quarter of what it had been, while the holdings of the tenants-at-will who formerly paid 66s. 8d., were uncultivated and wasted. The jurors at the inquisition said that the castle at Naworth was worth nothing. The only encouraging entries were at Kirkoswald where the ruined castle had been newly built and the advowson of the church there, along with Lanercost priory were each taxed at 100 shillings a year.<sup>94</sup>

However, 1485 also brought a truce with the Scots for three years, the battle of Bosworth and a new royal dynasty. The Hundred Years War with France had been brought to a close in 1453 and civil war in England was about to be so.

The new century was to bring change and greater stability to Cumberland, and manorial rents suggest some improvement for the inhabitants of Irthington. In 1502 a list of the feudal tenants (*feodarii*) prepared for Thomas, Lord Dacre, noted that 'for the whole barony of Gilsland the same lord has a Court Baron at Irthington ... for the bread and ale in the market (*mercatum et forum*) at Brampton'.<sup>95</sup> According to this document, the accustomed rental from the tenants of the manor of Irthington in each of the years 1359/60 and 1389/90 had totalled £33 6s. 10d. and had largely derived from the demesne lands worth £6 13s., 16 messuages with 32 bovates of land, nine cottagers and 40 autumn workers (*opera autumnalia*). However, in the current year, 1502, the estimated profit was only £10 0s. 2d., effectively a loss of £23 6s. 8d.<sup>96</sup> In view of conditions in the fourteenth century, it seems unlikely that these expected revenues would have been realised in those years and may relate to even earlier times,

perhaps to the inquisition of 1295. Although a little confusing, the document does suggest some overall pattern in the accounting had been used in the inquisitions and surveys, and, as Latham commented, these types of accounts ‘must have served the purpose for which they were designed, and this implies that they were prepared on some recognised and fairly consistent basis’.<sup>97</sup>

### 1535-1603

By 1535 the rentals of the manor of Irthington totalled £14 12s. 11d.<sup>98</sup> There were now seven free tenants, 18 tenants-at-will (at 6s.-7s. 6d. each annually) and nine cottagers, each paying between two and three shillings annually: all named. In that same year, the net annual revenue of Lanercost Priory, as shown in the *Valor Ecclesiasticus*, had increased to £77 11s. 11d.,<sup>99</sup> the community having previously paid nothing for 40 years.

What caused this improvement? War between England and France had again precipitated a further invasion by the Scots. James IV took advantage of Henry VIII’s absence, only to meet defeat and death at Flodden in 1513. However, the furtherance of this violent campaign did allow some reprieve south of the Border and, in 1542, this was reinforced by a further English victory at Solway Moss.

Between these two battles, two major national upheavals occurred, the Dissolution of the Monasteries 1536-40, and the Pilgrimage of Grace 1536-37. Although the Dissolution was the principal cause of the widespread rising of 1536, anger at the exclusion of the Catholic Princess Mary from the succession, the ‘new learning’ and peoples’ worries about the security of tenancies and rights of inheritance, all played a part. In addition, the confiscation of the Percy estates left everyone in the north wondering how they would deal with further military threats from Scotland.<sup>100</sup> The rebellion spread westwards from Lincolnshire and Yorkshire and eventually involved the tenants of Gilsland.<sup>101</sup> The subsequent retribution by the king was terrible, 74 of the total of 6,000 prisoners from Cumberland and Westmorland being hanged.<sup>102</sup> The pilgrims had demonstrated a significant opposition to the king but they had been defeated and it was this defeat which, Hoyle considers, subsequently made the English Reformation possible.<sup>103</sup>

Condemned in 1536 under the Act for the Suppression of the Lesser Monasteries but partially reoccupied in the course of the revolt,<sup>104</sup> Lanercost Priory was finally closed down in 1538 and only the church and chantry chapel were left for parochial purposes.<sup>105</sup> In 1542, William, Lord Dacre was granted ‘the house, site, gardens and demesnes’.<sup>106</sup>

Henry VIII continued to harry the Scots until his death in 1547, a process continued by the lord protector, Edward Seymour duke of Somerset, who hoped to marry off the new young king, Edward VI, to Mary Queen of Scots. However, by 1550, Mary had been sent to France and a peace treaty had been signed at Boulogne which included England, France and, ultimately, Scotland, allowing the beginnings of cross-border cooperation and some stability in the region.<sup>107</sup> By 1560, the establishment of the

reformed church in Scotland and the disestablishment of the Roman Catholic Church there took this process further.<sup>108</sup> Protestantism had spread both there and in England.

Thus the return of the widowed Mary to Scotland in August 1561, renewed religious tensions there and, following her flight to Cumberland, after her defeat at Langside, produced the same problems for the north of England. The subsequent split between the north and the more Protestant south led, in 1569, to the Rising of the Northern Earls which resulted not only from religious differences but also from support for Mary and from loyalty to the earls of Northumberland and Westmorland in their differences with Queen Elizabeth in London.<sup>109</sup> Many rebels, Kesselring considered, were inflamed by a crusader spirit while others simply wanted the pay for fighting.<sup>110</sup> According to James, once the decision to rise had been taken by the earls, the bonds of loyalty to the 'lineage' were stronger than to Elizabeth, while the same attitude in the inhabitants of Gilsland towards the Dacres resulted in 'collective disaster'<sup>111</sup> when they responded to the call to arms.

The rebellion ended at Gelt's Bridge, just four miles south of Naworth Castle, with the defeat of Leonard Dacre by Lord Hunsdon<sup>112</sup> in the following February. Dacre had enlisted the men of Gilsland by proclamation at Brampton 'for defence thereof as he untruly alleged',<sup>113</sup> raising a force of 3,000 of whom more than 300 were slain.<sup>114</sup> Hunsdon was so appalled by the slaughter that, on this occasion, he pleaded on behalf of the rebels that they be pardoned rather than hanged because 'if remedy be not had, the west borders will be laid waste'.<sup>115</sup> The defeated Dacre fled first to Scotland and thence to Flanders, abandoning the tenants of Gilsland to the consequences of their loyalty to him. Those holding land at £5 or less annually were allowed to redeem it 'at a reasonable rate' but by April 1570, it had become clear that those brought before the commissioners were so poor that 'there was almost nothing left for the queen to take; so we are obliged to impose very small fines, the rather they are very sorrowful for their offences'.<sup>116</sup>

When Thomas Lord Dacre died at Kirkoswald, in 1566, a survey of Gilsland was carried out for the queen because the heirs to the estates were four infants who had been taken into wardship.<sup>117</sup> In Irthington (which was in the possession of Edward Dacre, brother of Thomas) there were 29 tenants-at-will and three cottagers, all named, producing £15 5s. 2d. yearly, including the farm of the water mill at 40s and the fee of the bailiff of 20s. The rent of the manor, in 1566, in the tenure of John Blenerhayset, was 35s. annually, including the demesne, stables, barns, dovecot and other buildings. Six of the tenants were listed under 'Irthington New towne' and improvements in rents were recorded in Irthington 'townegate' and the turf pit (*turbaria*). Free tenants for all the Gilsland manors which were held of Irthington, paid a total of 116s. 2d.<sup>118</sup> The same surnames recur in the muster lists for Irthington in 1580, particularly those of Bulman, Elwood, Harden and Hetherington.<sup>119</sup>

A further survey of Gilsland, made in 1575,<sup>120</sup> contains a general statement about the terms of tenancy in the barony.



The customarie tennantes and cottagers within this Barronie of Gillesland entred in this booke under the titles of Tennantes at will accordinge to the Customes. To claim to hould thers Tenementes and cottages as Coustumarie Tenantes for doing their service on the borders and paying their fines and gressomes at the change by death or other cause whether the Lor[d] or Tennantes which said custom they call Tennant right and their said Fynes and gressomes have ben somtimes two and somtimes three yeres rent accordinge to the rate of the rent they pay for their said Tennantes and cottages accordinge to their abilities. Tis for such Tennantes as come to the possession of such Tenements or Cotages by alienacon or mariadge of daughter and heire have ben accustomed to pay greater fynes and gressomes [fine paid on entry into land holding] such as the Lor[d] and they could reasonably agree upon. And as concerninge the Certaintie of their Custome to whom the Tenementes and Cottagers ought to descende after the death of any Tennante; whether to the heire male; or to the heire generall is not known for that in this case the same hath ben sometime allowed the one waye and sometime the other waye and never any certaintie therin.<sup>121</sup>

Freeholders and the tenants were accustomed to serve on the Borders under the 'Officer of the said Barronie' at their own 'proper cost and charges'. It was thought that there were about 600 men within the barony who should serve 'some with horse, some with nagge and some on foote with such furniture as in times past hath ben accustomed'.<sup>122</sup> Each tenant had to keep a good horse that 'could bear a manne twentie to twentie four houres without a baite' and be ready for armed service at six hours notice. The bailiff was to make sure the tenant carried an appropriate spear, sword or bow and that he took his share in the night watch from ten o'clock till cock crow, calling his neighbours both then and previously at midnight. Every tenant was 'to rise and go readily to the fraye and followinge' and was not to turn back before the bailiff did. The beacon was to be kept going as necessary and any infringement carried a fine.<sup>123</sup>

Twenty years later, this apparently efficient organisation had become very changed when, in 1597, Thomas Carleton, land sergeant of Gilsland for the Crown, reported that 'there should be 500 horsemen to serve her majesty but there are not 15 able horsemen at this date'<sup>124</sup> and a year later, John Musgrave, the new land sergeant appointed following Carleton's murder,<sup>125</sup> found it difficult to muster the tenants. In Irthington, there were only two horsemen adequately equipped although there were 26 more who were not 'sufficient' and, in addition, 16 footmen, but, in Hayton, the muster could not take place because of the 'infection'.<sup>126</sup> Lord Scrope had discovered that Carleton had installed 'divers Scotch', principally members of the Graham clan, as tenants throughout Gilsland, who terrorised and drove out the true inhabitants and aided the reivers' campaigns of rustling, extortion and murder.<sup>127</sup>

Not only had cross-border raiding continued but in the final 12 years of the century, continuous bad weather had caused dreadful harvests, resulting in widespread famine and pestilence and Appleby suggested that subsequent starvation was a major factor increasing the death rate from both typhus and plague, the 'infection' referred to in 1597.<sup>128</sup> In his report, Thomas Carleton had further noted that within the previous four years the barony of Gilsland, which had been 'equal to the best part of the borders in wealth and quietness', was now spoiled by fire, sword, oppression of the Scots, three years of famine and finally plague.<sup>129</sup>

Because Leonard Dacre had been attainted for his part in the rebellion of 1569, the estates remained firmly in royal hands until 1601 when Lord William was able to

recover them for a reputed £10,000.<sup>130</sup> Only then could some sort of order be restored in the barony.

Irthington, which had been retained by the crown, was surveyed again in 1604, a year after the union of the crowns. There were now 37 'customary' tenants returning rents of £15 7s. 2d. and four freeholders. As before, the tenants were all named, their holdings described and the rents noted, the same four surnames predominating. The one leaseholder, Christopher Blenerhasset, son of John, paid £3 15s. annually for the demesne lands.<sup>131</sup> It was not until 1613 that the manor of Irthington was finally granted to Lord William Howard,<sup>132</sup> the value then being £18 12s. 4d.<sup>133</sup> By this time Naworth Castle had become his principal dwelling and the castle at Kirkoswald which had been that of the Dacres and de Multons was gradually dismantled and finally fell into ruin.<sup>134</sup>

The fortunes of the manor of Irthington have been traced over a period of 300 years, during which the hardships and disasters suffered were mirrored in many of the other manors of the barony of Gilsland. Despite the war, civil strife, famine and pestilence, Irthington had survived as a community.

*Greenhill House, Maidstone ME15 8RR*

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3. H. C. Maxwell Lyte, (ed), *Calendar of Charter Rolls Preserved in the Public Record Office*, vol. i, Henry III, 1226-1257 (London, 1903), 407
4. T. H. B. Graham, 'The de Multons of Gilsland', *CW2*, xxviii, 157
5. *Ibid*, 158. This pedigree is based on that shown by Graham
6. TNA, *Inquisitiones Post Mortem*, C 133/73, no. 1, fol 3, writ, Thomas de Multon, April 1295
7. *Ibid*, fol 5, 25 June 1295
8. *Ibid*, fol 8, July 1295
9. Poundland, shillingland and pennyland were terms based on areas of land whose rental produced each of those sums of money. Originally based on the grant of land equivalent to £20 which required the service of one knight, in 1585 one poundland was defined as a measure of arable land equivalent to four oxgangs. (A. McKerral, 'Ancient Denominations of Agricultural Land in Scotland', *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*, 78 (1944), 60-63)+. In this instance, because the holdings are given in acres as well, it is not clear what the terms meant, perhaps the site of particular holdings within the manor
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11. J. M. Todd, (ed). *The Lanercost Cartulary* (Surtees Society, vol. 203, 1997), 83
12. C. McNamee, *The Wars of the Bruces* (Edinburgh, 2006), 21
13. *Ibid*. Edward I had retained Balliol's homage, hence the Scottish knights' liability
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15. *Ibid*
16. *Ibid*. Possibly an overestimation of the numbers
17. *Ibid*, 133
18. *Ibid*, 136
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40. Maxwell Lyte, (ed), *Calendar of Fine Rolls preserved in the Public Record Office*, vol. iv, Edward III, 1327-37 (London, 1913), 487
41. In most other counties, the flat rate was based on the assessment of 1334
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44. Maxwell Lyte, (ed), *Calendar of Fine Rolls*, vol. v, Edward III, 1337-47 (London, 1915), 69
45. Maxwell, (ed), *The Chronicle of Lanercost*, 277
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47. *Ibid*, 656
48. *Ibid*, 668-69
49. TNA, *Exchequer Enrolment Rolls*, E359/14, rot. 34. The collection of Robert de Mulcastre and John de Derwenwat was granted in 1344 but not enrolled till 1346
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52. Sadler, *Border Fury*, 183-211
53. Maxwell, (ed), *The Chronicle of Lanercost*, 325
54. Maxwell Lyte, (ed), *Calendar of Close Rolls*, Edward III, vol. viii, 1346-49 (London, 1905), 30
55. *Ibid*, 31
56. *Ibid*, Edward III, vol. iii, 1318-23, 680
57. G. G. Simpson and J. D. Galbraith, (eds), *Calendar of Documents relating to Scotland preserved in the Public Record Office*, vol. 5 (supplementary) 1108-1516, (Edinburgh, 1987), no. 780. Hobelars are defined by McNamee (*Wars of the Bruces*, 24) as highly mobile mounted men wearing leather armour and riding light horses.
58. Maxwell Lyte, (ed), *Calendar of Patent Rolls preserved in the Public Record Office*, Edward III, 1334-1338 (London 1895), 168
59. J. Bain, (ed), *Calendar of Documents relating to Scotland*, vol. 3 (Edinburgh, 1887), no. 211
60. *Ibid*, no. 830, 31 October 1323
61. McNamee, *The Wars of the Bruces*, 250
62. Maxwell Lyte, (ed), *Calendar of Close Rolls*, Edward III, vol. iii, 1333-37, 168
63. J. Wilson, (ed), *The Victoria History of the County of Cumberland*, vol. 2 (London, 1905), 159
64. R. I. Storey, 'The Manor of Burgh-by-Sands', *CW2*, liv, 119. The castle at Kirkoswald had been built by Hugh de Morville or Ralph Engayne, ancestors of the de Multons. Isabel de Multon, grandmother of Margaret de Dacre, was in possession at the time of her death in 1329: TNA, *inquisitiones post mortem*,

- C 135/15 no. 18
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  66. *Ibid*, E 179 90/7, memb. 6
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  73. *Ibid*. a husbandland was two bovates
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  88. Sadler, *Border Fury*, 329
  89. C. S. Knighton, (ed), *Calendar of Inquisitions Miscellaneous (Chancery) preserved in the Public Record Office*, vol. viii, 1422-1485 (London 2003), no. 376
  90. TNA, *Inquisitiones Miscellanea*, C 145/322, no. 17, Ranulph Dacre, 1466
  91. H. Summerson and S. Harrison, *Lanercost Priory* (CWAAS Research Series, no. 10, 2000), 159
  92. Durham University Library, Archives and Special Collections, *Howard of Naworth Papers*, C 201/2A, fol. 24. The document is undated but was carried out for Humphrey, Lord Dacre, who died 1485.
  93. Sadler, *Border Fury*, 399
  94. TNA, *Inquisitiones Post Mortem*, E 150/112, no. 2. Humphrey Lord Dacre, 1485
  95. Durham University Library, Archives and Special Collections, *Howard of Naworth Papers*, C 201/4A, fol. 4
  96. *Ibid*, fol 6
  97. R. E. Latham, 'Hints on Interpreting the Public Records, III, Inquisitiones Post Mortem', *The Amateur Historian*, 1, 3, (1953), 78
  98. Durham University Library, Archives and Special Collections, *Howard of Naworth Papers*, C 201/5
  99. Wilson, (ed), *The Victoria History of the County of Cumberland*, vol. 2, 159. The £77 was considerably short of the £200 required to prevent closure in 1538 under the 1536 Act for the dissolution of the lesser monasteries
  100. F. Musgrove, *The North of England* (Oxford, 1990), 198-200
  101. Sadler, *Border Fury*, 461
  103. Wilson, (ed), *The Victoria History of the County of Cumberland*, vol. 2, 273
  103. R. W. Hoyle, *The Pilgrimage of Grace and the Politics of the 1530s* (Oxford, 2001), 453
  104. A. Fletcher, *Tudor Rebellions* (London, 1968), 35

105. Summerson and Harrison, *Lanercost Priory*, 42
106. C. M. L. Bouch and G. P. Jones, *The Lake Counties, 1500-1830* (Manchester, 1961), 56
107. Sadler, *Border Fury*, 496
108. *Ibid*, 509
109. K. J. Kesselring, *The Northern Rebellion of 1569* (Basingstoke, 2010), 67
110. *Ibid*
111. M. James, *Society, Politics and Culture* (Cambridge, 1986), 325
112. Henry Carey, first Lord Hunsdon, was the son of Mary Boleyn and possibly Henry VIII
113. Dacre told his supporters that his title and lands were to be wrested from him by force
114. M. A. E. Green (ed), *Calendar of State Papers Domestic, Elizabeth, Addenda, 1566-79* (London 1871), 242
115. *Ibid*, 244
116. *Ibid*, 267
117. T. H. B. Graham, 'The Barony of Gilsland: Lord William Howard's Survey 1603' (CWAAS Extra Series vol. XVI), iii-iv. Thomas Lord Dacre's brothers, Leonard and Edward, took the insurgents' side in the 1569-70 rebellion and were attainted
118. TNA, *Office of the Auditors of Land Revenue and predecessors: Surveys and Rentals*, LR 2 vol. 213, fol. 26-44
119. J. Bain, (ed), *Calendar of Letters and Papers relating to the affairs of the Borders of England and Scotland preserved in the public Record Office*, vol. i (Edinburgh, 1894), 41
120. TNA, *Exchequer rolls*, E 164/42, fol. 35. Survey of the possessions of Leonard Dacre, 1588-89
121. *Ibid*, fol. 38
122. *Ibid*
123. D. and S. Lyson, *Magna Britannica*, vol. 4, Cumberland (London, 1816), xii footnote Regulations concerning the barony of Gilsland
124. J. Bain, (ed), *Calendar of Letters and Papers relating to the affairs of the Borders of England and Scotland*, vol. ii (Edinburgh, 1896), 446
125. *Ibid*, 547. Carleton was murdered when in pursuit of members of the Ogle family who had killed David Elliott in vendetta
126. *Ibid*, 557
127. T. H. B. Graham, 'The Parish of Hayton', *CW2*, viii, 65
128. A. B. Appleby, *Famine in Tudor and Stuart England* (Liverpool, 1978), 112-13
129. Bain, (ed), *Calendar of Letters and Papers relating to the affairs of the Borders of England and Scotland*, vol. ii, 1595-1603, 446
130. Graham, 'The Barony of Gilsland, Lord William Howard's Survey 1603', ix
131. TNA, *Office of the Auditors of Land Revenue*, LR 2, vol. 213, fol. 53-58
132. William Howard inherited Gilsland through his wife, Elizabeth daughter of Thomas Dacre
133. M. A. E. Green, (ed), *Calendar of State Papers Domestic Series Preserved in the Public Record Office, James I, 1611-18* (London 1858), 211
134. T. H. B. Graham, 'Extinct Cumberland Castles. Part iv', *CW2*, xii, 177